

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

GEORGE DEXTER.

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

CHARLES C. SMITH.



J. K. M. H. L.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Massachusetts Historical Society.

1878.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS volume contains a selection from the proceedings of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY during the calendar year 1878. Ten meetings were held, the stated ones for the months of July and August having been omitted by vote of the Society.

The volume contains also Memoirs of four deceased members: that of the Hon. B. R. Curtis, by the Rev. Dr. Robbins; of George Bemis, Esq., by Judge Hoar; of the Hon. James Savage, by the Hon. George S. Hillard, almost his last literary labor; and that of the Hon. John Lothrop Motley, by Dr. Holmes. By the kindness of Messrs. Houghton, Osgood, & Co., who have given the portraits, we are able to place Mr. Motley's likeness as an appropriate frontispiece to a volume published by an historical society. The excellent portrait of Judge Curtis, inserted at page 16, is the generous gift of his son, B. R. Curtis, Esq.

The other illustrations are: a heliotype *fac-simile* of the first page of the Records of the President and Council of New Hampshire, placed at page 261; *fac-similes* of the signatures of Columbus and Vespuccius, given at page 323; and a heliotype of the Agreement of the Pequot Indians, at page 402.

The first part of this volume was prepared for the press by Mr. DEANE, who as Recording Secretary *pro tempore*, after the death of Mr. Quincy, became again Chairman of the Committee for publishing the Proceedings. The present committee, two of whose members had been associated with him in the discharge of this duty during nearly the whole period of his service, are unwilling that this volume should appear without recognition on their part of his invaluable services to the Society. Nine volumes, issued under his supervision within the last fourteen years, attest his unwearied industry, his scrupulous accuracy, and the soundness of his judgment on historical questions. The Record prepared by him ends with the annual meeting of 1878.

GEORGE DEXTER,
SAMUEL A. GREEN, } Committee.
CHARLES C. SMITH, }

Boston, March 1, 1879.

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MEMBERS DECEASED.

Resident, Honorary, and Corresponding Members, who have died since the publication of the List of Members in the last volume of the Proceedings, March 15, 1878; or of whose death information has been received since that date.

Resident.

Hon. George T. Bigelow, LL.D.	Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas, LL.D.
Jacob Bigelow, LL.D.	Hon. George S. Hillard, LL.D.
Hon. Caleb Cushing, LL.D.	William G. Brooks, Esq.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JANUARY MEETING, 1878.

A STATED meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th of January, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the preceding meeting, which was approved.

The Librarian read his usual list of donors to the Library. Among the gifts was an extended photographic view of Boston, presented by Mr. Lawrence.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the acceptance of membership by Captain G. V. Fox.

The President presented a lithographic portrait of the late George Peabody, which had recently been published by the "New England Journal of Education."

The President then said:—

Our first monthly meeting of the new year is clouded by the announcement, which comes to us by an ocean telegram, that one of our valued and respected Associate Members died at Nice, formerly a city of Italy, now in France, on Saturday last.

Mr. George Bemis has been long known as an accomplished lawyer, an able writer, and a most amiable gentleman. Born at Watertown, Massachusetts, and a graduate of Harvard University in 1835, he devoted himself for many years, assiduously and successfully, to the practice of the Law. He was associated with the late Governor Clifford, then Attorney-General, in the memorable case of Professor Webster, and afterwards published the large volume which contains the details of that trial.

His contributions to the Law Journals were numerous and elaborate. During our late civil war, he published several pamphlets on questions connected with the conduct of Great Britain, which attracted much notice on both sides of the ocean; and he was much employed, at that time, by the Department of State at Washington.

But his health has been precarious of late years; and he was compelled, under the counsel of his physicians, to pass his winters in milder climates than our own. I have had the good fortune to meet him frequently abroad, — in Rome, in Paris, at Geneva, and at Nice, where he has now died; and I always found him a most intelligent and agreeable companion, full of interest in every thing relating to his own country, and regretting that he was obliged to be absent from it so long.

He has been a member of this Society since 1865, and has enjoyed the respect and warm regard of us all.

As the Council of the Society has not been in session since the tidings of his death were received, I venture to propose the customary Resolution:—

Resolved, That we have heard with deep regret of the death of our esteemed Associate, George Bemis, Esq., and that the President be instructed to appoint one of our number to prepare a Memoir of him for our Proceedings.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted, and the Hon. E. R. Hoar was appointed to prepare a Memoir of Mr. Bemis for the Proceedings of the Society.

The President then said:—

We have a New Year's present, to-day, Gentlemen, in the shape of a large volume of manuscript papers, connected with public events in our own State more than a hundred years ago. Some of these papers, if not all of them, were printed in 1856, by a society called the '76 Society, in Philadelphia. The publications of that society comprised only four small volumes, of which the Massachusetts Papers were in the third volume. The Society is, I believe, no longer in existence. At all events, these particular papers have always remained in the possession of the gentleman from whom copies were obtained by the '76 Society for publication, and by whom they are now presented to us. They come from Dr. Alfred Langdon Elwyn of Philadelphia, a grandson of John Langdon of New Hampshire, the first President of the Senate of the United States.

Our Publishing Committee will doubtless desire to examine them carefully, with a view to ascertain whether there are any of them not yet printed, or whether any errors have crept into those which have been printed. And possibly it may be found desirable to include them, in their order of date, whether they have previously been printed or not, in our Revolutionary volume.

Meantime, I would propose that the thanks of the Society be returned to Dr. Alfred Langdon Elwyn for his acceptable and valuable contribution to our manuscript collections.

The thanks of the Society were ordered for this valuable gift of papers.

The President continued:—

A few days ago I received by post from London the book which I hold in my hand. The covers were probably taken off to reduce the weight. I shall have it rebound, and at some future day place it in the Society's Library. It is a catalogue of "Students admitted to the Inner Temple, 1547-1660." It has been kindly sent to me by J. E. Martin, Esq., the librarian of that venerable institution. It is not a mere list of names; but to many of the names there is added a brief account of the persons to whom they belonged.

I find in 1624 the name of "John Winthorpe, Groton, Suffolk, eldest son of John Winthorpe." This was the first Connecticut Governor.

In 1628, I find the name of "John Winthorpe," without any addition. This was our Massachusetts Governor, who was admitted to the Temple four years after his eldest son, and probably not long after his appointment as one of the special Attorneys of the Court of Wards and Liveries.

These facts were not unknown to us before, and are mentioned in the "Life and Letters of John Winthrop." The next name to his, under date 1628, is that of his brother-in-law, our Emanuel Downing, the father of Sir George Downing. This name, also, stands in the catalogue without any addition or explanation.

There are many other names, as I have cursorily turned over the pages of the catalogue, which have more or less of American association and interest: Symonds, Pyncheon, Christopher Gardiner, John White, and John Hampden, "the patriot," under date 1613.

But there is one which seems to challenge particular notice. Among those admitted in 1604 is "Mathew Cradock, Stafford," to which is added, "A merchant in London, ex-

tensively engaged in several important adventures for Colonization." This description evidently points to the first governor of the Massachusetts Company in old England; but quite probably there is here a misapprehension, for our Matthew Cradock had a cousin of the same name ("Mathew Cradock"), who was a member of Parliament for "Stafford," where he lived, in 1620. More likely it is he who was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1604, rather than Matthew Cradock, the merchant of London. Indeed, under date of 1632 in this volume will be found the name of "George Cradock, son and heir of Mathew Cradock of Careswall, Staffordshire."

Dr. GREEN read the following letter from the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., of Hartford, Connecticut, on the meaning and derivation of the Indian name of Groton, Massachusetts:—

HARTFORD, Dec. 22, 1877.

MY DEAR DR. GREEN,—*Petaupauket* and *Petapawage* are two forms of the same name, the former having the locative postposition (-et), meaning "at" or "on" a place; and both are corruptions of one or the other of two Indian names found at several localities in New England. From *which* of the two your Groton name came, I cannot decide without some knowledge of the place itself. I leave you the choice, confident that one or the other is the true name.

"*Pootuppog*," used by Eliot for "bay," in Joshua, xv. 2, 5, literally means "spreading" or "*bulging* water," and was employed to designate either a local widening of a river making still water, or an inlet from a river expanding into something like a pond or lake. Hence the name of a part of (old) Saybrook, now Essex, Conn., which was variously written *Pautapang*, *Poattapoge*, *Potabauge*, and, later, *Pettipaug*, &c., so designated from a spreading cove or inlet from Connecticut River. *Pottapoug* Pond in Dana, Mass., with an outlet to, or rather an inlet from, Chicopee River, is probably a form of the same name. So is "Port Tobacco," Charles County, Md. (the "*Potopaco*" of John Smith's map), on the Potomac.

But there is another Algonkin name from which *Petaupauk* and some similar forms *may* have come, which denotes a swamp, bog, or quagmire,—literally, a place *into which the foot sinks*; represented by the Chippeway *petobeg*, a bog or soft marsh, and the Abnaki *potepaug*. There is a *Pautipaug* (otherwise, *Pootapaug*, *Portipaug*, *Patapogue*, &c.) in the town of Sprague, Conn., on or near the Shetucket River, which seems to have this derivation.

If there was in (ancient) Groton a pond or spreading cove, connected with the Nashua, Squannicook, Nisitiset, or other stream, or a pond-like enlargement or "bulge" of a stream, this may, without much doubt, be accepted as the origin of the name. If there is

none such, the name probably came from some "watery swamp," like those into which (as the "Wonder Working Providence" relates) the first explorers of Concord "sunke, into an uncertaine bottome in water, and waded up to their knees."

Yours truly,

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

Dr. GREEN said that Mr. Trumbull's last suggestion, that the name came from an Algonquin word signifying swamp or bog, appears to be the correct one. Mr. Butler, in his "History of Groton" (page 248), says:—

"Peat or bog meadows, of greater or less extent, are found in all parts of the town. Two of the largest—one situated on the south-westerly side of the village, and the other on the north-easterly side, containing perhaps one hundred acres each—are in a state of successful cultivation, as are also some others in different parts of the town."

Before these meadows were drained and cultivated, they would be best described as swamps or bogs.

Mr. Vice-President ADAMS read the following entertaining narrative of a journey made from Cambridge to Portsmouth, N. H., in 1754, by Tutor Flynt, of Harvard College, in company with an undergraduate, David Sewall, who wrote the account of it. The manuscript was found among the papers of John Adams, who was a classmate of Sewall:—

Of Father Flynt's Journey to Portsmouth and back to Cambridge,
Æ. 80. *Olim meminisse juvabit.*

In the month of June, 1754, after the Senior Sophisters, agreeable to the usage of Harvard College in those times, had left off attending and reciting to their tutor, and were making the necessary arrangements for graduating in July then next, the time of commencement, Henry Flynt, the senior tutor of the institution, and who had then the care and instruction of the senior class of undergraduates, sent for me to his chamber, in the old Harvard Hall, on Saturday afternoon, and told me he intended to take a journey to Portsmouth, N. H.; and, being informed that I was an excellent driver of a chair, he wished to know if I would wait upon him in that situation, and return home for a few days. I replied, the proposition was to me new and unexpected, and I wished for a little time to consider of it. He replied "Aye, prithee, there is no time for consideration: I am going next Monday morning." I paused about a minute, and then replied that I would wait upon him in the journey.*

* David Sewall, the writer of this journal, was about nineteen years of age when he made the tour which he so *nately* describes. He graduated in the following year, in the same class with John Adams. His home was in York, Maine;

I afterwards learned that he had applied to T. Atkinson,* a student from Portsmouth, who had declined, and who had recommended me as a skilful and careful driver of a chair. In those days a single horse and chair, without a top, was the usual mode of conveyance. A covered chair, then called a calash, was very seldom used.

After my consenting to attend Mr. Flynt, he says, "Go to the President (Holyoke), and give my service to him, and desire him to give leave for you to return home," that I might attend him in his proposed journey. I accordingly went, and obtained leave of absence, and was then directed to go to Mr. Stedman's, and procure a horse and chair for him to go the journey.†

On Monday, after breakfast, I went with the horse (which was a pacing mare) and chair to the college yard, from whence we proceeded on the journey across the common, and up the Menotomy Road, until we came to the cross road, passing near the Powder House to Medford, and from thence through Malden to Lynn. The first stop we made was at the noted public-house kept in that day by landlord Newall,‡ where we oated the horse; and, as it was a warm forenoon, Mr. Flynt had a nip of milk punch; after which Mr. Flynt took from a leather purse (of considerable bulk, filled with small silver change) a small piece of money, and gave me to discharge the reckoning, with this injunction: "Be careful, and take the right change." Which being done, we proceeded through Salem plain to Danvers, by the country seat of King Hooper§ (so called) of Marblehead, through Ipswich, and a little before sunset we reached the dwelling of the Rev. Mr. Jewett|| of

and probably one inducement he had to accompany his old tutor to Portsmouth was the opportunity it offered of a visit to his native town during vacation. But, as Portsmouth was the end of Mr. Flynt's journey, Sewall was obliged to "foot it" the rest of the way home. Sewall became a distinguished man, "a learned and upright judge"; and died only nine months before his friend and classmate, John Adams, at the age of ninety years. This entertaining narrative, in his well-known hand, found among the papers of John Adams, was probably written for the delectation of the latter, and at a late period in the life of each. If the date given in one of the author's notes (1821) indicates the year of the writing of the text, it was only four years before his death. Most of the persons whom Father Flynt met on his tour, old and young, mentioned in the itinerary, had been graduates of Harvard College, and therefore were personally known to the old tutor. — Eds.

* Theodore Atkinson, Jr. He was of the class of 1757, and died in 1769. For a notice of him and his family, see Brewster's "Rambles about Portsmouth," 1859, p. 108. — Eds.

† Ebenezer Stedman kept a tavern many years in Cambridge, on the southerly side of Mount Auburn Street, about midway between Brighton and Dunster Streets. He was a selectman, and captain of the militia, for many years. See Paige's "History of Cambridge," p. 662. — Eds.

‡ Jacob Newhall was celebrated as a landlord in Lynn, from 1775 to 1816, as he or an ancestor may have been in 1754. See Lewis's "History of Lynn," p. 215. — Eds.

§ The Hon. Robert Hooper is the person referred to. His stately mansion in Danvers, now standing, was afterward the property of Judge Collins. It was for some weeks the head-quarters of General Gage, in June, 1774. A picture of the house may be seen in Barber's "Hist. Coll. relating to Massachusetts," p. 172. — Eds.

|| The Rev. Jedediah Jewett, who died in 1774. — Eds.

Rowley; where we called, and Mr. Flynt acquainted him he meant to tarry there that night. We were cordially entertained, and at bedtime we were introduced to a chamber where was only one bed; upon getting into which, says Mr. Flynt to me, "You will be keeping well to your own side" (an injunction I had no disposition to disobey). The next day, Tuesday, we passed through Newbury, over Merrimack River, at the ferry called Salisbury Ferry. He conversed freely and sociably on many topics (a thing then unusual for a tutor with an undergraduate), and, among other things, that he had lately sold a farm to cousin Quincy, for £500 or thereabouts; but, as he had no present need of the money, he had taken his security for the purchase sum, payable at a future period on interest.

Mr. Flynt intended to call and dine with Parson Cotton* of Old Hampton; and, as we came to the road that led from the post-road to Cotton's house, we met the parson and his wife walking on foot. Upon which Mr. Flynt informed Mr. Cotton that he intended to have called and taken dinner with him; but, as he found he was going from home, he would pass on and dine at a public-house. Upon which, says Mr. Cotton, "We are going to dine, upon an invitation, with Doctor Weeks, one of my parishioners; and Mr. Gookin† and his wife, of North Hill, are likewise invited to dine there; and I have no doubt you will be as welcome as any of us; and, besides, the Doctor has a son‡ who he intends shall enter college next commencement; and I will with pleasure introduce you to Doctor Weeks." After pausing a small space, Mr. Flynt agreed to go, provided Parson Cotton would pass on before us, [and] make the necessary explanation to show that we were not *interlopers*. Upon which Mr. Cotton and wife passed on before us, and I halted the chair, and moved on slowly behind them (about 100 rods) to Dr. Weeks's; and Mr. Cotton introduced us to him, where we were cordially received and hospitably entertained. After dinner, while Mr. Flynt was enjoying his pipe, the wife of Dr. Weeks introduced her young child, about a month old, and the *twins* of Parson Gookin's wife, infants of about the same age, under some expectation of his blessing by bestowing something on the mother of the twins (as was supposed), although no mention of that expectation was made in my hearing; but it produced no effect of the kind.§

* This was the Rev. Ward Cotton, a great-grandson of the Rev. John Cotton of Boston. He was ordained at Hampton, in 1734, and was removed in 1765. He died at Plymouth, Mass., Nov. 27, 1768, aged fifty-seven years. See "Hist. and Geneal. Reg.," i. 328, 329. — Eds.

† This was the Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, minister of the church in North Hampton (1739-1766), formerly constituting the parish called "North Hill," in Hampton. He was the son of the Nathaniel Gookin who was the immediate predecessor of Ward Cotton as pastor of the church in Hampton. Almost every time Sewall mentions his name in the manuscript, he spells it differently, — Gooking, Gookins, Gookine, Gogin, Gookin. — Eds.

‡ This son of "Dr. Weeks" was probably Joshua Wingate Weeks, who entered Harvard College in 1754, graduated in 1758, became a clergyman, and died in 1804. — Eds.

§ One of these twin daughters is said to have been the mother of Colonel Upham, the present (1821) United States collector of customs for the port of Portsmouth, N. H. — SEWALL'S NOTE.

After dinner, we passed through North Hampton to Greenland; and, after coming to a small rise of the road, hills on the north of Piscataqua River appearing in view, a conversation passed between us respecting one of them, which he said was Frost Hill. I said it was Agamenticus, a large hill in York. We differed in opinion, and each of us adhered to his own ideas of the subject. During this conversation, while we were descending gradually at a moderate pace, and at a small distance, and in full view of Clark's Tavern, the ground being a little sandy, but free from stones or obstructions of any kind, the horse somehow stumbled, in so sudden a manner, the boot of the chair being loose on Mr. Flynt's side, threw Mr. Flynt headlong from the carriage into the road; and the stoppage being so sudden, had not the boot been fastened on my side, I might probably have been thrown out likewise. The horse sprang up quick, and with some difficulty I so guided the chair as to prevent the wheel passing over him; when I halted and jumped out, being apprehensive from the manner in which the old gentleman was thrown out that it must have broken his neck.* Several persons at the tavern noticed the occurrence, and immediately came to assist Mr. Flynt; and, after rising, found him able to walk to the house; and, after washing his face and head with some water, found the skin rubbed off his forehead in two or three places, — to which a young lady, a sister of William Parker, Jr., who had come out from Portsmouth with him and some others that afternoon, applied some pieces of court plaster. After which we had among us two or three single bowls of lemon punch, made pretty sweet, with which we refreshed ourselves, and became very cheerful. The gentlemen were John Wendell, William Parker, Jr., and Nathaniel Treadwell,† a young gen-

* This incident occurred in Greenland. This town was formerly a part of Portsmouth, and offered many attractions for rides and drives for the residents of the latter. Clark's tavern was probably a stopping-place for refreshment, and seems on this occasion to have furnished an abundance of good punch. — Eds.

† John Wendell, the son of John, was born in Boston, in 1731; graduated at Harvard College in 1750, and then removed to Portsmouth, N. H., where he married, — first, June 20, 1754, Sarah Wentworth, daughter of Captain Daniel, son of Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth; second, Aug. 20, 1778, Dorothy Sherburne. He was a man of high consideration in Portsmouth, and died there April 26, 1808. It will be seen that Sewall says that John Wendell was just on the point of marrying a Miss Wentworth at the time of this journey. If we may suppose, from Mr. Flynt's reply to the question if he had come to attend the wedding, that it took place in the following week, their arrival at Portsmouth must have been on Tuesday, the 12th of June. The old tutor remained over in Portsmouth till the week after his arrival. ("Hist. and Geneal. Reg.," xxii. 421.)

William Parker, Jr., now twenty three years of age, was the son of William Parker, graduated at Harvard College in 1751, and afterward lived in Exeter. For many years he was judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and registrar of probate for Rockingham County. His sister, Mary, married the writer of this journal, David Sewall. The sister who furnished the court-plaster to Tutor Flynt, and who afterward married Captain Adams (the father of the annalist of Portsmouth), was Elizabeth, who died Nov. 20, 1815, aged eighty-one years. She was at the time of this incident twenty years of age, — four years older than her sister Mary. See Brewster, as above, pp. 119, 120.

This Nathaniel Treadwell was probably a son of Jacob Treadwell. For an account of the Treadwell family of Portsmouth, see Brewster, as above, p. 137. — Eds.

tleman who was paying suit to Miss Parker. Mr. Flynt observed he felt very well, notwithstanding his fall from the chair; and, if he had not disfigured himself, he did not value it. He would not say the fault was in the driver; but he rather thought he was *looking too much on those hills*. John Wendell was just upon the point of marrying to a Miss Wentworth; and he [Flynt] was asked if he had come at this time to attend the wedding. He replied he had not made the journey with that intent; but, if it happened while he was at Portsmouth, he should have no objection of attending it.

I was directed to pay for one bowl of the punch, and the oats our horse had received, after which we proceeded on toward Portsmouth; Mr. Treadwell and Miss Parker preceded us in an open chair. William Parker was going on to Kensington, where he was employed in keeping school; and J. Wendell returned on horseback to Portsmouth. The punch we had partaken of was pretty well charged with good old spirit, and Father Flynt was very pleasant and sociable. About a mile distant from the town, there is a road that turns off at right angles (called the Creek Road) into town, into which Mr. Treadwell and Miss Parker (who afterward married Captain Adams) entered with their chair. Upon which Mr. Flynt turned his face to me, and said, "Aye, prithee, I do not understand their motions; but the Scripture says, 'The way of a man with a maid is very mysterious.'"

The time and manner of this observation was such that, in order to suppress my risible faculties, the water fell in several drops from my eyes. We passed on the usual road to Portsmouth, to the dwelling-house of Thomas Wibird,* — a respectable merchant, a bachelor, who kept house with several domestics. There I tarried on Tuesday night, and slept again in the same bed with Mr. Flynt. The next day, being Wednesday, after receiving directions at what day of the succeeding week he should commence the journey back to Cambridge, I passed the ferry, and walked on foot to York, and tarried there until the time assigned for my return, when I came again to Portsmouth.

We left the town, and, passing through Greenland, North Hampton, Hampton Old Town to Hampton Falls, stopped at Mr. Whipple's,† the minister of the place, where Mr. Flynt intended to dine. But it so happened that dinner was over, and Mr. Whipple had gone out to visit a parishioner; but Madame Whipple was at home, and very social and pleasant, and immediately had the table laid, and a loin of roasted veal, that was in a manner whole, placed on it, upon which we made an agreeable meal. After dinner, Mr. Flynt was accommodated with a pipe; and, while enjoying it, Mrs. Whipple accosted him thus: "Mr. Gookin, the worthy clergyman of North Hill, has but a small parish and a small salary, but a considerable family; and his wife has lately had twins." — "Aye, that is no fault of mine," says Mr. Flynt. — "Very true, sir; but so it is." And, as he was a bachelor, and a gentleman of handsome property, she desired he would give

* Thomas Wibird was born Oct. 1, 1707; graduated at Harvard, 1738. — Eds.

† The Rev. Joseph Whipple, who was settled here (Hampton Falls) in 1727, and who died in 1767. — Eds.

her something for Mr. Gookin; and she would be the bearer of it, and faithfully deliver it to him. To which he replied, "I don't know that we bachelors are under an obligation to maintain other folks' children." To this she assented; but it was an act of charity she now requested for a worthy person, and from him who was a gentleman of opulence, and who, she hoped, would now not neglect bestowing it. "Madam, I am from home, on a journey, and it is an unseasonable time." She was very sensible of this; but a gentleman of his property did not usually travel without more money than was necessary to pay the immediate expenses of the journey, and she hoped he could spare something on this occasion. After some pause, he took from his pocket a silver dollar, and gave her, saying it was the only **WHOLE DOLLAR** he had about him. Upon which Mrs. Whipple thanked him, and engaged she would faithfully soon deliver it to Mr. Gookin; adding, it was but a short time to commencement, when it was probable Mr. Gookin would attend, and she hoped this was but an earnest of a larger donation he would then bestow upon Mr. Gookin. Father Flynt upon this replied, "Insatiable woman, I am almost sorry I have given you any thing." *

Soon after which we pursued our journey, and, riding over the sandy road to the ferry, the easy motion of the chair lulled the old gentleman into a sleep for some time; upon which I carefully attended the boot of the chair, to prevent his being thrown from the carriage a second time, in case of the stumbling of the horse. We passed on through Newbury and Rowley, without calling upon the minister of either of the places, and reached Ipswich toward evening; when we stopped at the dwelling of Mr. Rogers, the clergyman of the old parish,† who seemed much pleased with the visit, and introduced his wife (who, I understood, was a daughter of President Leverett); when Mr. Flynt accosted the lady, "Madam, I must buss you," and gave her a hearty kiss.

We enjoyed a social evening; and, upon his being asked some questions about the scholars, related the following anecdote: "One morning my class were reciting, and stood quite round me, and one or two rather at my back, where was a table on which lay a keg of wine I had the day before bought at Boston; and one of the blades took up the keg, and drank out of the bung. A looking-glass was right before me, so that I could plainly see what was doing behind me. I thought I would not disturb him while drinking; but, as soon as he had done, I turned round, and told him he ought to have had the manners to have drank to somebody." And this was all the reprimand made on the occasion.

We again slept in the same bed, together. In the morning I arose before him, and he slept on until breakfast-time, when I went upstairs

* Madam Whipple's second husband was the Rev. John Lowell, of Newbury, after whose death his parishioners settled an annuity of \$100 on her during her life; and in the latter part of her life she lived with Mrs. Bracket at Portsmouth, where she died, upwards of ninety years of age. — SEWALL'S NOTE.

† The Rev. Nathaniel Rogers, son and colleague of John Rogers, died May 10, 1775, aged seventy-two. He graduated at Harvard, 1724. — Eds.

to acquaint him of it. We had toast and tea. He was interrogated by Mrs. Rogers whether he would have the tea strong or weak, that she might accommodate it to his liking. He replied, he liked it *strong* of the tea, *strong* of the sugar, and *strong* of the cream; and it was regulated accordingly.

Breakfast being over, we departed, and passed through the hamlet now called Hamilton, to Beverly, and a ferry (where a toll-bridge is now erected), into Salem, and stopped at the house of Mr. Browne, an opulent merchant of the place, where we dined. This Mr. Browne was related to my classmate, William Browne;* and, from the conversation which passed during dinner, I found he was a great genealogist. After dinner was over, we proceeded on our way, without any other remarkable occurrence, until we reached Cambridge, and finished the journey.

Mr. Flynt, at the commencement of 1754, or soon after, resigned the office of tutor in the College, in which he had officiated for more than fifty years successively; and resided at the Widow Sprague's, in Cambridge, several years. His grave is in the ancient burying-ground near the College, had a handsome monument erected upon it, covered with a marble stone, with an epitaph in good classical Latin thereon engraved, said to be the composition of Doctor Wigglesworth, the first Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard College.†

Dr. ELLIS called attention to a volume relating to the history of Charlestown, with genealogies of families in that district, prepared by Thomas B. Wyman, Esq., for which an opportunity was now presented to the members to subscribe.

The Treasurer reported that he had paid the sum of \$4,000 on the note of the Society secured by a mortgage on the Society's building, reducing the note to \$50,000.

An oil painting of Washington, accompanied by an engraving, cabinet size, of Savage's picture of him, was received from the executors of Mrs. James W. Sever, for which the acknowledgments of the Society were ordered.

The President read the following, cut from the "New York World," of Jan. 7, 1878:—

"At last we have a real centenarian, and no mistake. The Rev. Frederick Beadon, of Trinity College, Oxford, attained his hundredth

* Of William Browne, Sewall's classmate, a full account will be found in Sabine's "Loyalists." He was a refugee, and subsequently appointed Governor of Bermuda, in 1781; and died in England in 1802.—Eds.

† In W. T. Harris's "Cambridge Epitaphs," p. 113, is given the Latin epitaph on Tutor Flynt, beneath which, in a note, Mr. Harris says: "Henry Flynt, son of the Rev. Josiah Flynt of Dorchester, was born in 1676; graduated at Harvard College, 1693; was Tutor from 1699 till 1754; Fellow from 1700 till 1760; and died Feb. 13, 1760. He was a man of sound learning, of acute and discriminating intellect; firm but moderate, steadfast in opinion but without obstinacy; zealous and faithful in the discharge of his various duties."

birthday on the 3d of December. He took his bachelor's degree in the year 1800; and in 1812 was made a Canon Residentiary of Wells Cathedral, with a residence in the lovely little cathedral close, which all artistic travellers in the west of England will thank us for recalling to them. He is in perfect health, and in possession of all his faculties. It will be interesting to see what Mr. Thoms, the executor, not to say executioner, of Sir Cornwall Lewis's unrelenting anti-centenarian creed, will do with this case. The Canon, who is also rector of North Stoneham, Southampton, has just received an autograph letter from the Queen, congratulating him on the attainment of his hundredth year."

Also, this from the London "Times," December, 1877:—

"A CENTENARIAN.—The Rev. Canon Beadon, of Southampton, has among others received the congratulations of the Queen, through Sir J. Cowell and the Duke and Duchess of Saxe Coburg, on his attaining his one hundredth year. Canon Beadon is the last surviving "freeman" of Hampshire, and has been for more than sixty-two years one of the managers of the Southampton Savings Bank, the original committee of which included the Earl of Malmesbury, Lord Palmerston, the late Dean of Westminster, and John Willis Fleming, then M. P. for South Hants. To a lady who once asked him for the secret of his long life and robust health, the Canon replied, 'Never be out of bed after ten o'clock at night, nor be in bed after seven in the morning; never do any brain-work after dinner, and never wear a great-coat.'"

The President said that he read these notices of "a real centenarian" with the greater interest, as he had the pleasure of dining with this venerable person at the table of Lord Arthur Herve, Bishop of Bath and Wells and one of our Honorary Members, three years ago.

William F. Poole, Esq., of Chicago, and the Rev. E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D., of New Haven, were elected Corresponding Members.

Dr. F. E. OLIVER laid before the Society the materials for supplying the deficiencies in the Society's edition of Hubbard's History, speaking as follows:—

It is very well known to the members of this Society, Mr. President, that at the time of the sack of Governor Hutchinson's house by the mob, in 1765, many valuable papers belonging to him, or in his possession, were destroyed; while others were recovered, more or less damaged and mutilated, from the general wreck. Among other manuscripts thrown from the windows on that memorable night, and afterward secured, wet and mud-stained, from the street, near the Governor's residence, with portions of it missing, was a copy of Mr. Hubbard's "History of New England."

This manuscript, believed to be a copy from the original autograph history of Mr. Hubbard, with his own corrections, is doubtless that referred to by Governor Hutchinson in the preface to the first volume of his "History of Massachusetts Bay," as having come down to him from his ancestors, and as having materially aided him in his historical labors.

The recovery of this manuscript is said to have been due to the Rev. Andrew Eliot, a friend and neighbor of the Governor, who seems to have had it in his possession when the latter left the country in June, 1774. From him it descended to his son; and some years later (I think in 1791) it was given by him to the Library of this Society, where it now reposes.

One other copy of Hubbard's history only is known to exist. This is a transcript made from the one already mentioned, previous to the unhappy occurrence of the 26th of August, by Judge Peter Oliver, and carried by him to England at the exodus of the Loyalists in 1776. This has since remained unpublished in the hands of his family.

When in 1814 it was proposed by this Society to give this history a place in its published collections, application was made to the possessors of the English manuscript for its temporary loan, that the missing portions in the American copy might be supplied, but without success; and it was finally determined to publish an edition from the latter, imperfect as it was. A second edition was subsequently issued, more correct than the first, but still incomplete.

Some years ago, while in correspondence with a relative of Judge Oliver, and the custodian of his papers, Mr. Peter O. Hutchinson, a resident of Sidmouth, Devonshire, I asked permission to have a copy made, from the manuscript in his possession, of the pages in which the printed volume is deficient; a request which was kindly granted, with the offer on the part of my correspondent to undertake the task. This offer I of course readily accepted; and, after the necessary delays, I received from him an accurate copy, in his own quaint hand, of the pages in question, comprising the whole of the preface, the first, second, and last chapters, and such other corrections as seemed to be called for.

I now propose, sir, to place a copy of this manuscript at the disposal of the Society, that its present imperfect volume may, in another edition, be made complete.

Mr. WILLIAM EVERETT, referring to the recent decease of the King of Italy, addressed the meeting nearly as follows:—

Mr. President, I rise to call attention to an event of which we received notice this morning, and which I think no historical society has a right to pass over. I refer to the death of the King of Italy, which to-day's papers tell us happened yesterday (9th January). Surely, sir, when the history of this century comes to be written, there will be recorded in it no more striking series of events than the restoration of Italy to her place among the nations; and I believe that very few men deserve their place in history more honestly than King Victor Emmanuel. There has always been felt in Boston the kindest possible sympathy for the regenerate Italy; and we have none of us, I hope, forgotten the interesting occurrence of sending cannon from Boston to Alessandria, a few years ago. But I fear that many Americans do not so thoroughly understand how completely the Italian king and nation were at one,—partly, I suppose, because many Americans cannot bear to think that kings are ever good for any thing, and partly because there is an idea that Victor Emmanuel was bent on keeping up an army far beyond what his heavily burdened people can afford. Many persons here, who believe in Italy, mention his name with distrust. Now, sir, I am in a position to know that this very standing army so much criticised, this very expenditure of heavy sums on raising troops from every part of Italy, has been the most efficient measure possible for welding into the one nation—which they really are, and always said they were—tribes and provinces that had been long kept apart by situation, by dialect, by institutions, by indefinite distrust. You take a Sicilian, and set him to garrison Ancona; you take a Venetian, and put him at Genoa; you put a company of Milanese at Taranto. The soldiers have one discipline, one uniform, one training; they hear orders given in one form of their common language; the recruit from every district learns what his countrymen from every other district are. They all are compelled to receive education together. They are all kindled by one enthusiasm for their national king; they are all reviewed, sooner or later, in one eternal capital; and Italy cannot long be other than one, when all her children are joined in one national army. This significant fact was explained to me at Florence, in 1870, by the person whom I consider the ablest and best diplomatic servant we have, the accomplished and honored wife of our associate the Hon. George P. Marsh.

I look, sir, upon the resurrection of the kingdom of Italy, in the brief twenty-eight years that have elapsed since the battle of Novara, in 1849, as something utterly transcending human calculations, and exhibiting directly the hand of

Providence. For centuries the Italians had borne division among themselves, and tyranny from abroad. They knew they ought to be a nation: they knew they were not ready to be; and to every complaint at home, and every attack from abroad, they gave one invariable answer,—“*Pazienza*.” Never perhaps have the hopes of a free, constitutional, united Italy been so low as when Radetsky defeated Charles Albert, and forced his abdication. And yet see, sir, how steadily ever since the great work has gone on: the parliamentary constitution, the checks put on the clergy, the gallant despatch of a noble contingent under General La Marmora, to stand side by side with the great powers in the Crimea, — these were the wise and brave measures that earned the extension of territory in 1859. Then Louis Napoleon tried to stop the new-rising power. But it was too late: with one bound, Tuscany and Emilia leapt to their feet, and forced themselves on the Sardinian king. Then came the grand uprising of the Two Sicilies, and the friendly and intelligent control of Garibaldi's hot-headed movements by the long-sighted statesmen of Turin. For a few years, the good work seemed checked; Venice and Rome were still in the hands of the oppressor; but scarcely had the war of Germany blazed forth, scarcely had Austria been brought to her knees at Sadowa, than the surrender of Venetia to the patriot king was accomplished, of all blessed days in the year, on July 4, 1866. When the war of 1870 broke out, I said to a friend, and I could bring his witness to it, “Don't talk to me about France and Prussia: I want to see what Victor will do.” And before we could fairly say France was conquered, that hand that had never gone out to recede was laid on Rome; and, for the first time since Tarquinius Superbus, a true national king of Rome, wholly unchained from foreign connections, was crowned in the seven-hilled city. And through all the changes of ministry, behind all the statesmen and generals, — Cavour, Ricasoli, Rattazzi, Cialdini, Garibaldi, — it has been the constitutional king, that knew his duty and did it, who has been working out a salvation that no Mazzini in Italy was capable of. And the old man whose bigotry forced him to lay a ban on the hero has relented at last, and dismissed him to his rest in perfect peace with all mankind; because he could not help knowing that under him, and him alone, patience has had her perfect work, and Italy has become perfect and entire, wanting nothing.

Dr. ROBBINS communicated a Memoir of the Hon. B. R. Curtis, for the Society's Proceedings.

MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. BENJAMIN ROBBINS CURTIS, LL.D.

BY REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D.

BENJAMIN ROBBINS CURTIS was born in Watertown, Massachusetts, on the fourth day of November, 1809. His father was Captain Benjamin Curtis, master of a vessel trading between Boston and Valparaiso, who was half-brother to the late George Ticknor. His grandfather on his father's side was Dr. Benjamin Curtis, who graduated from Harvard College in 1771. His mother was Lois Robbins, of Watertown, who has been justly described as a lady of "great intelligence and the highest womanly virtues."

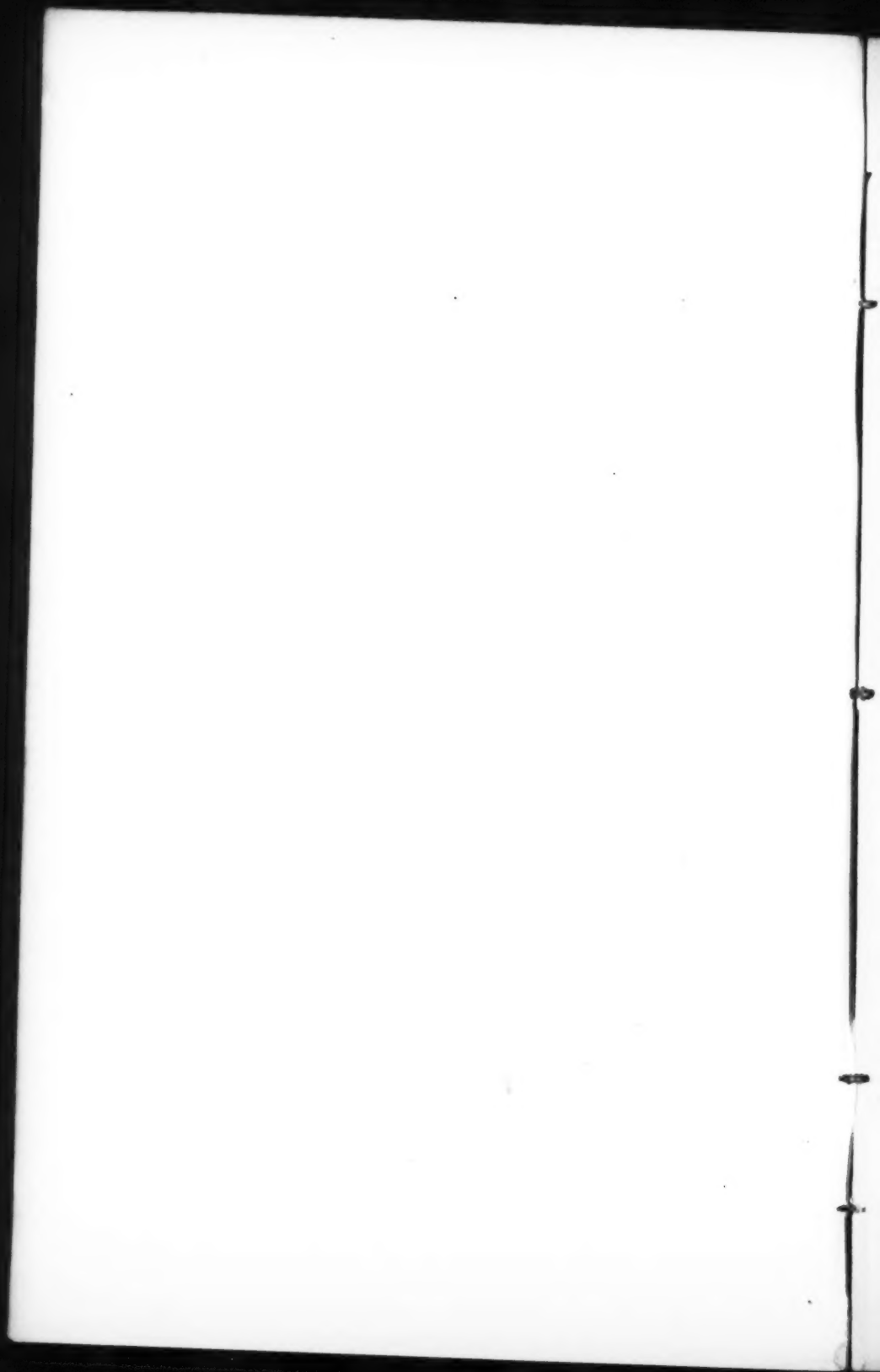
The early life of eminent men does not always give promise of future greatness. The general rule expressed in the familiar line of Wordsworth, which has passed into a proverb, "The child is father of the man," does not apply to every case. There are men who have filled the highest stations in Church and State, who have risen to distinction in every liberal profession, and in every honorable calling, whose character in boyhood and youth excited rather solicitude than high expectation. There have been others who have held the highest rank, and borne off all the honors in school and college, who seem to have culminated at the close of their academic course. But in the case of Mr. Curtis the man was clearly prefigured in the boy. That which he became at maturity was but a realization of his youthful ideal. There never was a man whose steps from boyhood to manhood were more directly and steadily upward. His whole course was steered by the "star of his early aspirations."

When he was about seven years old, he was sent to the school of Mr. Samuel Worcester at Newton, and subsequently to that of Mr. Angier at Medford, where he remained until he entered Harvard College in 1825.

His course as an undergraduate was distinguished, from



James Kirby
B. R. Curtis.



beginning to end, for such traits as secured the respect of both his instructors and classmates, and gave promise of a useful and honorable life. The early associates who survive him remember to have noticed, even at that time, a peculiar upwardness, which seemed to be natural, and which marked him as one born to excel. Of a clear mind and good heart, of an independent spirit and resolute will; ambitious without envy or rivalry; cheerful without frivolity; self-respecting without conceit or vanity; of high aims and pure habits, he walked forward with a manly step, brushing aside the temptations which beset the path of a young collegian. As a scholar, he held a high rank; and, as a writer and speaker, he had no superior in the class. In his Junior year, he received a Bowdoin prize for an essay on the question "How far can Absolute Governments depend upon the Ignorance of the People?" About a year after his graduation, he obtained another Bowdoin prize for a dissertation, entitled "The Present Character of the Inhabitants of New England as resulting from the Civil, Literary, and Religious Institutions of the First Settlers." His reading was select and thorough rather than extensive. He made himself familiar with the best books, and was deeply interested in the discussion of the highest subjects. The same force of reasoning for which he was afterwards distinguished was noticeable in his forensic exercises.

Sterling common sense, soundness of judgment, self-possession, and maturity of thought and character were among his most prominent traits. With nothing of what is termed self-consciousness, without being timidly cautious or scrupulously watchful of himself, he was never taken off his guard. An instinctive sense of propriety regulated his conduct and speech, and a natural clearness and steadiness of mind was an habitual defence against grave mistakes and sudden falls. He had, even at that early age, the air of stateliness and reserve, which has often given the impression of a cold and haughty nature. But those who knew him best ever found, beneath, a warm and generous heart, habitually kind in its judgments and considerate of the feelings of others.

A single incident, related by the classmate who has reason to remember it well, will serve to show his influence with the Faculty, and bring into view some of the fine qualities of his nature:—

"At the close of our college life, the whole class was one morning at a recitation before Dr. Hedge. It was at the last part of the last term. Just as the exercise was closing, the old Doctor took occasion

to say that I had been guilty of very unscholarly behavior. There had been some disturbance near me, but in truth I had nothing to do with it, and got up and told him so. With a good deal of emphasis, the Doctor brought his fist to his desk, and repeated his charge, adding that I might as well try to convince him I was not in the room as that he was mistaken. With some disrespectful rejoinder, I left the room, without waiting for the dismissal of the class. I did not get to the foot of the stairs before I was satisfied of my mistake; and as the class came down, and several of them expressed approval of what I had done as just right, I was quite sure it was all just wrong. I noticed Curtis was not among them. Some days after I went to the Doctor's study, to set the matter right with him, if I could. He accepted my apology very pleasantly, and told me that Curtis acted the part of a good friend to me; that he had remained on the day of the occurrence after the class left, and very kindly bespoken for me a further consideration of the matter before it was reported to the Faculty; that he had, in consequence, never reported it. No one else in the boyish crowd had any such thoughtfulness as this."

After having graduated in 1829, he entered the Law School at Cambridge in September of that year, receiving at the same time an appointment to the office of Proctor in the University. In the School, his superior abilities were soon recognized by the professors and his fellow-students, who even then prophesied of the high career which was before him. I remember to have heard Judge Story, then the Dane Professor of Law, remark that he should like to live long enough to see to what distinction three of his pupils would attain. One of these was Mr. Curtis, another Mr. Sumner; the third was a man who, by the force of adverse circumstances, was early turned aside from the course of life for which he had been preparing.

In 1831, he left the Law School, and entered the office of John Nevers at Northfield, with the intention of making that place his permanent residence. In April, 1832, he returned to Cambridge to pass a few months at the Law School, especially for the purpose of attending the lectures of Judge Story; and, in the autumn of that year, he was admitted as Attorney of the Common Pleas in Franklin County, and immediately established himself in Northfield. In October, 1834, he removed to Boston, formed a connection in professional business with Charles P. Curtis, Esq., and was admitted a member of the Suffolk bar. He soon acquired a large practice, and within a few years took a high rank among the most distinguished members of the profession. In February, 1846, his election by the Corporation as a Fellow of Harvard University was unanimously confirmed

by the Board of Overseers.* He was a member of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts for the political year of 1851.

In the autumn of 1851, Mr. Curtis was commissioned by President Fillmore one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and took the official oath, administered by District Judge Sprague, Friday, October 10th of that year. The appointment to this high office was made by the advice of Mr. Webster, who in making this selection passed by several eminent lawyers, who had claims to his consideration, not only for their professional character, but also on the ground of personal friendship; among whom was one of the ablest and most brilliant members of the bar of his own State, with whom he had always been on terms of the closest intimacy. But Mr. Webster acted only for the best good of the country. He was influenced in his choice by his knowledge of the learning and abilities of Mr. Curtis, and of the peculiarly judicial traits of his mind and character, in combination with his robust physical health and comparative youth, which gave promise of a long period of service.

In 1857, Mr. Curtis decided to resign his office of Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. His letter of resignation to President Buchanan is brief and explicit.

The announcement of his purpose to resign was received with surprise and regret in all parts of the country, both North and South. Those who had most at heart the integrity and honor of the Supreme Tribunal, and who were most concerned for the security of our free institutions, regarded his retirement as a public calamity. Expressions of censure mingled with those of regret in private conversation and the public press; and even those who had entire confidence in the purity of his motives and the validity of his reasons found it difficult heartily to approve his course, on account of their deep sense of the loss of his services to the country. At the earliest moment after his determination was made, and before it became public, he addressed letters to the Chief Justice and all the associate judges of the Supreme Court, and to a few friends whose opinion he most highly valued, informing them of the step he was about to take, and briefly explaining his reasons. The following extract from one of these letters gives the substance of them all:—

* For some of the data in this Memoir I am indebted to our Class Records, admirably kept by the Class Secretary, Rev. Samuel May.

" SEPT. 14, 1857.

... "If I had consulted only my own wishes, I should probably have retained the place. If I had added to these the implied obligation (the force of which I feel) to retain permanently an office whose tenure has been made permanent for wise reasons, I certainly should not have resigned it, save from considerations which seemed to me imperative.

"The salary attached to the office is utterly inadequate to afford a comfortable home for my family at Washington, while in attendance on the Court there, and to pay my other necessary expenses. There has not been one year since I was in office that I have not expended my entire private income, and some years I have exceeded it; and certainly you will agree that I have not lived extravagantly at Washington. Indeed, I have lived in such a way as neither my family or myself have ever been accustomed to, and, I must be allowed to think, in such a way as is not consistent with the dignity of the office I have held."

To President Fillmore, who had appointed him to the office, he expressed himself more fully and freely, touching with caution and delicacy upon a point to which, for obvious reasons, he had refrained from referring in his correspondence with most of the others: —

BOSTON, Sept. 1, 1857.

HON. MILLARD FILLMORE.

DEAR SIR, — Having received from you, as the President of the United States, the appointment to the office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and having come to the conclusion to resign that office, it seems to me proper that I should state to you why I have done so.

The greatly increased expenses of living have rendered the salary attached to the office inadequate to provide a suitable home for my large family in Washington while attending the court there, and to pay my other necessary expenses. I am obliged to expend, in addition to my salary, my entire private income. By leaving my family at my place in the country throughout the year, I might be able to live on the salary, though this is not certain; but it does not consist with my views of my imperative duties to them to pass eight months of the year away from those whom the providence of God has placed nearest to me, and subjected to my care. This alone would be sufficient to decide me to retire from the public service and return to the Bar.

Nor do I think that in the present state of the Court, or in any state of it which can reasonably be anticipated in my time, my continuance on that bench ought to be deemed of such public importance as to weigh much in favor of my continuing there. You will readily understand that this is a subject on which I cannot go into details, and cannot without indelicacy even offer reasons in support of the opinion I have expressed, but I can say it is an honest opinion founded deliberately upon a careful scrutiny of the subject.

I have held this great trust six years under your appointment. I can assure myself of nothing concerning it, save that both in holding it and resigning it I have endeavored to do my duty.

With much respect,

I am your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN R. CURTIS.

President Fillmore's reply was as follows: —

BUFFALO, Sept. 4, 1857.

HON. B. R. CURTIS.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 1st, informing me that you have determined to resign the office of Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, has just come to hand, and I have perused it with surprise and regret. I had no suspicion that such a calamity was to befall the country at this time. I have always looked back to your appointment as one of the most fortunate acts of my brief administration, and one to which I and my friends could always point with proud satisfaction. This feeling was greatly increased by your unanswerable arguments in the opinion delivered by you in the Dred Scott case.

I cannot, of course, know what your duty to your family may require, but I am sure I cannot be mistaken in saying that your duty to your country requires that you should not resign. I beg of you not to despair, though there may be much to discourage; yet I am sure your services and abilities are appreciated by the bar and the intelligent portion of the public. I am sure no man has, in so short a time, gained a more enviable judicial reputation; and there is no man to whom the country looks with more hopeful confidence than to yourself; and I greatly fear that your resignation, especially at this time, will not only impair the confidence of all good and intelligent men in the stability of our institutions, but that the appointment of a successor may be *most unfortunate*. I will not be more explicit in my apprehension on this point. You may know who will probably be selected, but I confess I fear the worst.

I trust you will pardon me, therefore, for the earnest solicitude which I feel on this subject, and excuse me if I urge you again and again to reconsider the subject, and, if you cannot make the sacrifice of holding the office permanently, at least consent to submit to it for a time, until a reasonable hope can be entertained that the vacancy will be well filled.

I write in haste, giving my first impressions, and must ask your indulgence for the freedom with which I have spoken.

I am truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Letters were received by Mr. Curtis from all his associates on the Supreme Bench, expressing their high sense of the ability, dignity, and uprightness with which he had performed his official duties, and their respect for his personal character, and lamenting the loss of his wise counsels and agreeable

society; but at the same time agreeing with him as to the inadequacy of their salary to meet the expenses of the office, and acknowledging that in his case, with a large family to provide for, this fact alone was a strong reason for resuming practice at the bar. Chief Justice Taney writes as follows:—

FAUQUIER SPRINGS, VIRGINIA, Sept. 7, 1857.

DEAR SIR,— Your letter informing me that you have resigned the office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court did not reach me until the day before yesterday.

My own experience has long since shown me the inadequacy of the salary attached to the office. At your time of life, you may reasonably expect many years of health and strength enough for judicial and professional labors. And I have no doubt you have judged wisely in returning to the bar instead of remaining on the bench, and diminishing yearly the provision you had made for your family before your appointment.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. B. TANEY.

From a file of the letters of his intimate friend, Judge McLean, who had urged him to reconsider his purpose to vacate his office, or at least to postpone its execution for a single year, I select the following:—

CHAPEL-WOOD, Sept. 6, 1857.

MY DEAR JUDGE,— In our papers of yesterday, it was announced that you had resigned your seat on the bench, and the receipt of your very kind letter confirmed the report. Although I had reason to believe from your last letter that you would come to this determination, yet I cherished a hope that you would postpone your resignation at least until after our next term. But I feel bound to say the reasons you give show such a high moral obligation and Christian duty that I cannot say you have erred.

My nature is so selfish that I felt a regret which I cannot describe, both in regard to personal considerations, and also for the irreparable loss sustained by the bench. When Story left us, the same sensation oppressed me. One change after another has occurred since I have been a member of the Court, until I have lost the interest and pride I once felt in the Tribunal. In 1830, when I first took my seat, the Court commanded the respect and veneration of the country; but it can never hope to regain so elevated a position in the future. While I remain a member of it, I shall endeavor to think of the time past rather than of the present or the time to come.

In our journey through life, the most interesting associations are broken, and we are thrown upon the past to cherish in our memories and hearts whatever sweetened our labors and contributed to our happiness.

I hope, my dear Judge, that your expectations will be more than realized at the bar, and that your days may be prosperous and happy. And rest assured that no change of circumstances or place can lessen the esteem and affectionate regard of

Your friend,

JOHN McLEAN.

Judge Nelson writes :—

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 1st instant has taken me altogether by surprise; and personally, as well as publicly, I sincerely regret your determination. I was fully aware of the sacrifice you made pecuniarily in accepting the judgeship, but had hoped that you had made up your mind to submit to it. I do not, however, question the wisdom of your decision: on the contrary, I am free to say, if I was not in this place, with my knowledge and experience of its responsibilities and sacrifices, I should never hold the office. I have the advantage of you, however, as my age is such that, in the ordinary course of life, my period of judicial labor is short. You had a long term in prospect, and from the condition of the members of the bench were unable to tell who would be your associates. A few years must work an extensive change. God grant the successors may be worthy of the place and the Republic. Though we shall be separated as to judicial labors, I trust you may be with us in an equally honorable and useful service, at our stated term, as a counsellor and friend of the Court. And if I should see you advanced as a member of a still higher court in the other end of the Capitol, there is no friend who will witness it with sincerer satisfaction. . . .

Very truly and sincerely yours,

S. NELSON.

From Judge Pitman, of the District Court, he received the following:—

PROVIDENCE, Sept. 20, 1857.

DEAR SIR,—It was with much sorrow that I received yours of the 1st instant, informing me of your resignation of the office of Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. There is a universal sentiment of regret at this determination of yours among all whom I have heard speak on the subject; but you are the best judge of the duties which you owe to the public, and to yourself and family. My loss as one of the public, I fully appreciate; and also the loss of an associate in this district, whom I so much esteem, and I fear whose place will not be filled to my satisfaction. I deem it a sad misfortune, and one which indicates badly for the future, that an honest judge will not find himself pleasantly situated on the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. It seems to be expected that judges are to lend themselves to support the party to which they owe their promotion. And I fear that a court as independent as the Constitution could make it, and which has heretofore been looked upon with so much confidence to protect us from the madness of the times, will now be considered as

one of the instruments of a party. I intended to have written you some time since, thanking you for your most able and independent opinion in the Dred Scott case. It will stand to give you eternal honor, when the unfortunate opinion of the majority will have been consigned to the contempt which it merits; if, indeed, we shall ever recover from the downward tendency which so strongly foreshadows our destruction. . . . I hope I may have the pleasure of seeing you again at the bar, if I may not be favored with your presence on the bench; and I wish all the prosperity and happiness in your return to the bar which you so well deserve.

Whoever may be your successor, I have no reason to expect that my situation as Judge will be much longer prolonged, and therefore it may be of little consequence to me personally.

I am very truly your friend and obedient servant,

JOHN PITMAN.

All the letters are interesting, and honorable alike to their writers and to Mr. Curtis; but there is no space for them here.

I have dwelt at considerable length upon this point, because it touches the only part of Mr. Curtis's professional life upon which a shadow has rested. I might have dismissed the subject with the obvious remark that he had a perfect right to judge for himself as to his duty; that being a man of clear mind, sound judgment, and strictly conscientious, he is entitled to the credit of having judged wisely, and that it is to his honor that, having decided that it was his duty to withdraw from the Supreme Bench, he allowed neither his own inclination nor attachment to official dignity, nor persuasion or remonstrance of friends, nor the certainty of misinterpretation and censure on the part of the public to deter him from carrying his decision into effect. But I prefer to let Mr. Curtis speak for himself, and to adduce the testimony of those who were not only most competent to judge of the validity of his reasons, but had especial cause to regret the loss of his counsels and character to their tribunal. I have also thought that the letters might be read with interest, on account of the character and position of their writers; and that they were not inappropriate to this Memoir, as illustrating the estimate in which Mr. Curtis and his services to the country were held by his distinguished associates.

After resigning his seat upon the Supreme Bench, Mr. Curtis opened an office in Boston, and resumed the practice of the law, to which he devoted himself during the remainder of his life, having a large amount of business, and being often consulted in cases and upon questions of the greatest importance.

In the fall of 1871, Mr. Curtis was appointed by the President of the United States, in connection with Hon. William M. Evarts, of New York, and Hon. Caleb Cushing, of Washington, to be counsel for the United States before the Board of Arbitration to assemble at Geneva, Switzerland, under the Treaty of Washington of 1870. Mr. Curtis would have accepted this appointment, had it not been first announced to him on his arrival at New York from Europe, after an absence of several months; on which account, and from the pressure of duties at home, he was obliged, reluctantly, to decline it. In 1873, he was appointed by the Mayor of Boston one of five commissioners to revise the City Charter.

The excellent tributes which have been paid to his memory by the members of his profession in all parts of the United States, some of which are preserved in a permanent form, would render any thing more than a most general notice of Mr. Curtis's character and accomplishments as a lawyer and judge unnecessary in this Memoir, even if the writer were able to do justice to such a subject. By almost unanimous consent of those competent to judge, he has been placed at the head of the American bar. To have won this supremacy in one of the highest departments of human service, to which so much ability, genius, learning, eloquence, and moral power are devoted, and which is adorned by such illustrious names, is honor enough for a single life. But it is a brighter and rarer honor that this distinction has been attained without ambitious reaching or a feeling of rivalry on his own part, and has been accorded to him by those who might have been considered his competitors as an undoubted right.

It happened that during the term of Mr. Curtis's service as Judge on the Supreme Bench the long and momentous struggle between the North and the South, on the subject of slavery, was fast approaching its final issue. Never had there been a period since the first establishment of the Court when questions more difficult or of graver interest were presented to its consideration, or when a greater weight of responsibility rested upon its judges, or when their integrity and wisdom were put to a severer test.

One of the first trials which came before him was that of Lewis Hayden, of Boston, charged with participating in the rescue of Shadrach, *alias* Frederick Ninkins, from the United States Marshal and his deputies, — he having been arrested as a fugitive from slavery.

The "Dred Scott" case, as it is called, which has become so celebrated, and which was unquestionably the most impor-

tant case ever brought before the Court, is too well known to require any thing more than the briefest allusion. It was that of a slave of Missouri, who claimed the right to be free in consequence of having been taken by his master into a free United States Territory, and of having resided there a considerable length of time. The case was decided early in 1857; the majority of the Court giving judgment adverse to the claims of the slave. From this decision Mr. Curtis dissented, and gave in his opinion a most sound and masterly exposition of law and justice as applicable to the case, and a complete defence of the Constitution against the charge of a purpose to legalize slavery in all parts of the territory of the United States.

In 1868, Mr. Curtis was one of five of the ablest members of the American bar who acted as counsel for Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, in the trial of the articles of impeachment brought against him by the House of Representatives, the Senate of the United States sitting as a court of judgment, with Chief Justice Chase as the presiding officer. I think it may be said, without injustice to his learned and eloquent associates, that after Mr. Curtis had opened the case no point of law pertinent to it was left to be adduced or elucidated by those who followed him. Such was, in substance, the opinion expressed at the time by one of the most distinguished men who acted as a judge at the trial, whose most important vote was determined by Mr. Curtis's argument; and such, I believe, is the judgment of all eminent jurists.

In consenting to act as the President's counsel, Mr. Curtis was influenced wholly by patriotic motives. He had no interest in Mr. Johnson personally, and no acquaintance with him. He felt that great peril threatened the country, — that in the intense excitement of party feeling the Senate might be hurried on to an act not only of injustice to an individual, but unconstitutional, and perilous to the country. He had no question as to his duty in this crisis. All private objections must be sacrificed, all less important professional engagements deferred, at the call of justice and patriotism, and his best strength put forth to avert the impending danger. Those to whom he communicated his feeling at the time, all, indeed, who knew him, need no proof that he was actuated by these high and generous motives. But for the sake of others I may mention the fact that his services at the trial were wholly gratuitous, — that for all the labor and expense bestowed upon the case he neither asked nor received any

remuneration. He made the country and justice his debtors, but felt that the debt was more than cancelled when the former came out of the trial without injury, and the latter with inviolate honor.

Mr. Curtis's style was a model of clearness, conciseness, and accuracy. Vigorous, but not impassioned; massive without ruggedness; devoid of ornament, but distinguished for purity of taste, and that perfect propriety which nothing but familiarity with the classics can impart, — his choice and suggestive words had the force of illustrations, and rendered figures unnecessary. He never overlaid an argument with superfluous words, or stretched it beyond its strength, or weakened it by exaggeration, or made it subservient to the parade of his own learning and ingenuity; but, having clearly and forcibly presented it, was content to leave it to stand on its own merits. Though a lover of poetry, and often in conversation referring to and sometimes repeating a favorite verse or line from the best authors ancient and modern, he never quoted it in public speech, and very rarely in any published writings. He kept his object in full view, advancing towards its accomplishment with single aim, a steady step, and by the most direct road. The fairness, calmness, and sober earnestness with which he presented his case, gave weight to his arguments and helped to produce conviction. He never condescended to any small devices; never appealed to the passions or prejudices of the jury; never lost his temper; and never indulged in personalities.

I remember that, a great many years ago, the late Governor Kent, of Maine, told me that, having heard that Mr. Webster was about to argue a case at Portland, he went from Bangor to hear him. One of the opposing counsel was Mr. Curtis, then a young man, whose fame had hardly reached beyond his native State. After Mr. Webster had finished his plea, of course powerful and eloquent, Mr. Curtis, in rising to reply, made no allusion to his mighty antagonist any more than if he had been of no reputation, but with perfect composure entered at once upon the merits of the case, and argued it in a masterly manner. "I was greatly impressed," said Mr. Kent, "by this remarkable instance of manly self-respect and honest reliance on the justice of his cause in so young a man, and at that moment recognized in him the genuine marks of greatness."

I cannot more fitly close this brief sketch of Mr. Curtis's professional qualities than by applying to him the fine lines of Sir John Denham descriptive of the river Thames, which

Mr. Curtis himself repeated only a few days before his death, remarking that they well expressed his idea of a good lawyer, and that he should be perfectly satisfied if they should be judged applicable to himself, — the same lines which, by a singular coincidence, one who had known him long and well and was competent to estimate him aright, altogether ignorant of his friend's remark, as if inspired to pass that very judgment which he would have most valued, so soon afterwards used to describe his legal character in a discriminating eulogy in the place where more than in any other a lawyer might most desire to be praised, and before the assembly most capable of appreciating his merits: —

"Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
Strong without rage; without o'erflowing, full."*

In his politics Mr. Curtis was a decided conservative, but not a partisan. In early manhood, he was connected with the old Whig party, and always held consistently to its principles, and after it was broken up, without regard for names, gave his vote to the party whose measures seemed to him likely to be most conducive to the welfare of the country.

In his pamphlet on Executive Power, Mr. Curtis speaks thus of himself: "I am a member of no political party. Duties inconsistent, in my opinion, with the preservation of any attachment to a political party, caused me to withdraw from all such connections many years ago, and they have never been resumed. I have no occasion to listen to the exhortations, now so frequent, to divest myself of party ties, and disregard party objects, and act for my country. I have nothing but my country for which to act, in any public affair."

* In Mr. Harvey's "Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster," recently published, which I had not read when the sentence to which this note is attached was written, occurs the following paragraph: —

"In a letter to Mr. Blatchford in 1849, he writes from the court-room: 'Mr. B. R. Curtis is now speaking in reply to Mr. Choate, on the legal question. He is very clever, with competent learning. His great mental characteristic is clearness; and the power of clear statement is the great power at the bar. Chief Justice Marshall possessed it in a remarkable degree; so does Lord Lyndhurst. If to this character of clearness you add fullness and force, you make a man, whether as a lawyer, an historian, or indeed a poet, whose discourse or writing merits the application of those lines of unsurpassed beauty in Denham's "Cooper's Hill,"

"Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
Strong without rage; without o'erflowing, full.""

It is a singular fact, as well as another evidence of the applicability of this description to Mr. Curtis, that it should have been suggested to Mr. Webster while listening to his argument.

In the character of Mr. Curtis there was a rare combination of firmness and force of purpose with great tenderness of feeling and quick sympathies. His eyes would moisten and his voice become soft and tremulous when speaking of a friend's sorrow, or of an instance of peculiar heroism. He was never heard to speak evil of any one, and, if he could not palliate the faults of a neighbor, would not denounce them. His generosity was large and free, as it was modest and unostentatious. Many instances of it have come to light from time to time, especially since his death, but only because the gratitude of those who experienced it could not be suppressed. "I have known him," said the District Attorney, in remarking upon this trait of his character, "in cases where he had thought the judgment had fallen too hard upon his client, to turn and relinquish every dollar of his fee, in order to soften the adverse blow, and that, too, without a word, without any open demonstration, and probably without anybody knowing it except myself, his book-keeper, and client." Instances of a similar nature have been brought to my knowledge which could not have come under the notice of the learned attorney. Among them is the following. Mr. Curtis was counsel in a case before the Supreme Tribunal in Washington, involving a very large amount of property. The decision was against his client, as Mr. Curtis thought, unjustly, on a mere technical ground. On leaving the courtroom, Mr. Curtis in a private interview grasped the hand of his client, burst into tears, and utterly refused any fee for his laborious service in the case.

These instances are not recorded under the impression that they are altogether uncommon among lawyers of the better class, but because they are characteristic of Mr. Curtis, do honor to human nature, and are incentives to generous deeds.

For one whose aims were so high, and who was so earnest and persevering in his endeavors to accomplish them, Mr. Curtis was singularly free from ambition. A letter is in existence, written by him when a law student at Cambridge, addressed to a friend at Greenfield, asking him to inquire into the particulars of a vacancy to be made in the practice in the village of Northfield by the retirement of a practitioner there. "I am told," said he, "that the practice there may be made to yield seven or eight hundred dollars a year. If you are satisfied that it is a suitable place for a young man not specially ambitious, but who desires a chance for legitimate work, I shall be inclined to go there." Such was his modest

estimate of his own abilities, even when passing from youth to manhood, — that period of hope and ardor, — and at a time, too, when his instructors and fellow-students were prophesying for him a brilliant career.

Mr. Curtis was a warm and thoughtful admirer of nature in all its forms and moods. He loved the country and the seashore; and his eye always brightened and his spirits became buoyant when, having left behind him his professional cares and the close air of the court-room, he came in sight of the ocean, or caught a glimpse of the Berkshire hills. He took keen delight in starting off with his dog and gun for a day's sport in the woods, or with rod and line to angle in the clear brooks or about the margin of some sheltered pond. But his enjoyment of these sports was only occasionally allowed for purposes of health and necessary relaxation, never indulged in to the neglect of his regular occupations.

A learned counsellor, in his tribute to Mr. Curtis, after speaking in high terms of his professional attainments and judicial character, qualified his encomium by remarking "that he had his limitations; that he did not know that he should be prepared to say or think that, aside from what he was as a lawyer, he was also a great man; that he had produced upon the country or the world no leading or great impression."

I cannot admit the justice of this distinction between the lawyer and the man, to the disparagement of the latter. It is certain that those who knew him regard the qualities of the man as no less admirable than those of the lawyer. They know that the personal and professional character were in perfect harmony and of equal greatness. Wise, truthful, magnanimous without pretence or affectation, above all sordid motives, courting no man's favor and fearing no man's frown, and withal naturally courteous and dignified, he never put on or put off any thing when he appeared as the great lawyer at the bar or on the bench. Whether privately counselling his client or pleading in open court, or hearing a cause or charging a jury, the man was always true to himself; his essential character adding value to his advice, giving weight to his arguments, authority to his judicial opinions, and impressiveness to all his official acts. It does not admit of denial that Mr. Curtis's character bore that genuine stamp of greatness which cannot be counterfeited nor disputed, the test of which is the spontaneous recognition and homage of men. Everywhere and at all times, on the bench, at the bar, in every assembly, whether large or small, in the most select company and in general society, his presence was impressive and com-

manding. No man, however great, could look down upon him. Very few could feel themselves to be his peers. Most men, even those of a high order of mind and character, instinctively acknowledged his superiority.

It is true that "he had his limitations," and equally true that he had his imperfections. Not to admit this would be to deny that he was human. But to whom would not the same criticism apply? and what man could be accounted great, however deserving of the distinction, if this must be accepted as a just bar to the title? But, whatever may have been Mr. Curtis's limitations or imperfections, he had none that were inconsistent with greatness. Limitation, indeed, so far from being incompatible with human greatness, is one of the conditions of it, and when self-imposed is an evidence of superior wisdom. There have been men of high natural endowments who have accomplished no valuable results, and failed of becoming great simply by disregarding this condition. Because a man by the concentration of his abilities becomes pre-eminent in one honorable calling, it does not follow that he has not the capacity to arrive at equal excellence in any other. It detracts nothing from Mr. Curtis's high fame to say that, although a great lawyer, he was not a statesman. He had qualities which, had he felt it his duty to enter political life, would have made such a statesman as would have added dignity to the office and done honor to his country. Neither would his character as a judge lose any thing of its greatness, even if it were true that "he has made no contributions to judicial science of the importance of those made by his predecessor, Judge Story," inasmuch as it was not within the scope of his purpose to undertake that special work, and perhaps because he felt it less necessary to do so for the reason that it had been already so thoroughly done. But, if he had felt called upon to devote himself to the task, there can be no doubt that with his comprehensive knowledge, his extensive practice in the higher departments of jurisprudence, his power to grasp the abstract principles of the law, and his skill to unfold and apply them, combined with his clearness of statement and closeness of reasoning, he might have performed it in such a manner as to secure for his writings a reputation not inferior to that which justly attaches to those of his eminent predecessor.

Mr. Curtis in his youth, exercising that maturity of judgment for which he was even then distinguished, selected one of the liberal professions particularly suited to his tastes and abilities, and immediately began to prepare for it, not only

by a special course of study, but by the diligent acquisition of classical, scientific, and general knowledge, both to enlarge and enrich his mind and to furnish abundant material for future use.

This was one of his limitations, that having, as he believed, under the guidance of the finger of Providence, marked out for himself a life-path of useful and honorable service, he afterwards pursued it with conscientious fidelity, unwavering zeal, and undeviating desire, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, intent only on the thorough and perfect performance of every duty to which it might lead. This was one of Mr. Curtis's limitations; and the result was, as has been generally acknowledged, supremacy in his profession.

When the learned jurist said "that he did not think he had produced upon the country or the world any leading or great impression," could he have forgotten the dissenting opinion in the *Dred Scott* case,—that noble vindication of the Constitution, by which for the first time a path was cleared for the blessed union of liberty and law? Or could the opening argument in the trial of the Impeachment of President Johnson have slipped from his memory,—that clear, calm, and exhaustive exposition of the principles of law bearing upon the case, which had such a powerful and propitious influence upon the action of the highest national tribunal in a moment of extreme perplexity and peril? But, happily, the opinion of an individual, however worthy of respect, has little weight against the almost unanimous verdict of wise and good men. And in the present instance such a verdict has been rendered. So far as the past and the present are concerned, Mr. Curtis, by these great arguments, has already produced a deep impression upon the country, and upon the minds of his contemporaries. And for the permanence of this impression, and for the judgment of the future, we have no fear. The name of him who is so intimately associated with these celebrated trials, and who, in connection with them, has done such good service to his Country and to Justice, will be honorably remembered, not only so long as the American Republic may last, but as the most important crises in its career shall have a record on the page of history.

"In both these cases" (I quote from a graceful tribute to the memory of Mr. Curtis, at a meeting of the Class of 1829, by a distinguished friend and classmate, who has since followed him, we trust, to a renewal of their fellowship in a higher world), "rendering such service to his country as was rendered by Lord Somers, in the trial of the Bishops, or by

James Otis, in the argument of the legality of the writs of assistance; in the first expressing the prepossessions of the Northern States, in the other encountering them, but in both judicial, passionless, and true to his intellectual convictions." *

Any sketch of Mr. Curtis would be imperfect which should fail to notice and give prominence to his religious character. The simple faith of his childhood, never parted with in youth, was retained in full strength and freshness to the end of life. Though it may not be generally understood, since Mr. Curtis shunned rather than courted public notice, this was his crowning quality, the last with which he would have parted, the strength and beauty of his character, and the secret of his success. He had a firm and consistent belief in the divinity of Christ, and therefore in the Fatherhood of God,—in Providence and in prayer. He was ready on all proper occasions to express his belief in divine Revelation, and to defend it against the objections of the sceptical. In commenting upon the proposed prayer test, he said that every thoughtful man might find a test in his own experience, and that it was enough for him that the Saviour was himself accustomed to pray, and assured us that prayer had its answer. He once remarked that communion between man and his Maker seemed to him as reasonable and real as that between one human being and another. In conversing with him on these subjects, I have been struck with the deep feeling and positiveness of conviction with which he spoke. I have heard him say that theology was one of his favorite studies outside of his profession, and that he had weighed and examined the evidences of Christianity with a lawyer's scrutiny, and found them to be sufficient and irrefutable. But his own belief did not rest upon them as much as upon the necessities of his own heart, the study of his own nature, the lessons of experience, and the impression made upon his mind by the Holy Scriptures, especially the New Testament. Many reminiscences of acts and sayings illustrative of this part of his character—the highest and best part of any character, and that which always asserts its supremacy in our regard, when the life of a friend is ended—are cherished among his confidential associates. They are attached to every period of his life. Some of them are reserved for the communion of private friendship; but to others the utmost delicacy of feeling would not deny the permanent record of which they are not unworthy. The following was related by

* Hon. George T. Davis.

a classmate at the annual dinner of the Class of '29, after Mr. Curtis's death.* "Among several incidents of a journey on horseback with Curtis to Niagara Falls, during one of our college vacations, I recall an interesting one illustrative of his religious character. One Sunday night, when we had lain by as our practice was, he asked me if I would hear him read a short prayer; and taking out a pocket prayer-book he read, in that singularly charming voice, which remained the same through life, some appropriate prayer. We had very punctiliously avoided saddle-bags, carrying instead the small, round military valise, which held little more than a single change of clothes; but he had remembered, and contrived to find room in his, for the little volume."

On one occasion while he was practising law at Northfield, Sheriff —, observing the Bible open before him, playfully remarked that that was a strange book for a lawyer to be seen reading in his office. Mr. Curtis replied, "Then I pity the lawyers; for those who are ignorant of the principles inculcated in that book cannot be thoroughly furnished for the duties of their profession."

In a letter to a clerical friend, who had congratulated him on his appointment to the Supreme Bench of the United States, he expresses with profound humility his sense of obligation to the Divine Power for any success which he had achieved, without invoking which he had never taken any important step, and would not presume to undertake the responsible office to which he had been appointed.

Some time after he had retired to private life, he remarked confidentially to an intimate friend that he had never taken his seat on the bench, or risen to charge a jury, until he had first offered a silent prayer for wisdom and guidance.

In 1871, Mr. Curtis's health, which for two or three years had been less vigorous than before, began perceptibly to fail; nevertheless, he continued to work hard, and engaged in many weighty and difficult cases. Early in the summer of 1874, he went to Newport, R. I., to seek the rest and refreshment which he so much needed; but it was too late for relaxation from labor and the reviving air to recruit his exhausted strength. He gradually became more ill, until in July he was seized with a complicated disorder, which after two months terminated in congestion of the brain, and caused his death, which took place on the 15th of September, 1874. His sickness was borne with patience and equanimity; and,

* George W. Phillips, Esq.

quietly confiding in the promises and mediation of the Redeemer, he departed in peace.

Mr. Curtis was thrice married. In 1833, May 8, to Eliza M. Woodward, of Hanover, N. H., his cousin, who died in 1844. In 1846, Jan. 5, to Anna Wroe, daughter of Charles P. Curtis, Esq., who died April, 1860. In 1861, Aug. 29, to Maria M., daughter of Jonathan Allen, Esq., of Pittsfield, Mass., who survives him.

Mr. Curtis's publications were as follows:—

“An Address to the Citizens of Deerfield,” delivered by request in 1832, on Washington's birthday.

“An Address to the People of Massachusetts,” on the Coalition of 1851, by which Mr. Sumner was elected to the United States Senate.

Twenty-two volumes of “Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States,” with notes and a digest, published while he was on the Bench.

“A Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, from the origin of the Court to the close of the December Term, 1854.”

“Reports of Cases in the Circuit Court of the United States.” Boston, 1854. Two volumes. 1857.

Pamphlet on “Executive Power,” in 1862.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1878.

A stated meeting was held February 14th, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President, Mr. Winthrop, in the chair.

The records of the preceding meeting were read and approved.

The Librarian read his usual list of donors.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance from W. F. Poole, Esq., of Chicago, and the Rev. E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D., of New Haven, as Corresponding Members.

He also read a letter from Professor Francis Bowen, of Cambridge, resigning his place as a Resident Member.

The President then spoke as follows:—

At our last monthly meeting, our accomplished associate, Mr. Everett, made special mention of the death of the King of Italy, and gave a brief but brilliant sketch of his character and career. The death of the Pope, which has been announced within a few days past, is a not less signal event than that of Victor Emmanuel; and the two together, following each other within a few weeks, make up a most impressive page in the world's history.

Of the ecclesiastical or political course of Pius IX. we are not called on to speak. But we must all feel that a great figure has passed from the stage of human existence. In his eighty-sixth year, after a pontificate of nearly a third of a century, he has died at last, venerable in age, venerable in official station, venerable in all the circumstances and surroundings of his life and death; and, most of all, venerable for that benevolence and kindness of heart which his countenance and presence so strikingly betokened, and which seemed proof against all disappointments and reverses.

As the Head of a Church which includes so many of our own fellow-countrymen, adopted and native, in common with such vast multitudes in all parts of Christendom, his death cannot fail to touch many tender chords on both Continents; and it may well find a respectful mention on our records this morning, when the Pontifical Requiem Mass is in course of being celebrated in the cathedral church of our city, at which the Governor of the Commonwealth and the Mayor of Boston are understood to be in attendance.

The President then read the following letter from Mr. Whitmore:—

MR. PRESIDENT,— I have sent for exhibition at this meeting an old portrait by Copley, which, I presume, is that of Peter Pelham, our first resident artist. This picture was bought some months ago from the representatives of a lady formerly resident in Cambridge. She remembers that it was purchased some twenty years ago at a sale of the effects of Captain Pelham, of Newton, by her cousin, a well-known citizen of Cambridge. The latter bequeathed it to her.

The picture seems, therefore, to be well authenticated as coming from Captain Pelham, who was the last bearer of the name among the descendants of Charles Pelham, of Newton. I cannot learn that he was known to own this picture; but his foster-brother, with whom he lived when ashore, states that he had on several occasions made sales of his personal effects on breaking up housekeeping.

Tradition said that this portrait was painted by Copley; and, during the process of cleaning, the signature of "John S. Copley, 1753," was discovered at the right of the picture. The last figure is 3 or 8, and I feel confident it is 3.

As will be seen by the engraving also sent herewith, Copley was in 1753 so far advanced in art as to paint and engrave a portrait. This picture represents an engraver, and at that date there were not over two other engravers in Boston. Moreover, there was no engraver whose portrait would interest the Pelhams, except one of their own family.

Peter Pelham, Copley's step-father and instructor, died in December, 1751. Hence this portrait must have been done from memory or copied from another. As the face is better executed than other parts, and as it represents a man younger than Pelham was at his death,— when he must have been nearly fifty years old,— I incline to the belief that Copley designed the figure and accessories, and copied the face from another portrait.

Peter Pelham's son, Peter, went South about this time; and tradition in that branch says that the father's portrait went with him. If so, Copley's mother, the widow Pelham, may well have desired a copy for preservation here.

For all these reasons, I submit that we have fair grounds for believing this to be a portrait of Peter Pelham, Senior. Certainly, the picture is undoubtedly one of Copley's earliest works, and it clearly represents a Boston engraver.

I send also two photographs: one of the picture as received, the other after cleaning and before retouching. The restorer, Mr. Fletcher, has repaired the ravages of time without impairing the honesty of the portrait.

I will add that an early portrait of Charles Pelham, Copley's step-brother, is preserved by his descendants. That of Henry Pelham, Copley's half-brother, is the well-known "Boy with the Squirrel."

I remain, yours most truly,

W. H. WHITMORE.

Mr. A. T. PERKINS said he wished the members to know that he was engaged in collecting information respecting our early painters, — Blackburn, Smibert, Copley, and others ; and he should be glad to receive any information respecting either one of them.

Mr. CHASE called attention to an interesting painting, of large size, of that part of State Street looking up toward the old State House, and embracing the buildings on each side of the street from the site of the present Merchants' Exchange to Court Street, including the First Church, on the spot where Joy's Building now stands. The names of many of the occupants of the buildings can be read, among others that of the "Union Bank," whose building stands on the same spot as that occupied by the bank to-day. The picture was painted by J. B. Marston about the year 1801, and belonged to Mr. H. H. Stimpson, of Cambridge, by whose courtesy it was allowed to be exhibited at the meeting.

The President read the following from a recent number of the "Notes and Queries," relative to the labors of a Corresponding Member, Colonel Joseph Lemuel Chester: —

"Colonel Chester, who has done such good service for this country, by his work on Westminster Abbey registers, has been for fifteen years engaged in collecting materials for a complete history of the Washington family. The Colonel was led to this from the fact that he had demolished the accepted pedigree of Washington, and left the illustrious President without an ancestor. This result Colonel Chester published in the late Mr. J. G. Nichols's 'Herald and Genealogist,' vol. iv. pp. 49-63, and the paper was reprinted several times, both here and in the United States. Since that time the Colonel has been collecting evidences and materials for a *Stemmata Washingtoniana*. But it will be some time before he will be in a position to produce the volume."

Mr. DEANE, from the committee to whom was referred the papers for supplying the deficiencies in "Hubbard's History," made a report respecting them, and read the following prefatory note intended to be inserted in the volume, with some thirty pages of newly printed leaves: —

Prefatory Note to the recently recovered pages of Hubbard's History.

The recent recovery of the portions wanting in the Society's edition of Hubbard's History of New England, now happily supplied, calls for a few words of explanation and acknowledgment.

The manuscript from which the Society's edition was printed, in 1815, was defective both at the beginning and at the end. Precisely how much was wanting could not be known. Its general condition at

that time is described in the "Prefatory Notice" of the editors of that volume, dated at "Cambridge, Mass., 1815," and need not be repeated here.* It may be added that, when the late William Thaddeus Harris, Esq., prepared the new edition, in 1848, which he collated with the manuscript, all the fragmentary leaves before page 9, which the former editors had had the benefit of, were gone; and that is its present condition.† The last leaves, however, concluding with pages 337 and 338, were and still are extant; and, though the writing is in many places much obscured and quite illegible, and the concluding part wholly obliterated, it is believed that no leaves are wanting. Prince, the annalist, who had the manuscript in 1738, describes it as containing 338 pages, its present number. Besides, the transcript from the complete copy, now supplied to us, ends here with the word "Finis."

Of the text, less is shown to have been wanting in the beginning of the Society's printed volume than had been supposed. Only about one-half of a page was gone, but the imperfections throughout chapters one and two were serious, and in the latter was a large chasm of two pages of the volume. Many of the conjectural readings of the editors are found to have been erroneous, though the sense is often preserved. Mr. Harris, the editor of the second edition, by consulting the early narratives used by Hubbard, was sometimes fortunate in supplying blank passages; and in the last chapter in the volume, where the author speaks of the Dutch Plantation, and professedly quotes "the words of D.D., some time an inhabitant there," from "A Brief Relation of New York," published in the year 1670, being the well-known work of Daniel Denton, Mr. Harris was able from this book to supply

* An attempt was made in the previous year to supply this deficiency, but without success. See the correspondence relating to this subject in 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. III. 288-290.

The Society issued a prospectus for publishing the History, on a sheet for soliciting subscriptions, dated Cambridge, 1st August, 1814. This paper is substantially the preface to the first edition, only the hope is expressed in it of obtaining an entire copy of the defective portion when the desirable event of a free renewal of intercourse between Great Britain and this country shall have taken place. In the preface itself, dated in the following year, the editors conclude by saying that application had been made for this purpose, but without success. It was expected that the work would comprise about 500 pp. 8vo, and was to be delivered in boards to subscribers at the rate of fifty cents for every hundred pages. Only 200 copies were to be printed above the number wanted by the Commonwealth and the Society. The Legislature had agreed to take 600 copies "at two dollars for each volume." And it was provided that the Secretary of the Commonwealth should send one copy of said work to the Clerk of each town in the State, for the use of the inhabitants thereof, and that the residue should remain at the disposal of the Legislature. It was printed in one volume of 676 pp. of text, and 14 pp. of prefatory matter.

The work was also issued as volumes V. and VI. of the Collections, Second Series, continuously paged, being in fact the same sheets as those of the volume independently published.

It has been stated above that the Society published in 1848 a new edition, edited by the late William Thaddeus Harris, Esq. This was also issued as a part of the Collections, as well as an independent volume.

† The manuscript now begins with the words "famous Prince Charles," on page 9, corresponding to page 18, line 9, of the newly printed leaves.

the greater part of the passages wanting in the first edition of the History.

We are now furnished with a transcript of the first part of the manuscript, including the title-page and Preface, as far as page 12 of the printed volume, and covering the chasm on that page in the late edition. Also a passage covering the deficiency indicated by the italics on page 13; and a copy entire of the last chapter in the book.

We have reprinted chapters one and two, that is to say, to page 14 inclusive of the printed volume; also the last four leaves of the volume, being pages 669-676. These concluding pages, with the exception of the very last leaf, were, with the words editorially supplied by Mr. Harris, substantially correct; but their appearance was so disfigured by brackets and other marks of reference, necessarily inserted by the diligent and accomplished editor, that it was thought best to reprint them entire. The notes of Mr. Harris, retained on the reprinted leaves, bear his usual initial, "H." Some of his references attached to the earlier notes, at the end of the volume, do not indicate the correct pages of the restored text. On page 677, "page 8" should now read page 5; "page 9" should be page 6; "page 10" should be page 9. On page 678, "page 13, note a," should be pages 12 and 13.

The Table of Contents of the late edition, indicating that the first part of the volume was "imperfect," we have allowed to stand. Each page of the newly printed sheets bears the date, at foot, of 1878, in brackets.

A valuable part of the History which was wanting, and is now supplied, is the Preface, by far too interesting to be lost. A brief manuscript found among the Belknap Papers, reported upon to the Society in March, 1858, entitled "Preface to Hubbard's History," was printed in the Proceedings under that date; but, on comparing it with the transcript now received, it is found to consist of but a few extracts from the genuine Preface, which comprises more than eight pages of printed matter.

We are indebted to our associate, Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver, of Boston, for the opportunity of perfecting the Society's edition of Hubbard's History of New England. At a meeting of the Society on the 10th of January, 1878, Dr. Oliver communicated the materials for this purpose, stating that he had received them from Peter O. Hutchinson, Esq., of Sidmouth, Devonshire, England, a great-grandson of Governor Hutchinson and of Lieutenant Governor Andrew Oliver, who is the owner of a perfect transcript of the work, made from the manuscript in the Society's possession by Judge Peter Oliver, of Massachusetts, probably while it was in Governor Hutchinson's keeping, and in a perfect condition; its subsequent mutilation having been caused, it is believed, by the wanton attack upon the Governor's house in 1765, when his papers and other valuable property were thrown into the street. The present owner inherited the copy from Judge Oliver, the brother of Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver.

Besides this ancient manuscript of Hubbard's History in the Society's possession, — which, we may add, is not in Hubbard's hand, but is a

transcript by more than one hand,* occasionally corrected by him,—the Society has an old parchment-covered volume of what appears to be the rough draft of the History, or a considerable portion of it, in the author's own hand; beginning with "The first planting of the Massachusetts, 1623."

On page 91 of the original edition of the History, third line from the bottom, the editors inserted in brackets the word "profession." The later editor discarded that, and inserted "*præ se ferens*," which the present appearance of the manuscript would seem literally to warrant. In Judge Oliver's copy, the word inserted is "profference," probably thought to be the word intended, and which may have been the word Hubbard originally wrote.

On page 383, line 9, the blank should be filled by the words "of minds."

It may not be amiss to correct here an error on page 231, in the 13th and 14th lines. In the first edition, the date "Feb. 3, 1634," is given, and that is the true reading of the MS. In the second edition, the editor alters the year to "1624," saying that the former date is occasioned by a slip of the pen. This is an error. The date first inserted was probably a marginal note, on a paper used by the author, erroneously introduced into the text, and is the true date of the meeting of the Council for New England, at which the agreement relating to the surrender of the grand charter was drawn up. Harris's note on page 705, reciting that under this conjectural date, in the presence of King James, the division of the territory took place, must be set aside. The true date of this early division, only recently ascertained by the fortunate recovery of a missing portion of the Records of the Council for New England, is Sunday the 29th of June, 1623.†

Again, on pages 48 and 49, Hubbard gives the "conditions" or agreements entered into between the Pilgrims and the Merchant Adventurers, copied evidently from Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation; but in article five some words have been omitted, and the paragraph is incomplete. The whole of that article is here supplied from page 46 of Bradford:—"5. That at the end of the seven years, the capital and profits, viz., the houses, lands, goods, and chattels, be equally divided betwixt the adventurers and planters; which done, every man shall be free from other of them of any debt or debtriment concerning this adventure."

The President read the following Paper relating to the famous controversy respecting the Hutchinson Letters, sent over to Boston by Franklin in 1772:—

* From pages 9-62, the manuscript is in two hands; thence to the end, at page 383, it is in one, and yet a different, and, it may be added, a very beautiful hand. Hubbard's original manuscript, from which the Society's copy was made, is not extant.

† See Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society for April, 1867, p. 115; also, for October, 1875, p. 61.

Another Serial Number of our Proceedings is on our table this morning. It forms the conclusion of a new volume, which, thanks to the unwearied devotion of our Secretary, will soon be forthcoming. There is nothing more interesting in this number, — nor, indeed, in any of the Serials or Volumes which have preceded it, I think, — than the "Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts," containing the record of his conversation with George III., in July, 1774, immediately on the arrival of Hutchinson in England, after he was superseded in the Government of Massachusetts by General Gage.

We are indebted for this valuable paper to our Honorary Member, the historian BANCROFT; and the paper is verified by the signature of Edward Everett, under whose direction — while he was our Minister at London — the copy was made by his Secretary of Legation, Mr. Francis R. Rives, in 1843.

The dialogue between the King and Hutchinson is most characteristic of them both, and gives a very agreeable impression of the personal amiability of His Majesty, as well as of the discretion and good temper of Hutchinson. The Governor's house in Boston had been torn down in 1765, and many of his precious historical papers destroyed, or trampled in the mud, by as ruthless a mob as that which destroyed Lord Mansfield's library in London, in 1780. And now his letters to Whately had been seized unceremoniously, to say the least, and sent over to the patriots here in Boston, to convict him, justly or unjustly, of being the prime mover and instigator of all the oppressive measures against which they were about to take up arms. Yet no word of bitterness seems to have escaped him in this conversation with the King, and he tells the story as dispassionately as if he were a mere witness. This dialogue, certainly, adds to the impression of general fairness and moderation which characterizes the third volume of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, dealing with the same period; and leaves us little disposition, in this connection, to say any thing harsh about the author. Even in regard to the Letters, he accuses no one; but, when the King puts the question, "Could you ever find, Mr. Hutchinson, how those letters came to New England?" he simply replies, "Doctor Franklin, may it please your Majesty, has made a public declaration that he sent them, and the Speaker (Mr. Cushing) has acknowledged to me that he received them." In further response to the King's inquiry, Hutchinson gives the names of the six persons to whom

alone these letters (as he says) were to have been confidentially shown. They were "Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. Pitts, Doctor Winthrop, Doctor Chauncy, Doctor Cooper, and the Speaker himself."

Franklin's injunctions, however, allowed them also to be seen "by the other gentlemen of the Committee of Correspondence," of whom the Speaker was one, and John Adams, James Otis, and Samuel Adams, I believe, among the others.

The affair, as we all know, took a direction and assumed proportions entirely beyond the contemplation or intention of any of those concerned in it. It is plain from the whole history of the proceeding, that the original exhibition of the letters to Franklin and others in London was only to convince them, by ocular proof, that Hutchinson was the instigator of the oppressive measures of the Ministry. Franklin thought it important that the patriots in Boston should have similar proof, and at first was disposed to send copies only. When he was allowed by the person from whom he received them to send the originals, it was with strict injunctions of confidence, and with the understanding that the letters should "not be printed; that no copies should be taken of them; that they should be shown only to a few of the leading people of the Government; and that they should be carefully returned." They had been exhibited for influencing public men and public measures in London; and he thought it fair that they should be used in the same way on this side of the Atlantic. "They were not," he says, "of the nature of private letters between friends. They were written by public officers to persons in public stations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were therefore handed to other public persons, who might be influenced by them to produce those measures." *

The publication of the letters seems clearly not to have been in the original contemplation of Franklin or any one else, and was, perhaps, not in conformity with the intentions of the gentlemen to whose examination they were at first restricted. But the news of their having been transmitted soon leaked out; and, as the Speaker told Hutchinson, and Hutchinson told the King, "the people abroad compelled their publication, or would not be satisfied without it."

As we review the whole story of the transaction at this day, in cool blood, we can hardly understand how it occurred; and there are those on the other side of the ocean, if not on

* Sparks's Franklin, vol. iv. p. 435.

our own side, who fail to perceive how it could have been justified, as it was, by so many of our calmest, wisest, and most conscientious patriots. For, certainly, the men who were intrusted with the letters were second to none in Massachusetts for integrity and principle. Chauncey and Cooper, as we all know, were Doctors of Divinity, who would hardly have been invited to take part in an unworthy act. Doctor Winthrop—very remotely connected with myself, and of whom I may therefore speak without delicacy—was the foremost man of science at Harvard University, a member, too, of the Royal Society, and a gentleman of the highest character. And Bowdoin, who stands first on the list, would have been singled out among all the patriots of that period as a man of the greatest moderation, of inflexible principle, and of the nicest sense of honor. Yet Bowdoin, in a letter to Franklin of Sept. 6, 1774, calls the sending of the letters "that most meritorious act;" and I am not aware of any other view of the affair having been expressed, at the time it occurred, by him, or by any other of our Revolutionary Fathers.

Franklin himself did not condescend to notice the insolence of Wedderburn before the Privy Council, but he told Dr. Priestley, who breakfasted with him the next morning, that "he had never before been so sensible of the power of a good conscience; for that if he had not considered the thing for which he had been so much insulted, as one of the best actions of his life, and what he should certainly do again in the same circumstances, he could not have supported it."*

John Adams has stated that "he was one of the first persons to whom Mr. Cushing communicated the great bundle of letters," and that he was "permitted to carry them with him upon a circuit of our Judicial Court, and to communicate them to the chosen few." "They excited," he adds, "no surprise, excepting at the miracle of their acquisition."

It must be kept in mind, however, that it was a period of great commotion, when the Stamp Act and the Revenue Acts, and the bringing over of British troops, followed by the "Boston Massacre," and other similar events, had already roused the Colonies, and our own Colony especially, to a pitch of indignation and resentment closely bordering on resistance and rebellion; and when, too, all the ordinary safeguards as to correspondence between England and America were disregarded or defied on both sides. Not a few of the letters

* Sparks, iv. 452.

between the Colonies and the mother country crossed the ocean at that time without signatures, lest they should be seized *in transitu*, and their writers betrayed. I hold one such in my hand at this moment, addressed to Bowdoin anonymously, and dealing with some of the considerations arising out of this very transaction. I forbear from reading it, as it was communicated by me, and printed in our Proceedings, in December, 1864.

Franklin, in vindicating himself for this proceeding, says, among other things: "The writers, too, had taken the same liberty with the letters of others, transmitting hither those of Rosne (Rome?) and Auchmuty in confirmation of their own calumnies against the Americans; copies of some of mine, too, had been returned here by officers of Government. Why, then, should theirs be exempt from the same treatment?" In another place, he adds: "I am told that Administration is possessed of most of my letters sent or received on public affairs for some years past; copies of them having been obtained from the files of the several assemblies, or *as they passed through the post-office*." Mr. Vaughan, then in London, in a letter quoted by Sparks, says that Hutchinson himself, "before the arrival of Dr. Franklin's packet in Boston, sent over one of Dr. Franklin's own 'private' letters to England; expressing some little coyness, indeed, upon the occasion, but desiring secrecy, lest he should be prevented from procuring *more* useful intelligence from the same source." All such acts may be classed among what Mr. Burke so well called "irregular things done in the confusion of mighty troubles;" not to be drawn into precedents or justified upon principles, but to find such apology as they may, in the excitements and exigencies which provoked them.

As to these Hutchinson Letters, "the miracle of their acquisition," as John Adams called it, has been a subject of speculation from that day to this; and is one of the questions—like the "authorship of Junius," or the "Man in the Iron Mask," or the Dauphin of France, or the destroyers of the Tea in our own harbor—which is found "still beginning, never ending," and which remains as full of mystery and perplexity as at the first. As long ago as 1850, I had some correspondence with Mr. Bancroft on the subject, and found that his historical researches had resulted in a clearer conviction of the course of this affair than I had obtained from any other source. More recently, within the last year or two only, my attention was again called to the subject; and at my request Mr. Bancroft sent me a minute of

the views which he had long entertained in regard to it. I have thought it due both to Mr. Bancroft and to History that this minute should go upon our records; and the "Dialogue between the King and Hutchinson," just printed in our Proceedings, seems to afford the appropriate occasion for presenting it. It is as follows:—

Whence came the Papers sent by Franklin to Cushing in his Letter of Dec. 2, 1772?

The Commission of Revenue for America was instituted by George Grenville. John Temple, who was connected with the family of Lord Temple and Grenville, returned to Boston under their auspices as Surveyor-General of the Customs in America. He was a politician, devoted to the Grenvilles; praised George Grenville in the Boston newspapers, pointed out his claims to be considered a liberal statesman, and was at variance with his colleagues and with Bernard and Hutchinson. Of the latter he understood the character perfectly well, and never hesitated to express the ill opinion he had formed of him. Hutchinson sought the support of all parties in England; wrote papers to Richard Jackson to be submitted to General Conway, and they were submitted to General Conway. Hutchinson wished to counteract with George Grenville the influence of Temple, and for that purpose used Thomas Whately. This Whately, with whom he had formed some close connection, was Grenville's secretary of the treasury; and, after Grenville went out of office, remained his correspondent, partisan, political agent, and purveyor of news and gossip. His brother William Whately was a banker in London. The letters written by Hutchinson to Thomas Whately were written for the purpose of being used as means of ingratiating himself with Grenville, and were so used. In a letter to Grenville of Dec. 3, 1769, Whately reports information received from Hutchinson, whom he describes as "*the same gentleman one of whose letters I lately sent you.*"—Grenville Papers, vol. iv. p. 486. The next preceding letters of Hutchinson to T. Whately were of 28 August and 20 October, of which the latter is among those forwarded to Boston.

In Almon's "Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes of Several of the Most Eminent Persons of the Present Age, never before printed,"—a book very full and accurate in every thing relating to Lord Temple,—it is narrated (vol. ii. p. 105) that Mr. Whately communicated the letters of Hutchinson, which were afterwards sent to America, "to Mr. Grenville, who showed them to Lord Temple, and they were seen by other gentlemen." I believe implicitly this statement in Almon.

John Temple went again to England in the last half of 1769, when Franklin was already there as agent of several States, among them of Massachusetts. George Grenville died Nov. 13, 1770. Secretary Whately died in June, 1772.

After the death of Grenville and Whately, these letters, in the autumn of 1772, came into the possession of a gentleman whom Hutchinson (vol. iii. p. 416, note) describes as a member of parliament, and by him they were shown to Franklin. In October, 1772 (see William Whately's statement, Dec. 9, 1773, in Almon, vol. iii.), Temple examined some files of the papers of Thomas Whately which had passed into the hands of William Whately, his executor; but it is asserted, and not denied by any one, that the papers which were sent to America had at no time been in the custody of that executor. This William Whately finally owned to be true.

The member of parliament who had shown the letters to Franklin having obtained the consent of their unnamed proprietor or custodian, Franklin, on the 2d of December, transmitted them to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, to be used for public purposes under certain limitations. In the summer of 1773, they were printed in Boston; and the people of the province found in them proofs of a conspiracy against their rights and liberties, and petitioned for the removal of Hutchinson. People in England inquired how Franklin could have come into possession of the papers.

A person signing himself "A Member of Parliament," on Nov. 25, 1773, published in the "Public Advertiser" that, "if it would answer any public purpose, the gentleman who really procured those letters would not hesitate to declare himself." I have no doubt that the person signing himself "A Member of Parliament" was really a member of parliament, and that the offer was a sincere one. We know from Governor Hutchinson's History, vol. iii. p. 418, that the ministry was in possession of information received from a person intrusted with the secret; and "Governor Hutchinson himself, upon information given him, thought it prudent to discourage any further inquiry which would increase the number or malevolence of his avowed enemies." The suppression of the whole truth was thus the choice of Lord North's ministry, to which the Grenvillians soon afterwards attached themselves, and of Hutchinson himself. Of the duel which took place between John Temple and Whately, on the afternoon of Dec. 11, 1773, John Temple sent a full report to Lord Temple, and Lord Temple showed so much connection with him as to make a reply, though a very short one. — Grenville Papers, vol. iv. p. 396, note. On Jan. 30, 1774, Franklin was turned out of office, and John Temple was in like manner dismissed from all his employments, which had produced him a thousand pounds a year. On the change of ministry, which brought into power the younger Pitt, whose mother was the sister of Lord Temple and George Grenville, John Temple was selected to be the British consul-general in the United States, and he held the place for many years. The year after he was made Consul-General, he inherited an old Baronetcy.

From all this I think it appears beyond a doubt that the Hutchinson letters referred to were written to produce an effect on George Grenville; that they were sent by Thomas Whately to George Grenville; that they were shown by George Grenville to Lord Temple, and that

at Grenville's death they remained among his papers. The custody of the letters under any hypothesis belonged to the executor of Grenville, or to the executor of T. Whately. It came to be agreed by all that the letters were never in the hands of the executor of T. Whately. There remains then no other place in which to search for them except the papers left by Grenville. John Temple, as I believe from his own repeated assertions, ferreted out the matter, and formed the plan of sending them to be read in Boston. But the communication of the papers was made to Franklin by a member of parliament. For this the consent of the executor or executors of George Grenville must have been gained. Perhaps Lord Temple was Grenville's executor: I know not; but whoever was charged with the custody of the papers would hardly have suffered them to be used without Lord Temple's consent.

I submit this Paper "without recourse," as the bankers' phrase is. I have always hoped that among the Bowdoin or Temple Papers, which have come to me by inheritance, I might find a clew to the solution of the mystery. But the secret seems to have been scrupulously kept. There is abundant evidence of Mr. Temple's intimate relations with the English Temples, to whom Mr. Bancroft has referred. In one of his letters to his father-in-law, Governor Bowdoin, dated Dec. 4, 1771, which announces his appointment to the office of Surveyor-General of the Customs in England, he says: "My Lord Temple has acted the part of a real father to me, my Lord Chatham that of an able, kind adviser; and, should either of them ever have ministerial power again, I doubt not I should experience the influence of it."

The Lord Temple to whom this letter, as well as Mr. Bancroft's memorandum, refers, died in 1779; but his successor in the Earldom, who was the son of George Grenville, and afterwards became the Marquis of Buckingham, kept up the same relations with Mr. Temple; and I have heretofore communicated to our volume of Proceedings for 1866-1867 several letters of his which substantiate Mr. Bancroft's views in this respect.

Indeed, Mr. Bancroft's statement is substantially in accord with the result of all my own investigations and inferences. I fully believe that Mr. Temple's knowledge of the letters and their whereabouts was owing to his connections with the English Temples, and that the insinuation which Whately seemed to sanction by his silence, and which gave occasion to the duel, was wholly unfounded; that he communicated the contents of the letters and their whereabouts to Franklin, and may have been enabled to show them to him for his

information as the agent of Massachusetts; but that Franklin took, as he avowed, the whole responsibility of obtaining possession of them through some member of Parliament, and of transmitting them to Speaker Cushing, under the restrictions which were violated. This has always seemed to me the substantial explanation of any seeming inconsistencies or contradictions in the language of those who knew the secret, and who were resolved not to betray it.

The letters of Hutchinson were sent over by Dr. Franklin at the beginning of December, 1772; but it was not until Jan. 29, 1774, that the famous arraignment of Franklin took place before the Privy Council. Many things had happened in the mean time. The tidings of the destruction of the Tea, in Boston Harbor, had reached the Ministry a few days before; and perhaps may have inflamed Mr. Wedderburn to indulge in a strain of denunciation which his friends tried in vain to suppress. Thereupon, as we know, both Dr. Franklin and Mr. Temple were removed from their respective offices in England; and Governor Hutchinson, who was soon afterwards in London, and who must have known all about it, says, in the third volume of his *History of Massachusetts* (p. 418), as follows:—

“The removal of Dr. Franklin from office seems to have been occasioned by his public acknowledgment that he laid hands on them [the letters], and sent them to his constituents; and that of Mr. Temple, by information given to the ministry, by a person intrusted with the secret, that he was privy to the plan of procuring and sending them over.” That was plainly the understanding of the Ministry, and the cause of the removal, whether it were precisely true or not.

But I leave the subject without further comment, my only purpose being to communicate Mr. Bancroft's Paper as an interesting item for our records, in connection with the remarkable “Dialogue of George III. and Governor Hutchinson.”

Before concluding these remarks, however, I turn for a moment to another passage of our history, in which Franklin is again the principal figure. We were reminded last week, by an excellent leader in the “*Boston Daily Advertiser*,” that the 6th of February, 1878, — Wednesday of last week, — was the One Hundredth Anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Alliance between France and the United States. Accordingly, at the request of the Mayor, flags were seen flying on all our public buildings.

It was, certainly, a most important and memorable event,

and one which had no small influence in securing the Independence for which the Colonies were then struggling. France has taken the year of its occurrence for another great Exposition of her Arts and Industry in Paris. I wish the year could be signalized on our side by a worthy statue of Lafayette in one of our public squares, and by the completion of the American subscription for the foundation and pedestal of that colossal figure of "Liberty enlightening the World," which Frenchmen are preparing to send over as a beacon-light for the Harbor of New York.

Meantime, as I have said, we cannot forget that Franklin was as conspicuous in the negotiation of the French Treaty as he was in the matter of the Hutchinson Letters. And in our own Cabinet we have a suit of Franklin's clothes, which *may have* witnessed both these scenes in his life. I say "*which may have*," not which certainly did; for I know that my friend, Mr. Deane, after careful investigation, has come to the conclusion that these are not the clothes which were worn by Franklin on those two memorable occasions; and, I may add, that Mr. Baneroft agrees with him.

There is abundance of testimony, I think, that Franklin made a point of putting on the same coat when he signed the French Treaty, which he had worn in the Cockpit when he was assailed so insolently by Wedderburn before the Privy Council. That coat was called "Manchester velvet," and the one which we have seems more like some variety of silk. Yet I have thought that there is a look of uncut velvet about it; and we know not precisely what may have been the distinction at that day between "Manchester velvet" and French velvet. And it is certain that, when Franklin gave the suit to Elkanah Watson, he called it the suit "which he wore in 1778," and it is so labelled by Elkanah Watson himself. It would seem strange that there should have been so distinct a reference to 1778, so many years afterwards, if it were not intended to imply that it was the suit in which he signed the Treaty. But I may well enter a *nolo contendere* with such authorities against me, and on a matter of so little practical importance.

Mr. GEORGE DEXTER communicated the argument of Tutor Sever before the Council of Massachusetts, in the year 1723, advocating the right of the instructors in Harvard College to a place in the Corporation, with the following introduction:—

Twice in the history of Harvard College, with an interval of a century between the two attempts, the instructors resi-

dent in Cambridge have claimed the right to membership in the Corporation of the College. The literature of the second attempt to secure this right, in 1825, is well preserved and easily accessible. The memorial of the Instructors, the arguments of Professors Everett and Norton in its support, Mr. Lowell's replies, indeed all the papers in the case, were printed at the time, and are to be consulted in most of the libraries of this neighborhood. The literature of the earlier attempt, in 1721-23, has not been so well saved. President Quincy gives a minute account of the controversy in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of his *History of the University*. The arguments on the side of the Corporation are generally spread upon their records; but the reasons for the claim of the tutors we have hitherto been forced to seek in conjectures based on the Corporation's answers to the claim, and in occasional votes of the Overseers. The claimants' memorials, and their arguments in their support, Mr. Quincy expressly says have not been preserved.

The main facts of the story are briefly these: On the 23d of June, 1721, two tutors, Nicholas Sever and William Welsteed sent a memorial to the Overseers, claiming that, as the resident instructors of the College, they were entitled to seats in the Corporation. They based the claim upon an interpretation of the College charter of 1650. Their petition was referred to a committee, who reported, but not until the 9th of March of the next year, that the claim was a just one. Meanwhile, the death of the Rev. Joseph Stevens created a vacancy in the Corporation, which that body filled by the election of the Rev. Joseph Sewall, 23d of January, 1722. The Overseers postponed the consideration of that choice, and no mention of it appears upon their records. At a subsequent meeting, when the committee on the tutors' memorial had reported, the Overseers voted that the vacancy in the Corporation ought to be filled by the election of a resident fellow. The Corporation at their next meeting, after some saving resolves in reference to the election of Mr. Sewall, made choice of Thomas Robie, a tutor who had not joined in the memorial. This selection was not agreeable to the Overseers, who declined to confirm it, on the ground that the memorial of Sever and Welsteed was still "depending." The controversy became very bitter. The term of Sever's tutorship, as determined by the Corporation at his election (three years), expired in April, 1722; and they declined to re-elect him, and placed his classes under the care of another tutor. An appeal was made to the Overseers; and they, at a meet-

ing on the 13th of June, declared that Mr. Sever was still a Fellow of the House, notwithstanding the action of the Corporation. At their next meeting, that body, "to prevent further debates and contentions (which we look on as threatening to the welfare of the College)," consented to allow Mr. Sever to again act as tutor.

As a remedy for the difficulty, the Overseers presented a memorial to the General Court for an enlargement of the Corporation by the admission of the resident tutors. A committee, to whom the memorial was referred, reported that it was unnecessary to enlarge the Corporation, and that it was the intent of the College charter that the resident tutors should be members of it. This report was adopted by the General Court; but Governor Shute gave it only a conditional approval, insisting that the actual members of the Corporation (Messrs. Wadsworth, Colman, and Appleton), although non-resident, should not be removed. The House of Representatives urged the Governor to pass upon their vote absolutely and without condition; but he refused, and the matter rested here.

The controversy was not ended, however; and the two governing bodies of the College, the Corporation and the Overseers, continued to disagree. The details of the quarrel may all be found stated at length in President Quincy's History, and need not be repeated here.

In August, 1723, the House of Representatives again adopted their vote of the preceding year, and sent it to the Council for concurrence. That body, under the presidency of the Lieutenant-Governor (Dummer), for Governor Shute had sailed for England the previous January, granted the Corporation a hearing in the matter. This hearing took place on the 23d of August. From a MS. book of President Leverett's, partly a private diary, but mainly minutes of Corporation meetings, preserved with the Records of the College, I take this "*Mem.*" This 23d of August, 1723, the President and all the members of the Corporation in being waited upon the hearing before the Hon. Lt.-Gov. and Council, and Mr. Colman read in his place the representation of the Corporation, and laid it down upon the board. After which Mr. Sever read a long argument for the support of the petition he with Mr. Welstead had preferred to the Court, and laid it upon the board. The President and all the members of the Corporation except Mr. Flynt and Mr. Treasurer in their turns speak, and offered their answers and remarks upon the argument and records offered by Mr. Sever, and then the Corpora-

tion, submitting the whole to their honors' consideration, and the event of all to the holy sovereign pleasure of God. Agreed. That the representation to be entered in the College Book of Records, and it is accordingly entered." The Council voted not to concur in the resolves of the House, and the question was settled for a century. When it arose again, the result was the same. It was settled, this time probably for ever, against the claim of the resident instructors by an unanimous vote of the Overseers.

I have said that the literature of the earlier struggle is not well preserved. President Quincy prints in the Appendix to his first volume (No. LVII.) the representation of the Corporation referred to in President Leverett's memorandum. The "long argument" of Mr. Sever is the MS. exhibited here this morning. The hearing of the 23d of August, at which these papers were read to the Council, was the final one in the matter, and doubtless each side presented in full detail its view of the question. If the Society see fit to find a place in the Proceedings for Mr. Sever's argument, we shall have in print all that is important to be saved for the understanding of the tutors' claim.*

I shall perhaps be pardoned a few words in regard to the author of this MS. Nicholas Sever was the son of Caleb Seaver (as the name was first spelled), of Roxbury, where he was born on the 15th of April, 1680. He was graduated from Harvard College with the class of 1701. He prepared himself for the sacred ministry, and preached for some months of the year 1708 in Haverhill. For some unknown reason, he declined to settle there, although a very liberal offer was made him by the church. He was ordained over the church in Dover, N. H., as successor to the Rev. John Pike, on the 11th of April, 1711. He resigned in the spring of 1715, on account of an almost total loss of voice, or (as another account says) because an impediment in his speech made his pulpit ministrations painful to himself and unpleasant to his people. He was chosen tutor of the College 9th of April, 1716, for three years, and re-elected in 1719. On 13th of September, 1725, two years after the controversy about the composition of the Corporation, the election of Mr. Wadsworth to the Presidency having made a vacancy in that body, Mr. Sever was chosen to

* In the first volume (p. 78) of the Ewer MSS., preserved in the library of the N. E. Hist. Gen. Society, is a petition of Sever and Welsted to the General Court, dated 27th of June, 1723, and on the same sheet a memorandum of the vote of the House of Representatives of the 7th of August. This paper was doubtless prepared by Mr. Sever for use at the hearing before the Council.

fill it. As Mr. Quincy says, "A seat which they would not concede to a claim of right, they now voluntarily gave by election." He resigned in 1728, and removed to the town of Kingston, then lately set off from Plymouth, where he married a widow Little, and settled. He was a prominent man in his town and county, and was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1731 to 1762. He died on the 7th of April, 1764, at the age of eighty-four. His descendants have furnished several graduates to the College, among them the late Col. James Warren Sever, whose liberal bequest of \$140,000 to that institution is announced this year.*

It only remains for me to say that this MS. is the property of Mr. Charles W. Sever of the University Bookstore in Cambridge, the great-great-grandson of the writer, and that the Society are indebted to his kindness for the privilege of printing it.

May it please your Honor and the Honorable Board and the Reverend the rest of the Overseers of the College to favor me with a few words for the support of this memorial.

And I would observe that in the year 1650 the College was first founded upon a charter, which it subsisted upon for twenty-two years, till 1672; that in that year there was an additional grant of charter, and the College subsisted upon them both for twelve years longer, till 1684; and about that time the old country charter was vacated, and the College charter was supposed to fall of course with it.

Soon after that, the business of the College was committed to three persons, under the characters of Rector and Tutors *pro tempore*, and till a better settlement might be obtained, and there were some laws made for their direction in the business of the College which were suitable to that state of things.

Afterward there were several draughts of charters for the settlement of the College, but neither of them perfected. In the year 1692, one of them passed through the Legislature here, and was sent home for the royal sanction, but, after some time, returned disallowed of by the King. While it was in force, the Corporation made and published a body of Latin laws, and by these laws the immediate government of the College was committed to the President and Tutors, who were also Fellows upon the foundation. The settlement of the College was again attempted, but without effect.

And, without multiplying words, I proceed immediately to the settlement of 1707, which the College is now upon. And, by an act of the General Court, the College was then fixed upon the aforesaid old charter of 1650, and the President and Fellows were directed to observe the rules of the constitution by that charter, which act of settlement

* Mr. William B. Trask published in 1872 "The Sever Family," from which most of these facts are taken.

of 1707 I pray may be read. — So that now the College has no other foundation to depend upon but the charter of 1650, and we can now act upon no rules properly but those of that constitution, to be sure upon none that are in a direct opposition to it.

And I must now go on and say something of the nature of the constitution by that charter. And, in the first place, the Corporation therein nominated consists of seven persons, viz., a president, five fellows, and a treasurer, who were all resident at the College; and provision was made that, upon the death or removal of any of the said seven persons resident at the College, they that are left shall elect others and complete their number. I say nothing of the business of legislation in the College, or of the disposition of the revenues, because all agree that these matters belong to the Corporation, and the difficulty (if any there be) lies in the business of execution; and, to bring the matter to a point, the question is, who are by this charter to execute the laws and govern the College? And (with submission) there are a few lines in the charter which must be thought to determine that matter beyond all doubt, and they are these, viz.: "And for the better ordering of the government of the said College and Corporation, be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the President and three more of the Fellows shall and may from time to time, upon due warning or notice given by the President to the rest, hold a meeting for the debating and concluding of affairs touching the profits and revenues of any lands, and disposing of their goods; provided, that all the said disposing be according to the will of the donors, and for direction in all emergent occasions, *execution of all orders and by-laws.*" Now, I think (with great submission) no words can express a thing more plainly and fully than this matter is here expressed, nor can any terms be used that are stronger than these. It is expressly said that the President and Fellows, or Corporation, shall meet upon all emergent occasions and for the execution of all orders and by-laws. The note of universality is here expressed, which makes the sense very strong. And, if the execution of all orders and by-laws belongs to the Corporation, what can be the business of the Fellows of the House and Tutors?

There is, indeed, another clause of the charter which has been improved against us, and that is it which empowers the Corporation to choose other officers and servants; and it has been said that these Fellows of the House and Tutors, which are now made use of to govern the College, come in properly under this head of officers and among the servants. But by officers and servants, then, for the College, we must understand such as steward, butler, handicraftsmen, and menial servants, which the College has continual occasion to make use of. And it is impossible that under this head of officers and servants any should be brought in to execute the laws and govern the College until that other part of the charter which was but now mentioned be razed out of it, which says that the Corporation shall execute all orders and by-laws. These two parts of the charter are distinct, and stand at some distance. I will set them together, and see how they will stand by one another. The one, and that which is expressed, is this, that the Pres-

ident and Fellows or Corporation shall execute all orders and by-laws; the other is that which empowers the Corporation to choose other officers and servants, which they suppose (it is not expressed, but the gentlemen of the Corporation suppose) may be vested with powers to execute the orders and by-laws of the College. Now, if the art of man can reconcile these two propositions to any tolerable sense, — viz., first, that the Corporation shall execute all orders and by-laws; and, secondly, that other officers and servants may execute the orders and by-laws of the College, — we may then possibly be in an error. But to say that other officers and servants may be empowered to execute the orders and by-laws of the College, when the charter says expressly that this business shall be done by the Corporation and none else, is to attempt to reconcile a contradiction and make both the parts of it true.

Moreover, the business of the College is a great trust which the government has reposed in a corporation and their successors. Now, if they may empower other officers and servants to execute the laws of the College, by the same rule they may empower them also to make laws, and to dispose of the revenues and do all the business of the College; and by this means the design of the Government in committing so great a charge to a Corporation and their successors might be entirely defeated.

And thus the charter empowers the Corporation to govern the College without allowing them to substitute others in their room and stead, and without making any provision for anybody else to do that business. And no words can be found in the charter upon which an inferior judicature in the College to that of the President and Fellows, viz., consisting of President and Tutors, can be founded.

And on the 30th of April, 1655, a body of English laws* were made and published by the Honorable and Reverend Overseers and Corporation. On March the 19th, a month before (when those laws must be supposed to have been *in fieri*), there were present at a public meeting four resident Fellows, and it appears that some of the Fellows were Tutors by the form of their instalment (third paragraph); viz., "Omnes studentes qui tutelæ tuæ committuntur, aut in posterum committendi sunt, ut promoveas in omni tam Divina quam humana literatura pro suo cujusque captu, atque moribus honeste ac inculpate se gerunt, summa jure curabis." So that some of the Fellows upon their instalment had pupils committed to them, and others had not; some of them were Tutors and others were not, just as there was occasion. And at that time there were not thirty undergraduates in College, so that there could not be tuition business for all the Fellows, and there was no such character known in the College at that time as that of a Tutor distinct from the Fellows.

Now that body of laws made upon this charter were exactly conformed to the tenor of the charter, only with this difference, that to the end that the Corporation might not be obliged to have a meeting in

* A copy of these laws, in the Library of this Society, was printed, with an introduction by Dr. Green, in the Proceedings of the February meeting, 1876.—Eds.

form upon every trivial occasion, provision was made that the President, or a single Tutor, might manage a few small things separately, such as giving leave to a student to go out of town, to receive and lodge a stranger in the College, privately to admonish a person for a disorder that was not made public, &c. And the Tutors — who were usually two or three of the Senior Fellows — had a preference in the College to the other Fellows that were not Tutors, having a power in some such small things, as the President likewise had, to direct their pupils, which the other Fellows could not do. And the reason seems to be very good; viz., because a Fellow that was a Tutor must be supposed to have understood the temper and circumstances of his own pupils who were every day with him better than one of the other Fellows. And I remember very particularly there is one law which says that leave shall be obtained by a student for going out of town, being present at courts, elections, and such public solemnities, from the President or his Tutor, or, in their absence, from two of the other Fellows; so that the Tutors or Senior Fellows had a pre-eminence in the College to the other Fellows, being allowed some powers which they had not. And thus much for the management of a few small things in the College by the President, or a single Tutor or Senior Fellow separately. But, in matters of any weight and importance, it is the constant tenor of the laws that they shall be determined in Corporation, and that all decisions shall be made by a majority of President and Fellows.

And, besides all this, the form of instalment of Fellows which has always been made use of in the College, when any has (for there is no other), is exactly of a piece with the charter and laws, and obliges the Fellows to govern the College. It has, indeed, of late been very much disused, I believe for these reasons and no other: first, because it gives the Fellows such powers in the College as the residents are not allowed to have; and, secondly, because it disallows of the non-residence of Fellows, which is now so much in practice. By it the Fellows' powers are limited to the time of their residence in the College: "*dum hic commoraberis*," and "*dum hic egeris*," are the words of the form.

And, indeed, as the case now stands, this form cannot properly be applied either to residents or non-residents: not to non-residents, because the powers granted by it are limited to residence in the College; not to residents, because but a small part of that power which it gives the Fellows is allowed to them, and it is, therefore, wholly laid aside.

Now since the charter, laws, form of instalment of Fellows, all agree in this point, that the President and Fellows or Corporation shall govern the College, and for that end suppose their residence in it, it must needs be so, and cannot possibly be otherwise.

And nothing (with submission) can be more clear and evident than that this was the constitution of the college government by the charter and laws, and that it was a fundamental principle in the charter, if any thing was so, that the College should be governed nextly and immediately by the Corporation, and under the countenance and with the approbation of the Honorable and Reverend Overseers in all great

and difficult cases. So that what we aim at is not to break up and overthrow an ancient constitution, as has been suggested, but to recover a broken constitution, which the College has for some years been groaning and bleeding under, to its ancient, primitive, most perfect, and healthful state.

It has been objected that the Latin Laws* put the immediate government of the College into the hands of the President and Tutors, and argued that therefore the President and Tutors have by those laws a sufficiency of power in the business of the College.

And, at the first view, this seemed to me to have a greater weight against us than any thing that I had met with upon the head, and I therefore think myself obliged to be something particular in giving an answer.

And, in the first place, we will allow the argument all the force and advantage which it has on that side, and then we will endeavor to answer it.

And we do allow that by those laws several parts of the business of the College are put into the hands of the President or a Tutor; and, if it be desired, we will allow further that the whole immediate government of the College was committed to the President and Tutors, for so it was.

But then, for answer, Who were those Tutors, and what were their characters in the College? Were they only titular and upon no foundation, as we are? No, by no means. Mr. Leverett, the present President, and Mr. Brattle, were the men, and they were Fellows, too, upon the foundation; and their names are now to be seen as such in the charter of 1692, which the College was then upon; and nothing more can therefore be argued from thence but that the immediate government of the College was by those laws committed to the President and resident Fellows. And I suppose the only reason of so many non-resident Fellows as there were under that charter was that that charter had no reference to the Honorable and Reverend Overseers, as this has, or to any power of visitation abroad whatsoever, for which reason (by the way) I suppose the charter was disallowed of by the King.

Now, the Corporation having by that charter all the powers of the College (which was so great an interest) committed to them without having them accountable to anybody for any of their managements, it was thought reasonable and necessary that it should consist of a considerable number, and that there should be many non-resident Fellows and persons of very conspicuous character in the country, that might be a sufficient guard upon the College abroad, and prevent any maladministration in the business of it, as well as a sufficient number of resident Fellows to carry on the business of the College within.

And now I think the College is at present very happy, in that it has so

* These "Latin Laws" are probably those printed by Cotton Mather in the "Magnalia" (Book IV. pp. 132-134), and thence transferred by Mr. Peirce to the Appendix of his "History of Harvard University." — Eds.

sufficient a guard and so strong a power of visitation abroad as this, consisting of your Honor and the Honorable Board and the Reverend the rest of the Overseers of the College; and I believe no man can question the strength and sufficiency of this great and learned body for a guard upon the College abroad; and, if that charter had had the same reference to this your learned and honorable body which this has, I believe nobody had thought of one non-resident Fellow, and there was then no such character known in the College as that of a Tutor distinct from a Fellow.

Now, to argue that because then the government of the College was put into the hands of a President and Tutors who were also Fellows upon a foundation, that therefore now it may be put into the hands of a President and Tutors who are not Fellows, and who are upon no foundation, is (with great submission) a strain in arguing which is beyond all reason in the world, and which can be admitted of by no man.

But, for argument's sake, I will go one step further, and suppose the utmost that can be supposed here in favor to this objection and the argument upon it. And that is, that although when that body of laws was made the gentlemen who were then Tutors, and referred to in them, were Fellows also, and upon a foundation, yet possibly it might be designed to have provision made that some time afterward the College might be governed by a President and Tutors who were not Fellows, and who were upon no foundation, and that the charter which they were upon would admit of such a state of things: this is the utmost that can be supposed in favor to the objection and argument upon it.

And now, for answer, I pray it may be considered when those laws were made, and upon what establishment. They were made and published in 1692, and upon a charter which, a little before that, was granted by this government and sent home for the royal approbation, and some time after (as I observed before) returned disallowed of by the King. And there was no other settlement of the College till 1707, when it was by the government fixed upon the first charter of 1650 (as was said), on which it now stands. And now in this charter it is expressly provided that the Corporation of seven, and none else, shall govern the College; and if, upon this settlement of 1707, the governors of the College had designed that the House should be governed by that body of latin laws which were made upon a former charter (which might be proper, for, *mutatis mutandis*, they are very good ones), I think (with great submission) their first business had been to engraft that body of latin laws upon the stock of the charter of 1650, which the College was now fixed upon. But in order thereunto these laws must in some measure be altered and made to square with the charter, and how can it possibly be otherwise? For here is a direct opposition between the charter and them. The charter says that the College shall be governed by the Corporation, and none else, and these laws (taken in this sense, it is not the genuine sense of them, but taken in this sense) say that it may be governed by other persons; viz., by a President, and Tutors who are not of the Corporation. Now, either the

charter must be conformed to those laws, or else those laws must be conformed to the charter. And which of these two can be thought most reasonable: that the charter should be brought to those laws, which were made under another and a different establishment, or else that those laws should be brought to the charter, which the College is now settled upon by the government? And anybody may, I think, easily answer the question. And surely all laws that are introduced upon this charter must be conformed to the charter. The charter must be the measure and standard of all laws to be received and practised upon while it is in force. So that if another charter and establishment did admit of such a state of things, and that the College might be governed by a President, and Tutors who were not Fellows, most certainly this charter does not. And the laws of a former establishment cannot be brought into use here any further than as they are made to square with the present establishment, or any other wise than as they are understood in a sense that is agreeable with it. And this I have supposed only for argument's sake, and that the objection and argument upon it may be allowed all the force and advantage that can be desired, and not that there was any such character known in the College when these Latin Laws were made as that of a Tutor distinct from a Fellow, or had ever been heard of in the College at any time before, when it pretended to be upon a charter. Nor can I believe that it was designed that there should be such a state of things in the College at any time afterward, because I have made a very strict inquiry, and cannot find that there ever was any such state of things in any College.

And upon the whole, the matter being weighed, I do not find that there is any material difference between the old english laws and the new latin ones. They both agree in this, that small things may be managed by the President, or a single Tutor separately; and sometimes they both say by the President and a Tutor; and by Tutors in both are understood such as are Fellows too, upon a foundation. And in both it is provided that matters of greater weight shall be decided in Corporation; though under this head the English laws are something more express and particular than the latin ones are. And this is the only difference that I can find between them, which I think is not very material. And they both fully enough agree in this point, that the College shall be governed by the President and Fellows, which is the point in controversy, and thus (with submission) the objection must fall, and those latin laws cannot support anybody here in the business of the College in a direct opposition to the charter. And, as we use those latin laws, by Tutors we must understand such as are Fellows also, as they were understood when the laws were made.

It has been again objected that, when the College shall increase to a great number of students, the Corporation of seven will not be sufficient for the business of it; that therefore it will be necessary to introduce persons under this head of officers and servants to manage the business of the College.

But, for answer, it must be best and most safe to see to it, and be cer-

tain of it in the first place that such a power for the College may be made out and defended upon the charter before it be asserted and practised upon. I have as great a regard for the College as any man, and would willingly understand the charter as much in favor to it as it will bear; but to strain a thing of this nature beyond the natural and genuine sense of it, and to force such an interpretation, is (with submission) the most direct step that can be taken to loose all. This is, indeed, a fine, easy, short way of providing for the service of a College in its advanced state, if it be but a safe one; but for the Fellows to suppose that they may quit the business of the College themselves, and under the head of officers and servants substitute others to do it, and as many as they please, an indefinite number, is to pretend to such a power as I believe was never granted to any College under the British Dominion. And if the College should assert such a power upon the charter, and practise upon it, it must needs (I am afraid) endanger the charter; though this is a matter of law, which before so many gentlemen as I see here present who are masters* of the law, and know well how that matter is, I will venture only to mention to be thought on and resolved by them. And surely it is worthy of consideration, and if it would endanger the charter, though I hope nobody owes the College so much ill-will, or would do us so ill an office as to pursue the matter in the law, yet it will not consist with common prudence in other affairs to give an opportunity.

But to come a little nigher to the matter. If, under the head of officers and servants, the Corporation could substitute others for the business of the College, yet as the Corporation is limited to seven, even so, as it happens, those officers and servants for the College have exactly the same limitation. If the charter be read through, it appears that there can be but ten in all, viz., three for the service of the President, and seven for the service of the College; so that, allowing this objection and argument in its utmost extent, while the Corporation is non-resident, there is not one inch gained for the College, but, if I had time, I am sure it might easily be made to appear that the College loses very much. This is *ad hominem*.

But the true answer (with great submission) to this objection I take to be this, that if in a course of time the number of seven, which the Corporation consists of, shall be found not sufficient for the business of the College in its advanced state, application must then be made to the same power that made the first grant of charter for an additional grant, and that such a number of Fellows may be added as the business of the College shall then call for, and as the revenue of it shall be sufficient for the support of. And this (with submission) is the common method in the University, and the only regular and effectual method that can be taken for the service of a college in its advanced state. And this method has already been taken in this College. Witness the charter of 1672, which made out some further powers for the College than it did possess by the charter of 1650. And this

* Especially the Honorable Superior Judges.

method may and must be taken again, when there is occasion for it; but at present there is none. And for the Fellows of a College abroad under the head of officers and servants to introduce another order of men to govern the College is (with great submission) a method unheard of in any College until now, and cannot be defended by the charter. And thus this objection is fully answered.

And now to suppose that the business of a College may be carried on as effectually and well by persons that are upon no foundation as upon one is to argue against the sense of mankind and the experience of all the later ages of the world. For all Colleges everywhere are founded upon charters, and the business of them is committed into the hands of an head, under the character of a President, or Rector, Principal, or Provost, Master, or Warden, and with a certain number of Fellows, resident upon a foundation; and it is not supposed that this business can otherwise be carried on to good effect.

I will illustrate this matter, may it please your Honor, by a simile, — an easy and familiar simile. Suppose for the purpose in any other affairs, civil or military, a person should receive a character and title, and engage in any such business without a commission for it, — how odd a figure must such a person make! How impertinent and despicable must he appear to the world, and more properly an object of derision than of regard! And to be sure [he] could accomplish nothing, could do nothing to effect.

Now, may it please your Honor, this is exactly our case at the College. For the charter we look upon as something of the nature of a commission for the College; and such as are not upon that foundation, either as President or Fellows, are left out of the commission. So that this is exactly our case, and we cannot help ourselves unless by resigning this business, and that would be no remedy for the College. For my own part, if I had thought it would, I would silently have done it long ago. But your Honor, and this Honorable Board, can with a word, speaking, give relief both to the College and to us. And it cannot be supposed that under these circumstances we should be able to carry on the business of the College to good effect. For indeed the charter, which should be our support and direction in all the affairs and business of the College, proves our constant mortification.

I remember very well that some years since the non-residence of the President was complained of as greatly detrimental to the College, although he usually visited the College once a fortnight or oftener, and performed suitable exercises, both scholastical and theological. And surely the non-residence of the Fellows cannot but be hurtful to the College also, who do not usually meet here more than twice or thrice a year, and when they do come (it being so seldom) cannot but come very much unacquainted with the affairs and business of the College. When they have been here, I suppose they have at all times truly aimed at the good of the College; but their unacquaintedness with the affairs of it has, I believe, been very hurtful.

I have the greatest esteem and veneration for the non-resident Fellows of the College, for their superior learning and piety; and I think

myself unhappy in that it falls to my lot to express these sentiments upon this occasion, which I find are different from theirs, and nothing would have induced me to it but an apprehension of the necessity of it for the service of the College. But so long as the College has every way so sufficient a guard abroad to prevent any mal-administration in the business of it (and I believe scarce any College has a more effectual one), and so long as by non-residence the resident Fellows are crowded off from the foundation and divested of the powers of the charter, which is the case here, so long I say it is impossible (I speak it with the lowest submission) that the non-residence of Fellows should answer any other end in the College but to cramp and depress the characters of the resident ones, and render them insignificant and useless in the business of the College, unless it be to weaken the authority of the Overseers too, the non-residents always having been chosen out of their number. By this means, indeed, the government of the College is become strong abroad, but it is left feeble and defenceless at home.

And on the part of the resident Fellows, by these several steps, it becomes so. In the first place, their salaries are brought down, modestly speaking, to one half the value of what they were above twenty years ago. So long ago, I find the Fellows had each of them fifty pounds per annum from Charlestown ferry and the College Treasury, and their pupil money, which by computation for many years about that time was (one year with another) £56 per annum, so that they were allowed £106 per annum each for many years together. Whereas now the first salary is £90 per annum, and so they fall by tens down as low as £50, including pupil money. And, if the difference of money be considered, I am within bounds in saying that the Fellows' salaries now are but half the value of what they were so long ago, and they are now much straitened in their subsistence and circumstances of living. The reason that has been given for it is that the President is resident now, which he was not then; but, so long as Mr. President is supported by the country, and not by the College, this can be no reason for the difference made, and the college estate is sufficient to allow all the Fellows as good a subsistence now as they ever had. I would not be understood to suppose that, if the Corporation were resident, they would have it in their own power to make themselves allowances. I find by the Overseers' books that this matter was under their direction for twenty years after the charter was granted; and even the common exhibitions of the college money, by the charter, ought not to be made without the approbation and consent of the Honorable and Reverend Overseers. Then again, by being left out of the Corporation, the resident Fellows are stripped of the powers of the charter. Then a triennial act is made, limiting the elections of resident Fellows to three years, which was never heard of in any College, all those elections in the University being *in perpetuum*. And this law is practised upon, although never approved of by the Honorable and Reverend Overseers, according to the directions of the charter. Then of late, when the Corporation do meet, they commonly leave a committee behind them, if there be any thing of importance to be done; and by these several steps and

degrees the resident Fellows' characters have been depressed in the College, and they are made to signify just nothing at all, and sure I am that the most, if not all of them, are under great discouragements in the business of the College, and it is indeed not without reason.

And, being sensible of the bad effects of this state of things in the College, all the resident Fellows together, in the first place, made a modest application to the Corporation. But, instead of a redress, they dispensed to us a reproof. And when (despairing of relief from the Corporation), we applied, as in duty bound, with great humility to your Excellency and the Honorable and Reverend the rest of the Overseers of the College as the *dernier ressort* of the College government, it was said that the Overseers could not have a meeting without a motion first made from the Corporation; and in several respects the powers of the Honorable and Reverend Overseers, as I find by their books they were exerted in the primitive and most perfect state of the College, are denied, and this notwithstanding by the charter the Honorable and Reverend Overseers are in all points a guard upon the College.

And thus, on the one side, the authority of your Honor and the Honorable and Reverend the rest of the Overseers is at least in some measure disowned in college affairs; and, on the other hand, the resident Fellows are depressed, and made to signify just nothing in the College; and the Corporation abroad do nothing themselves within the College. And this is the true situation of college affairs; and what can be expected from this state of things? And if we, on our parts, had not managed with the utmost caution, in my humble opinion, the College had fallen into great disorders before now.

And I cannot but mention one circumstance in this state of things, which I look upon (with submission) as very inconsistent, and that is that the Fellows are not only non-resident, but that they are chosen out of the body of the Overseers, and thus matters are brought by the Fellows from themselves in Corporation to themselves as Overseers for confirmation. They must seem (with great submission) to be incompetent judges, among the Overseers, of matters that have passed through their own hands in Corporation. And if any thing should be amiss in the College at any time, and want a regulation by the Honorable and Reverend Overseers, by this means the proceeding must needs be greatly clogged and made very difficult. Witness (to go no further) the process upon this affair. With how great difficulty has it been brought thus far, although nothing can be more clear and evident than that our pretensions are just and well-grounded. And this must needs be a standing inconvenience in the College, if not remedied.

And this scheme for the college affairs, taken from the charter, must (with submission) be allowed to be more regular and strong: viz., for the Corporation upon the spot to carry on the business of the College within, while the Honorable and Reverend Overseers abroad do (as they promise in the instalment of Fellows) strengthen and support them with their authority in all their just administration; and, as the

charter provides, stand as a guard to prevent any mismanagement in the business of the College within.

And, as the case now stands, all the graduates in College, both Masters and Bachelors, observe that we have no interest in the College; and, if they are in the pursuit of any favor in the College, they are made to know that they have no dependence upon us for it, and that it is not in our power to do them good or hurt. And thus some of the strongest ties upon the human nature, to a regard to us, are taken off. And this sense of things depends from them down among the undergraduates, and our own pupils observe how our characters are depressed, and that our interest is lost in the College, and that the extent of our power goes no further than to amerce a disorderly person a sixpence or a shilling, which goes into the quarter bill; and they do not value it, and by this means it becomes more and more difficult for us to keep them in a proper decorum. And if the resident Fellows had the best accomplishments for the business of the College, if their characters are not supported in the College, it will be impossible for them to do it, to keep their pupils in a proper decorum; and if the good order, government, and decorum of the College be lost, the loss sustained will prove very great. I have thought several times within these two or three years past that the College has been upon the very brink of great disorders; and, when we in our places have done the best we could to prevent them, we have seen and felt the feebleness of the college state. And, when we are made to signify just nothing in the College, our pupils observe it, and the natural tendency of it is to lessen that regard to us which they ought to have, and which they must have, and which if they have not, they had better be at home than at College under our care. And our part as Fellows of the House in this new model of the college affairs is but a mock business: it appears to be so, and has been greatly detrimental to the College.

By indulgence, and upon sufferance, and not upon charter, we have indeed, on our parts, been assisting in the business of the College, in this method, for some years past, but I believe everybody acquainted with the affairs of the College knows the difficulties the resident Fellows have met with in this method, and how hurtful this state of things has been in the College; and truly I believe everybody else that considers the bottom we are upon may be very likely to guess as much.

This state of things has for some time been indulged in the College. I pray that it may not pass into an establishment; for if it be as has been said, and (with great submission) well proved from the charter and laws, then to make an establishment upon this foot must be, by one act, to dismiss the charter, and in the face of it to set up a constitution in the College that is in a direct opposition to it, and contrary to the usages of all colleges.

Elections of officers, and exhibitions of the college money, are, I think, the two principal things now managed by the Corporation; and now, when Mr. Hollis's pious and generous donations come to be wholly applied, there will be at least forty persons benefited this way, either by small offices in the College, or else by the college money. Now I be-

lieve the non-resident gentlemen have not the least personal knowledge of half so many of the students belonging to the College, or, to be sure, of those that are any way suitable to receive these favors. Now the donors of money to the College have very strictly obliged the disposers of it to have a particular regard to the character and merit of persons, and the College charter no less strictly obliges them to observe the directions of the donors of money to the College in all those dispositions, which it is impossible for them to do while they are so unacquainted with persons in the College. They cannot act in this business upon any knowledge of their own. They must needs act very much in the dark in the bestowment of these favors. And, since there are such favors to be disposed of in the College and among our pupils, nothing (with submission) can be more reasonable than that we should have an hand in the disposition; and this power, prudently managed by the residents, may be improved very much for the service of the College by encouraging the ingenious and industrious, and by discouraging the slothful and vicious, if any such there shall be, as by the non-residents it cannot.

And although in Great Britain the non-residence of the clergy is so very common in the church, yet in the University the non-residence of a Fellow of a College is seldom known, and never allowed of but in extraordinary cases. And, when it is so, there are always a sufficient number of Fellows left resident upon a foundation to manage the business of the College which they belong to. But to have the Fellows of a college non-resident, and to have other persons introduced, with only a title, and that are upon no foundation, to manage the business of it, which is the case here, is, I believe, a thing entirely new under the sun; and, after the strictest inquiry that I have been able to make, I believe this is the first instance of this nature that ever was, and I am sure it has produced bad effects in the College, and, if the method be continued, I make no doubt but it will do so still.

The great numbers we have at College of late require an exacter discipline than this state of things will admit of, and if we cannot come at it one way or other (and I believe the method we propose is the only effectual one that can be thought on, because it is the method of the charter), if I say we cannot come at it one way or other, in my humble opinion (and I speak it in the fear of God), instead of a nursery of religion and learning, which was the pious design of its foundation, the College will be a nest of ignorance and disorders.

I would gladly have spared some things which I have mentioned: it is no pleasure to me to have mentioned them, on the contrary it is very grievous; but the many insults we have met with from our pupils in the business of the College, and the loose state of things here, make thus much absolutely necessary. And I might go on and add many things more, I believe very much for the service of the College, but, lest I should be thought to exceed, I choose rather, at least for the present, to stop here.

We are regularly elected Fellows, and do not therefore ask for any new election. And, as for the distinction between Fellows of the Cor-

poration and Fellows of the House, it was never heard of in the College until very lately; and sometimes the gentlemen of the Corporation are upon our books styled Fellows of the House. There is no color of any foundation in the charter for such a distinction, and we therefore look upon it as a distinction without a difference; so that instead of five Fellows, which the charter allows of, there are now seven, regularly elected and confirmed. And that such who have the business of a college should be divested of the powers of its charter, which were granted for their support and direction in that business, and for no other end, and especially when it has (upon every account) so sufficient a guard abroad as this has, is to us an inexplicable paradox in college affairs.

And now the design of this memorial is no other but that we who are regularly elected Fellows, and confirmed by the Honorable and Reverend Overseers, according to the directions of the charter, and as such have the care and business of the College committed to us,—that we may be enabled to proceed in that business regularly upon the charter, and according to the known laws of the College made or to be made; and that we may have such a subsistence as our predecessors in this business have formerly had, which has of late years been very much shortened, for what reasons we cannot tell. And we therefore assure ourselves (with humble submission) that your Honor, and the Honorable Board and the Reverend the rest of the Overseers of the College, will think it reasonable and necessary for the good of the College that the prayer of it should be granted.

N. SEVER.

IN COUNCIL, Aug. 23, 1723.

Read.

Mr. C. C. SMITH communicated for publication a narrative by Jolley Allen, a merchant in Boston, from 1755 to 1776, who subsequently became a refugee.

Mr. SMITH said: At the last meeting of the Council, an application was presented for leave to copy an autobiographical fragment by Jolley Allen, which was given to the Society some years ago, by our late associate, Mr. George Ticknor. The sub-committee, to whom this application was referred, have thought it better to print the document ourselves; and I desire to communicate it now, in order that it may go into the Proceedings as a part of the record of this meeting. Allen was a native of London, where he was born in or about 1718, and came to this country with his father, and at least one brother, in 1755. The father and this brother settled in Shrewsbury, where they were among the most zealous loyalists in the early stages of the struggle with the mother country.*

* Ward's History of Shrewsbury, p. 216.

The father died before the outbreak of hostilities; but the brother, Lewis Allen, made himself so obnoxious to his fellow-townsmen that he was obliged to remove to Leicester, where he died in 1780.* Jolley Allen settled in Boston, and became one of the principal shop-keepers in the town. His advertisements may be found frequently in the newspapers of that period, and give some idea of the character and extent of his business. In an advertisement in May, 1773, after enumerating groceries, crockery-ware, playing cards, and dry goods, as among the articles which he is ready to sell at the lowest prices, he adds, — "Also, at said Allen's may be had genteel Boarding and Lodging for six or eight Persons, if should be wanted, for a longer or shorter Season, likewise good Stabling for ten Horses and Carriages. N. B. — If any Person inclines to hire the above Stable and Place for Carriages, they may have a Lease of the same for 19 Years, or less Time, from the said Allen, and if wanted, on the same Premises can be spared Room for forty or fifty Horses and Carriages: It is as good a Place for Horse and Chaise letting as any in Boston." In another advertisement he offers to receive and sell "Goods of all Sorts on a small Commission for any who shall please to employ him." At that time his shop was in Marlborough Street, opposite to the Three Doves.†

It is not, perhaps, surprising that Allen, as a late immigrant, should have sympathized with the British ministry in their struggle with the colonists; and as the political antagonism increased he came under the strong suspicion of the popular leaders. An account of his difficulties growing out of a purchase of tea from the sons of Governor Hutchinson, in the latter part of 1772, forms the first part of his narrative. When the British prepared to evacuate Boston, he determined to accompany them, and sailed on the 27th of March, 1776. The master of the vessel in which he embarked knew nothing about navigation, if we may credit Allen's account, and within twenty-four hours after leaving Boston they were cast ashore on Cape Cod. Here Allen was detained by the town authorities for several weeks, and was then sent to Watertown, and afterward to Shrewsbury, where he remained for nearly a year. He then made his escape, and, embarking at New London, went to England in a British man-of-war. The incidents of this period fill the second and larger part of his narrative.

* Washburn's History of Leicester, p. 164.

† The sign of the Three Doves was on what is now called Washington Street, near the corner of Bromfield Street.

In England, he attracted the sympathy of Lord George Germain, and received a pension, said to have amounted to forty pounds a year. He died in 1782. After his death, this autobiographical fragment passed into the hands of his executors, Sir William Pepperell and Mr. George Erving, both of whom were loyalists; and after the death of the latter it was found among his papers, and given by his son, the Hon. George W. Erving, at one time Minister of the United States at the Court of Spain, to Mr. Ticknor. The manuscript, which is a small quarto of about seventy pages, is well, even beautifully, written; but the bad grammar and bad spelling show that Allen, though loyal to the king, was a rebel to the schoolmaster. Prefixed to the manuscript is a short note by Mr. Ticknor, from which I have derived some of the facts now mentioned. In printing Allen's narrative, the spelling will be corrected; and such notes will be added as may seem desirable.

*An Account of Part of the Sufferings and Losses of Jolley Allen,
a Native of London,*

Who, with his family and a considerable property, went to reside at Boston, in New England, in the year 1755; and, by industry, had accumulated many thousand pounds sterling, in the space of twenty-two years he continued there, until this unhappy rebellion broke out.

And, being a man firmly attached to his native King and country, and hath now sacrificed his all, as will appear in the following pages, and that with the greatest truth.

Some time, I think, in the month of October, 1772, I bought two chests of tea of Governor Hutchinson's two sons, Thomas and Elisha, at Boston, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and I thought it most prudent (for fear of being watched, as the custom of Boston is to shut up their warehouses at one o'clock, and go on 'Change, and return about four o'clock in the afternoon) to leave them there until two o'clock; and, by agreement, Messrs. Hutchinson's apprentice waited there until that time to deliver them to one William Burke, that I ordered to go with his cart to their warehouse for the said two chests of tea, which he did, and brought them with him to my shop. And as he went to unload his cart of the above two chests of tea, Mr. John Hancock's (now General Hancock) head-clerk, William Palfrey,*

* William Palfrey, born in Boston, Feb. 24, 1741, became clerk to John Hancock in October, 1764; was appointed aide-de-camp to General Washington in March, 1776, and the next month was appointed paymaster-general of the army, which office he held until November, 1780, when he was unanimously chosen by Congress consul-general to France. He sailed in December, but the ship in which he embarked was never heard of afterward. He was an ardent patriot, and rendered conspicuous services in the struggle with the mother country. A life of him by his distinguished grandson, John Gorham Palfrey, is in Sparks's American Biography, Second Series, vol. vii. — Eds.

happened to come by at the same time, and looking at the two chests of tea, and as he thought took the original numbers, but he happened to be mistaken, for he took the East India marks instead of the company's house number in London. I cannot look upon him in any other light than an informer, by one of the committee, Captain Dashwood,* coming to me in about half an hour afterwards, and saying he had an information of two chests of tea coming in my house about half an hour before; that his business was to desire of me not to be out of the way, as the whole committee of the town of Boston was to wait of me about four o'clock that said afternoon. I beg leave to observe that when I hired William Burke, I cautioned him, for fear of an accident, that if any inquiry should be made hereafter, that he must say he took the two chests of tea from off the Long Wharf, and that nobody was there; but, to his surprise, looking about him, he saw a boat with men in it rowing towards a large ship in the stream, which he supposed had brought them two chests on shore from that ship, and was rowing to the ship again; which story he never deviated from, although he was often examined by the said committee and severely threatened by them. I was likewise several different times threatened with that diabolical punishment of being tarred and feathered, and under the disagreeable apprehension of the same for many days afterwards, which no mortal can tell or describe the anxiety of mind I was in, and expected my house to be pulled down, and every thing destroyed. The said committee came to me about half after three o'clock, thinking to catch me unprepared for their attack; but Providence had ordered it so that I was ready to receive them, for I had cut the ropes, and had taken off the outside coverings, so that no person could tell from whence they came or from where I had them. The committee coming to my door, I met them and asked them their business; they told me they came to know from whence I had the two chests of tea that came into my shop at two o'clock that day. I answered, if that was their business, and had nothing further to say to me, they was welcome to walk in. I then received them in my parlor. I asked them what their demand were upon those two chests of tea; they told me nothing further than to be shown the two chests of tea. I then asked each of them if that would give them full satisfaction. They told me, upon a point of honor, it would, and they should have nothing more to say to me at present. I answered then upon honor that I would show them the same two chests of tea that came into my house that day at two o'clock. I accordingly went with them to my store and opened the door, and showed them the two chests of tea, which they all stood amazed at, saying that was not what they meant, though they before had given their words of honor. I asked them where all their honors lay. They told me they meant to see the two outside cases, where

* Captain Dashwood was one of a committee appointed at a meeting of the merchants and traders of Boston, July 26, 1769, to examine the manifests of vessels which might arrive from England. He was probably the same person, Captain Samuel Dashwood, who died Feb. 15, 1792, aged sixty-five years, and was buried in the Granary Burial-Ground. — Eds.

the marks lay, that they might be able to know from whence I bought them. I told them that did not belong to that point of honor they had all given me; and told them I was surprised at that whole body which was the standing committee of the town of Boston should want to forfeit their honors in so trifling an affair, but still aggravating the cause in wanting to see the two outside cases, which I granted by pointing to the same, saying, "There they lay, and I hope you are satisfied now." I verily believe the place where I pointed to with my finger, there lay between two and three hundred more of the same sort, and I left them to find them out, which point they soon gave up, saying that I had fairly outwitted them all, but they would watch my waters well for the time to come; which they did to the utmost of all their powers in every respect, and especially in striving to hurt me in my trade, which declined from that time. My stock in English goods at that time was very great, being well sorted; cost me a great many thousand pounds sterling, and my trade dwindling away chiefly at last to friends of government and the army after this above tea affair, which was a great deterrent to me with so large a stock of English goods lying on my hands at that time; but I still kept my house, and continued there until and the whole time of the blockade of Boston. During the said blockade and some time before, I received the following gentlemen into my house, contrary to the opinion and the general sentiments of many of the inhabitants of the said town of Boston, viz.:—

General Gage's two brothers-in-law, Major Kimble and Captain Kimble, secretary to General Gage, General Prescott, Lord Barrington's son, General Piggott, Captain Delancy of the 17th Regiment of Light Dragoons, Doctor Bruce of the train of Artillery. Those gentlemen above-mentioned lodged with me.

The following gentlemen both lodged and boarded with me, viz.:—

Governor Abbott and his secretary, General Smith of the 10th Regiment of Foot, Captain Parsons of ditto, Colonel Cleveland of the train of Artillery, Cornet Baggett of the 17th Regiment of Dragoons, Lieutenant Linsey of the 14th Regiment of Foot, Captain Lum of the 38th Regiment, Captain Duff, now Major of the 40th Regiment, Captain Hubbard and lady of the 45th Regiment, Lieutenant Snow and lady of ditto, Lieutenant Hamilton of ditto, Captain Craig (wounded) of the 47th Regiment, Surgeon Mallett and his mate of ditto, Captain Follat (wounded) of the 49th Regiment, Captain Smith and lady of the 52d Regiment, Ensign Buckannon of the 47th Regiment, and Major Moncrieff and Lieutenant Moncrieff, his son.

From my principle and attachment to my King and country, which I never disguised, and taking all the military gentlemen I possibly could under my roof, and accommodating them to the utmost of my power, contrary to the political principles of the major part of the town of Boston, and coming away with the fleet and army, was the great cause of it going so hard with me at their General Court, and from the mobs in America.

The 10th of March, 1776, Governor Abbott gave me a letter to

Lord Dartmouth, recommending me to his Lordship's goodness in the strongest terms, and praying I might be recommended to his Majesty, as a faithful friend to government, and to his certain knowledge, living with me above ten weeks, he was an eye-witness to my great sufferings in that line, during his stay with me, and that particular care might be taken of my wife and seven children; which letter I burned before the Americans took possession of the vessel and my effects at Cape Cod; for, if it had been found on me, I believe they would have hanged me, my wife and all my children, for being recommended to his Majesty. Nothing would have saved our lives, I am of opinion, knowing the disposition of the people so well for above twenty-two years I had lived amongst them.

The 11th March, 1776, I hired a vessel for my effects and family of one Captain Robert Campbell (as he styled himself); he came and offered me his vessel as he said, and told me it was entirely at my service, as he had disposed of no part of it, and if I had a mind to have part or the whole of the vessel it was for me to say. I asked him who was to command the vessel. He said the vessel belonged to him, and he was the captain. I then asked him if he was used to go to sea; he answered he had, for above twenty years and upwards he had gone captain of his own vessel. Upon that, I showed him my shop and two warehouses all full of goods, and likewise I showed him the furniture of my house, which article of furniture alone cost me above one thousand pounds sterling. I then asked this villain (for I cannot look upon him in any other light) how much of his vessel he thought I should want, being myself not acquainted therewith. He told me he thought three-quarters of the vessel would hold all my effects. I answered, if that was the case, I had rather hire the whole of the vessel, that I might have room enough, which I accordingly did, and agreed with him for fifteen guineas sterling to carry me, my family, and effects to where the fleet and army went; and paid him down half the money and took his receipt for the same, — for at that time we did not know where we was going. Accordingly, I began to take my goods down and pack them up immediately, and was obliged to put my goods in the street, as I packed them up; and myself and family was obliged to watch them two days and two nights, before I could get any carts to carry them down to the vessel, which was about a quarter of an English mile from my house to where the vessel lay, which cost me upwards of forty-two pounds sterling, all ready cash from me, to carry my goods to the said vessel.

The 14th of March myself and family lay on board the said vessel. The 17th towed down below the castle by strange sailors. 19th, towed down to Nantasket Road by other strange sailors, and there lay till the 27th of March. At three o'clock in the afternoon sailed under the convoy of Admiral Gratton. I believe the fleet that I was in made about eighty sail of us, at that time; but when we came to weigh anchor, and got it three-quarters up, a large ship of about five hundred ton came foul of us, and got foul of our bowsprit with bitter oaths that they would sink us, if we did not let go our anchor immediately.

At that time, we had carried away all their side rails and a carriage that was hung over, with our bowsprit. When they got clear of us, we fell to work to get our anchor up again, and another vessel of near seven hundred ton fell foul of our bowsprit, which carried away their quarter gallery, and did them abundance more mischief, which obliged us to let our anchor down again. Accordingly, we weighed our anchor a third time, and got it up so high that the vessel moved. I then seemly was glad to think we should get out of Nantasket Road, and get up to the fleet, which hove to for us; but I was soon disappointed of my hopes: the stern of our vessel got aground. I turned to the captain and asked him what he thought would become of us. He told me he could not tell. I then desired him to look over the stern of the vessel where we was aground, which he did. I asked him whether the tide was a coming in or a going out. He said he could not tell without an almanac on board for him to look at. I told him to go to the stern of the vessel and look at it again, and let me know his opinion, which he did, in these words, after looking some time: if the tide was going out, our vessel would grow faster in the sand, and we should be more aground, but if the tide was coming in the vessel would rise and we should get away; which I thank God we did, and now we are going to sea, without either captain, master, or sailor, or even a boy that had been a week at sea. He put a young man at the helm that never saw salt water before, and gave him directions in the following manner, in my hearing, pointing to a vessel before him, and said: "Follow that vessel, and wherever it goes do you keep it in view." The young man said he would. I called the captain once more aside, when I heard him give this direction to the man at the helm, and asked him what that man at the helm must do when night came on, and he could not see that object. "Oh," said he to me, "Mr. Allen, I am surprised at you: all the men-of-war will throw out lights, and then we shall be as light as day." This I was easy enough to believe of him, but soon found a fatal reverse, for before the day closed in the whole fleet was out of sight, and we was left by ourselves in this melancholy situation. I went down into the cabin to see my dear wife and children; soon after I heard something of a bustle upon deck. I went up and was told by the captain that the clew at the mainsail had given way; and to my great surprise found it had blown off the other side the shrouds, and was in danger as I thought of oversetting the vessel. I then called the captain to me, and said to him in these words: "You are the man that has brought me into all these difficulties I am now in; and I do insist upon you doing your duty on board this vessel as long as I am in it, both by night and day; and I command you that you get the clew of the mainsail in immediately, and I will give you all the assistance in my power, with all the other help on board." There being room in the vessel, I gave him liberty to take in more passengers, in order to put more money in his pocket, and in all we were, men, women, and children, twenty-nine souls on board; which all endeavored, what lay in their power, to get the mainsail in again. And with all the help we were able, the captain tied it to one of the pumps; and,

for want of knowing how to tie a sailor's knot, it gave way in less than a quarter of a minute. I told him that he must now renew his strength again, and we would likewise all do the same, for I feared the vessel would overset. Accordingly, we got it in again, and he then tied it to both the pumps (in such a manner as not to be able to untie it again, and when we came to Cape Cod it was obliged to be cut with an axe). I likewise asked him a little while after this accident, on going on the quarter-deck, if he had no such thing as a compass in our binnacle. He said he had two, but he had no occasion for them, and they was both under his bed; and if I went down with him, he would show me them, which he did, and said we was going directly after the fleet; and then he made an apology to me that he had broke open my box and took out my candles, as he had forgot to bring any on board. At this time, we went about five knots an hour, but had shifted several seas in the interim of time. All the water we had on board the vessel that could be drank, which was on deck, was about three-quarters of a barrel. We shifted a heavy sea about eight o'clock that same evening, which loosed the cask, and the bung started; we lost all the water we had, there not being one drop left in the whole vessel to wet the mouths of the twenty-nine souls on board. And in about half an hour after we shifted a much heavier sea, which carried away the whole of our caboose off the deck, which was the place we had to dress our victuals in, and we had no place in the vessel to dress a bit of victuals after this. I then turned to the captain, and said to him: "I fear we shall all perish before half an hour's at an end; had you not better try your pumps, to see if the hold of the vessel is filling with water, to know if we was not sinking?" "Oh, dear sir," says the captain, "I am glad you thought of it, for I had forgot it." He tried the pump, which was choked, and he could not get any water out of it, and the hold was at least a quarter full of water. I told him then to try the other pump. He then went to look for the tackling to rig the other pump, but could not find any thing to do it with, and, if he had, I am convinced he did not know what to do with it. In this disagreeable situation we continued, shifting seas often. I walked the deck till near twelve o'clock at night, until I was not able any longer, for the seas breaking in upon us so often, and from the intense cold, for it froze to solid ice, so that it was dangerous to move a foot on deck. In this deplorable state, I went down into the cabin to my wife and seven children, thinking every minute would be the last I had to live in this world; expecting every moment to go to the bottom. I took my wife by the hand as she lay in bed in the cabin, which I thought myself a happy man to have her by the hand, at the same time (and I laid myself down by her) to think I should die in her arms along with her gave me a great satisfaction. But she being in a great deal of trouble at the same time, I did not let her know the imminent danger we was in, till about two o'clock in the morning those passengers that lay in the hold of the vessel came running to the cabin, and begged for God's sake we would permit them to come in; that a plank in the side of the vessel had given way, and the sea

was pouring in, and the vessel was sinking; and they begged that they might be permitted to stay in the cabin till we all went to the bottom together. Until this my wife did not know the danger we was in. I then insisted on the captain to go in search to see where the plank had given way in the vessel, which I myself went along with him, and found it not quite so bad, but that we had a great deal of water in the hold, that had got between the ceiling and the vessel, and had broke its way through, and made as much noise as if a plank had given way every time the vessel moved. I then desired the captain to come upon deck with me, which he did; and I asked him whereabouts he thought we was at sea. He told me he could not tell. I then asked him what distance we was from land. He said that was impossible for him to tell, for he had not kept any reckoning, and the reason he gave me for it was that he had forgot to bring pens, ink, and paper. I told him, if he had applied to me, I had all these things. He then made me answer he had never learned navigation, and that he never was on salt water before; but he knew how to row a boat in a river; on which I told him I was sorry we had not a boat, that we might save our lives at the sinking of the vessel, and at the same time I told him, if we had a boat with oars, it was my opinion he knew as little of it as he did of navigation, which he had made a fair acknowledgment to me. I then turned my back to him, almost froze to death, and looked out for daybreak, which at last I was so happy to see; and every rope on board was, with the breaking in of the sea, froze almost as thick as my thigh, and no person on board able to walk on deck. In this manner we lay at the mercy of the waves, with our sails and rigging torn in ten hundred thousand pieces, that we could neither get them up nor down. The joy it gave me when I saw daybreak, I am not able to express. About seven o'clock the same morning the captain said he saw a vessel. I intreated him, if he knew how to steer for that vessel, he would with all speed. He made me answer that he did not understand steering the vessel he was in so well as he knew how to give directions to another. I asked him how he was to get one, for to my certain knowledge there was none in the vessel that had ever taken a helm in hand before we embarked on this unfortunate voyage. Some time after he said he thought he never saw so large a ship before, and desired me to look at it, which I did. I turned round from him, and thought to myself how kind good Providence had been to me during the night past to live to see that happy hour. Of the vessel he had been so much surprised at, I soon perceived it was the main land. I applied to him and asked him what land he thought it was. He told me that he was fully convinced that it was Nantucket. I told him, if that was the case, we must all perish very soon; for the amazing rocks and shoals that lay off Nantucket I could remember very well, as I saw them above twenty-two years ago on my passage when I came from London. When I landed at Cape Cod, and told part of my troubles, I asked them the name of the place; they told me it was Cape Cod. I told them my captain told me, and insisted upon it, that this place was Nantucket. They answered me that Nantucket was

above four days' sail from Cape Cod with a fair wind. Now give me leave to return back to the first sight of land. This captain of ours was at the greatest loss to know what to do in this situation, seeing land, for want of a map (which I am of opinion had there been one on board he knew no more what to do with it than a rat). Our case I then thought began to be desperate again; but, providentially for us, the day turned out very fine and warm. We got clear of all the ice upon deck soon after. I then desired the captain to order every one upon deck that was on board the vessel, which was twenty-nine souls. I then turned to them and told them it was by my desire they should all appear upon deck, and in the next place to know what we should all do in this melancholy situation; that we now appeared in coming up to land, and I was of opinion that no soul on board knew what land it was, and we came up with it very fast. We all advised on this matter together, with tears in our eyes; going where we could not tell. Some was for scuttling the vessel, and sinking her, sooner than fall into the hands of the Americans again. I was not of that opinion, for whilst there was life there was hopes. I was for running the vessel on shore, in the most convenient place that we could see when we drew nearer to the land, which we all agreed to except the captain; he was for going to sea again, thinking we might fall into the hands of an English man-of-war. I thought the danger so great at his expressing of it, that I immediately objected against it, and so did every one in the vessel. He then found he stood no chance, but to shore he must go with us; and accordingly we endeavored to set in for the land as fast as we could. Thank God, there was a strong current at the same time with a full tide in our favor, which brought us in quick. We then looked out for the safest place to run the vessel on shore, and in doing of that we struck upon the bar of Cape Cod most violently either seven, eight, or nine different times, which made her shake in such a manner that at every stroke we thought she would have gone to pieces; and had she not been an amazing strong vessel her bottom must have been out at the first shock. But, luckily for us, we got off the bar; but our anchor, that was hanging upon a long peak, caught fast hold of the bar, by which means we all endeavored to get the anchor untangled, and with great difficulty we accomplished it, as the bar happened to be nothing but sand. I often said to the captain during the length of the night that I was afraid of that anchor that hung upon the long peak, that it would make holes in the bottom of the vessel, which might be the means of our foundering at sea. Upon that he answered me: "Oh, dear, Mr. Allen, I am surprised you should put such a question to me; you must needs know that iron is heavier than wood, and, as the vessel comes up and goes down with the waves of the sea, the iron of the anchor is so much heavier than the vessel it would naturally go down before the vessel." In this most shocking situation with all our other difficulties we continued, until we got over Cape Cod bar, and soon after we got into twenty-four fathom water (as the fishermen told me), where the captain let go his anchor. I advised him by all means not to let that anchor go

that was hanging a-peak. He made me answer, it might do him an injury when he went on shore, if they knew the anchor hung at the peak all the way from Nantasket Road to Cape Cod. Happy was I in myself that I had lived to see the moment an anchor could be let down to hold us fast in twenty-four fathom water, to the great relief of all the twenty-nine unfortunate souls on board, though I expected to lose all my property. This was about two o'clock in the afternoon, the day after we left Nantasket Road, the 28th of March. In this situation we lay in Cape Cod harbor, with all our sails hoisted, as we had hoisted in Nantasket Road; some all the way up, some half the way up, and some not a quarter of the way up; torn, to appearance, into ten hundred thousand pieces, all flying. The captain says to me, by way of advising with me, seeing no boat come off to us, whether or no we had not better hoist a signal of a white sheet or table-cloth, to let them know we was in distress for want of a boat. The answer I made him was that I thought the above signals was quite sufficient; that I imagined there was upwards of nine hundred thousand signals more than there need to be, was the reason of no boat coming off to us; and that by neglect in not knowing how to clear the ropes at sea, so that they got all entangled together; at which he looked a good deal ashamed of himself, and I imagine his former transactions flew in his face, which occasioned him to have very little to say for himself afterwards. After waiting some time in this distress, we espied a man on shore: we made motions to him, as we could not hear each other speak, for the conduct of our captain was all of a piece; he had no speaking-trumpet on board. At last, we saw another man come up to the first, and then three or four more afterwards. They sat down and conversed together for near an hour, and at last they made motions pointing to the town, which was three miles off; and being very deep sand, and nothing but woods to go through, made the time appear very long to us, without one drop of water on board to wet our mouths withal. At last, to our great joy, we saw a cart with a boat (or canoe) in it drawn by ten oxen, and six men more, which came down to our assistance. They soon got the boat into the sea, and two men in it to know from whence we came. We told them we was from Boston with the fleet. They answered they was surprised, for they thought we was from a foreign country, and durst not come near us for fear we had the plague on board (and often declared that to me whilst I remained a prisoner amongst them, they believed such another shocking sight was never seen before in all America, coming into any harbor). These two men did not come on board, as we had a Mrs. Wezzle on board with us that had the small-pox, just then on the turn, of which she died. I thought it best to let the two men in the canoe know it, as the people in America are exceedingly afraid of that disorder. After some conversation, they returned back to the shore and reported our case to the other men, and, after they had conversed with those men on shore some time, they returned with two more men that had had the small-pox a number of years before, and

they came on board of us: this was about seven o'clock in the evening, the 28th of March, 1776.*

In this canoe, I and my family, eleven in number, came on shore, and landed about eight o'clock that evening;† and then we had three miles to go through the woods, before we came to the town of Cape Cod, which I walked, and the rest of my family rode in that dung-cart that brought the boat to our assistance, drawn by ten oxen; and we arrived in the town about ten o'clock that same evening, and to my great surprise was ordered into a small cottage, not fit to put a hog in, where

* News of Allen's disaster reached Boston about a week after its occurrence. In Ezekiel Price's Diary, under date of April 5, 1776, we read: "It is said that a transport is ashore on Cape Cod, laden with Tory effects and a number of Tory passengers, among whom is Jolley Allen and a parcel of Scotchmen." (See Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc., Nov., 1863, p. 249.) On the 3d of April, the selectmen of Provincetown sent a petition to the General Court, reciting "That on the 28th day of March last a sloop appearing near the shore on the back of said town, and to be in distress; on going on board, found her to be from Boston, with five men on board, and twenty-five women and children, in the most miserable condition. It seems they were bound for Halifax; but, having neither seamen nor water on board, they were unable to proceed on their intended voyage. And as we have reason to believe them to be some of those vermin which have been so destructive to the peace and good order of the Colony, we communicate their names to your Honors, viz.: Robert Campbell, Peter Harris, Patrick Trutt, Daniel Wissel, and the famous Jolley Allen, late of Boston. Said sloop's cargo consists of household goods, wearing apparel, and casks of delph and glassware. And we humbly pray your Honors to give such directions as you shall think proper with the present vessel and goods now in our hands." Two days afterward, the captain of the sloop wrote from Truro to the General Court: "I beg leave to inform your Honors I have a sloop on shore at Cape Cod, put in there in distress, having thirty souls on board, and not one drop of water. It was with the utmost difficulty I got clear of the fleet, without the loss of the sloop, as my intention was to part them, to put into some port to repair, and to proceed to the Province of New York. I beg such directions as may enable me to dispose of the passengers and secure my property. Should it be suggested that I may be an enemy to my country, I can produce proper testimony, if required, I have not acted any part in favor of the ministerial troops; but my intention is, by means of the sloop, to be useful to my country, and provide for my family. I should have been glad to have had it in my power to make myself better known, but cannot at present, as I am illy able to hold a pen, having frozen my fingers for want of help on board." (4 Force's American Archives, v. 784.) The sloop was named *Sally*, and was probably owned in Gloucester. She was captured by the British in the summer of 1775, and carried into Boston. After she was wrecked, a claim for her restoration was made by a former captain in behalf of the original owner, Captain David Pearce. See Journal of Massachusetts House of Representatives, June 3, 1776.

— Eds.

† From an elaborate genealogical register, prepared by Mrs. P. S. Stoddard, of Roxbury, a great-grand-daughter of Jolley Allen's younger brother, Thomas Allen, of New London, we learn the names and ages of the children, except the oldest son (baptized in King's Chapel, April 10, 1757, died Sept. 18, 1776), whose name is not known. The other children were: Eleanor, born Dec. 1, 1758; Ann, born Mar. 19, 1765; Jolley, born Dec. 22, 1766; Sarah, born Oct. 15, 1769; Nathaniel, born Oct. 28, 1770; Charlotte, born May 13, 1772. Accompanying the family were a "maid servant," and another woman described only as "belonging to Mr. Allen's family." (See a memorandum sent with Campbell's letter, in 4 Force's American Archives, v. 784.) The maiden name of Allen's wife was Eleanor Warren. — Eds.

we remained. And now I beg leave to return to the vessel, which they seized, and all the effects that they could find therein, and I was never allowed to see the vessel more. And the same night a little before high water they weighed her anchor and run on shore as far as they was able, and she never could be got off again. My suspicion was that the vessel was run aground, and I have great reason to think so; that it was done on purpose for the sake of pilfering what effects of mine they could at the time of unloading the vessel, and for fear she should be brought up to town, and their wicked purpose might be frustrated. I made all the inquiry I could, and from the best information I found this vessel took near three weeks unloading, which might have been done in three days, if they had been so minded; and, in their account, they charged me to the General Court one hundred and fifty pounds sterling for unloading the vessel and storing my effects. I had the mortifying news brought me during this severe confinement that there were several carts employed to bring my goods from the vessel to town to be stored; that they would frequently drop out of the cart, and many has been buried in the sand by private people who attended the unloading the vessel, and there was frequent battles among them, being suspicious of one getting more of my property than another; and a gentleman of veracity came to me, and expressed concern for my sorrow and troubles, at several different times; and one day said he had seen one of the completest battles he ever had in his life, and all on my account. About fifteen or sixteen men and women was fighting battle royal in the fields, condemning one another, and each saying the other had taken more of my property than they. The gentleman afterwards begged I would let it go no further from me. And several other persons came to me and informed me much to the same purpose; and some ready to give their oaths of the same, if ever I stood in need of it afterwards. But the people as incensed as they was against government and their friends, when they heard my case, how I had been used by the captain that brought my family and effects from Boston to Cape Cod, they was ready to tear him to pieces. They called him a fresh-water captain; that they should not choose to hang a salt-water captain, but a fresh-water captain it would give them the greatest pleasure imaginable; and it was with great difficulty I could prevail on them not to hang him, as they declared he did not deserve to have time to say, Lord, have mercy upon him, to bring such distress as he had done to twenty-nine unfortunate souls that he had on board of the vessel, now a perfect wreck in our harbor. This affair happened when they brought him on shore up to the town, where they was going to sacrifice him; but at last they reprieved him on my account, and confined him with the remainder of the passengers in several different places; but they stripped the whole of the passengers of all their little effects, which was but trifling, and never allowed them to see them more. In that respect, they was stripped of their all as well as myself, so that our situation became all alike.

This cottage I and my family was put into was to have been pulled down the next morning, had we not have been put in it, from its ruin-

ated situation. It was melancholy to think that I was brought in comparison from a palace to a hogsty. We had a window to it, with four small panes of glass, and two of them broken. There was one door; but I believe we should have been warmer inside, had there been none. When the wind blew, I am of opinion we should have been more comfortable in the open field. There was a roof to this shocking place, but when it rained we had better have been in the open air; for, after a shower was over, we was obliged to go into the road until it had drained itself off. In this place we were put, eleven of us in number, my family that came on shore with me in the boat, to lay on the ground one amongst another, servants included; sometimes victuals, sometimes none, but never a quarter of enough. In this situation, we remained until the 19th day of April following, being twenty-two days. My wife that was with me, that never before saw any difficulties in her life, and which I had seventeen children by her, born and christened, and five miscarriages, and was married to her thirty-seven years, and as good a wife and as tender a mother to her children as ever man could wish for, this worthy woman, seeing all her effects taken from her, and we wanting the common necessities of life, fell a sacrifice to their barbarity, and expired quite broken-hearted, in the fifty-second year of her age of the said 19th day of April; she lying dead, her seven children round her breathless corpse, all in tears. I submit to the humane reader to reflect what heart-breaking and agonizing pains I must feel, and not able to assist them with a morsel of bread at the time. With an immense deal of trouble and great deal of difficulty, I got her buried of Sunday the 22d of April, in the afternoon; and after her death I remained in the same disagreeable cot until the 27th, which was eight days longer, when myself and eldest son, then in the seventeenth year of his age, was taken by a guard, prisoner to Truro, eight miles distant, from my poor six motherless children, destitute of bread, and confined in the guard-house there eight days; after which time, having nothing to allege to my charge, sent me and my son back again to my poor motherless children, to Cape Cod, where I remained with my seven children, still wanting the common necessities of life; and, after crying round me for bread to eat until the 24th of May following, I then obtained, with great difficulty, a pass to the General Court, then sitting at Watertown, as follows:—

PROVINCETOWN, 24th May, 1776.

Whereas, Mr. Jolley Allen and son, the bearer, on the 28th of last March, was wrecked on shore at this town, with several others in a sloop from Boston, supposed to be bound to Halifax, in Nova Scotia. Upon their coming ashore, we sent a person to the General Court to inform them of this affair, who upon that sent a committee down here to order them to remain here until further orders, which shall be sent in a short time. They having remained here until this time, and having no answer from the General Court, and being unpracticable to procure provisions here for their subsistence any longer time, under these circumstances, think it best to let Mr. Jolley Allen and son to go to the General Court to know what they intend to order further concerning them; he having left his children

and effects here as a pledge for his return here again. Colonel Cobb, a member of the General Court for Wellfleet, advised to the above.

SOLOMON COOK, } *Selectmen of*
NATHANIEL NICKERSON, } *Provincetown.*

To the HONORABLE GENERAL COURT.

After reading the above pass from under their own hands, which this is a true copy, — having the original with me now in London, — think how hard my case was, to be under the disagreeable necessity of leaving my six poor children crying for bread, and I not able to get any thing for them. But necessity called upon me aloud to get the above pass to call me from their hungry cries, which has been such, many times since in my absence, as would have moved the heart of any one not totally divested of humanity. But, from the date of the above pass, I left my six children in that deplorable situation, and never saw one of them until the 16th day of August following, is eighty-four days; and from the said 16th to the 30th day of said August I had all my dear children with me, and not before. They was insulted during my absence as children of the friends of government, as astonishes nature to think of, having neither father nor mother there to take their parts. I am now a-going one hundred and twenty miles to Boston, myself and son being insulted on the road in a most barbarous manner all the way. I went to my own house when I arrived at Boston, that I had a long lease of, which I locked up and fastened all the doors and windows, and brought the key away with me, but to my great surprise they had broke open the door, who I cannot tell. The occupier that had then possession of it was my barber that shaved me for fourteen years. And it was with the greatest difficulty imaginable that he permitted me and my son to lay in one bed two nights, for which he charged me eight shilling sterling, which I paid him. During my two days' stay in Boston, I was insulted by almost every one in such a manner that I was glad to get out of town in the evening, and had nine miles further to travel, in the dark; myself and son disguising ourselves for fear of being murdered on the road before we got to Watertown, which we arrived at on the 31st of May, 1776, about two o'clock in the morning, and then laid ourselves down behind a hedge in the fields, tired, and both hungry and dry, where we slept till near seven o'clock in the morning; and, as soon as we made our appearance in the town, they was ready to tear us to pieces. The General Court, hearing of it, ordered us both to be confined, to go under a thorough examination. From the 31st of May to the 10th of June, 1776, the General Court was resolving what should be done with us; and, of the 14th June, the Council had agreed with the General Court, and it took me five days more to get a copy of the Resolves from the General Court and Council, which made my confinement in Watertown about a fortnight; during which time we was obliged every day, except Sundays, to wait on the General Court and Council from seven o'clock in the morning till eight o'clock at night; insulted during the above fortnight in the following manner: Some was for having me sent to the Castle, which was seven miles from Boston by land, there to live

on bread and water. Others, fearful that by some stratagem I should make my escape from the Castle, was for my being sent to Bridwell to pick oakum, and kept on bread and water. Others was determined that I should be sent to Cinderbury mines (a place of punishment they have, where few persons ever live to come out of that is confined there, as no daylight is ever seen), and there to be kept under ground on small allowance, bread and water.* This they had partly agreed on; then they was at a stand how to act with my seven children, which in this manner they had at last agreed to: That my seven Tory children should be divided from each other fifty miles apart, that they should not converse or see each other, and to be put apprentices to those that would take care to make them earn their daily bread, and that hard enough. In this manner, I expected my poor tender children would be torn from me, and myself banished from them never to see them more. These was the reports that was continually told me by those who came out of the Court from time to time, during the greatest part of the above fortnight, in this tormenting way impressed me with a heavy load of sorrow. I was almost unable to support myself; but, in all my troubles, I never would relinquish my King and country. Some of the General Court as well as the common people said, if they had their will, they would have one of those trees (there being several trees facing the court-house which they pointed to at the time) stripped of all its branches but eight, and would have me and my seven children hanged thereon, but me upon the highest branch. This was done for the purpose of tantalizing and tormenting me; it was running thorns into my sides hourly; and as they perceived my pain at such threats, so their joy increased during the above fortnight of my waiting on the General Court, during which time I had delivered six memorials at different times;† the last of which, I being left an only executor

* It is, perhaps, superfluous to add that there never was any place of confinement in Massachusetts to which this description can be applied. But Allen probably refers to Simsbury, now East Granby, Ct. For a full account of the prison at that place, where a considerable number of Tories were imprisoned in the Revolution, see Phelps's History of Newgate of Connecticut. — EDS.

† The Journal of the House of Representatives mentions only one petition from Jolley Allen. Saturday, June 1st, a petition from him, "setting forth the distressed condition of himself and children, and praying for the consideration of this Court," was read and referred to a committee. On Monday the House, "on motion, ordered that Jolley Allen be directed to leave the galleries of the House." On the 4th, the committee on Allen's petition reported; but after the report was read it was recommitted. The next morning the committee reported again, when the report was read, amended, and accepted, and sent to the Council for concurrence. On the 6th, Lewis Allen sent in a petition for permission "to receive Jolley Allen and his children, and support them on terms proposed in said petition," which was referred to a committee. On the 10th, the committee reported. Their report was read and recommitted; and at the afternoon session of the same day the House "Ordered, that a message go to the Honorable Board, to desire them to send down the resolve on the petition of Jolley Allen, if they have not passed upon the same," which was apparently done, and the House "reconsidered the resolve." At the same time, the committee on the petition of Lewis Allen again reported; and their report was read and recommitted. On the 12th, "Mr. Lewis Allen had leave to withdraw his peti-

to the last will of Mrs. Vintino, of Boston, in which she left a large property behind her to her own relations living in Ireland, which I had received, and had the greatest part of it in my own hands at the time of my leaving Boston. In this last memorial I prayed that the General Court would nominate or appoint such gentlemen as they could depend on to secure the above property and restore it to the legatees agreeable to the said will, out of my effects, which was seized by the said General Court, and then remained at Cape Cod, as plainly shows by my pass from thence, where they acknowledged from under their hands I had left my children and effects as a security for my return. But my request was not granted by the said General Court, nor even an answer given to me. It grieved me exceedingly to see those innocent people in a foreign country injured in such a manner, in which I did all in my power to preserve, as being intrusted by the last will of a very worthy woman, and that should likewise be deprived of their right, she having a great dependence on me doing justice to her relations. How hard it will be if ever my property or any part of it should be restored to me, or to my children after my death, to be ruined again upon the account of the said will, which I left the original at the judge of probate's office at Cambridge, four miles from Boston. How am I or my children to escape from so heavy a charge, having acted to the utmost integrity and uprightness in my intentions? For had not my property been seized as it was, but I escaped with the fleet and army with my effects that I had with me, I should and fully intended to remit to Ireland the whole of the fortune of the late Mrs. Vintino the first opportunity. And I now beg leave to submit my case to the candid public to judge whether I myself or the General Court then sitting at Watertown was the thief that robbed those innocent heirs of their property. At near the latter end of the above fortnight I attended the said General Court at Watertown, some particular business called my brother, Lewis Allen, to Boston; and as he was coming through Watertown, stopping to refresh his horse and self, having nine miles further to go to Boston, some people in the town asked him what he intended to do in regard to his brother. My name being mentioned to him greatly surprised him, for he thought I was then at Cape Cod. He came to seek me, and asked me why I did not let him know I was here or intended to come. I told him my reason was, I had brought all these difficulties and distresses on myself. I did not choose to trouble any of my friends, for fear of bringing them into as great troubles as myself. While my brother and me was conversing together, the Council sent for me, and I was informed that the General Court had resolved what should be done with me, and had sent their resolves to the Council. When I attended, two of the Council came down to me, and expressed great concern for me, and told me that the

tion"; but at the afternoon session it was "Resolved, that the vote of the House on the petition of Lewis Allen, giving him leave to withdraw his petition, be reconsidered, and the House passed a resolve thereupon," which was sent up to the Council for concurrence. The assent of the Council apparently ended the matter. — Eds.

General Court had sentenced me (I think the gentlemen said) to Sinderbury mines; but so hard and dreadful a sentence to an innocent man, who had done no wrong to none of them, so agitated my mind, I really am not clear whether the gentlemen said Sinderbury mines or not, but I think they did, and my children to be divided, which made my case very hard, being well known to the General Court and the Council. I prayed they would permit me to send for my brother, Lewis Allen, then in Watertown, which was granted, and he came to me. I told him my shocking situation, and then he begged of me that I would give him liberty to see what he was able to do for me; on which the Council agreed to give him a few hours to send in a memorial to the General Court, praying relief for his brother before the sentence was passed by the Council, on which my brother sent in the following memorial:—

To the Honorable the Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled at Watertown.

The memorial of Lewis Allen, of Shrewsbury, in the County of Worcester and Colony aforesaid, humbly sheweth:—

That your memorialist hath been informed that this Honorable Court have ordered the goods and chattels the effects of Jolley Allen should be disposed of at public auction for the support of his said children, and that the children unable to support themselves should be disposed of and put out to board as reasonable as possible, and the rest of them to be put to apprenticeship or bound out to service. Your memorialist would inform this Honorable Court that he is willing to take the four youngest children at as reasonable a price as any person in the community; and the three oldest ones gratis. And that he will give bonds that they shall not become chargeable to the community for their support and maintenance; and that he will receive and support the said Jolley Allen, and will give security that he shall not depart the Colony, nor hold correspondence with any person knowing them to be inimical to the liberties of America. Wherefore your memorialist humbly prays that he may be permitted to receive said Allen and children upon the terms above mentioned, or upon such other terms as this Honorable Court shall judge for the safety and well-being of the community. And in duty bound shall ever pray.

LEWIS ALLEN.

In all our calamities, we ought not to despair, but look up to kind Providence who watches with a gracious and merciful care over us (and will not always let the wicked prevail), should order it so that the morning the Resolves of the General Court was sent down to the Council, my brother should arrive in Watertown, and the Council permitted him time to present the above memorial to the General Court, before they signed my sentence; as I am of opinion as soon as the Council had agreed with the General Court, there was a guard ready to take me to my banishment, where I must have soon expired of a broken heart as my poor wife had done about two months before. And, upon the above memorial being presented to the General Court, they came to the resolution to withdraw their former Resolve, and sent for the same from the Council, and came to the following Resolve:—

In the House of Representatives, 10th June, 1776. The committee on the petition of Lewis Allen, reported and read and accepted.

Resolved, That the prayer of the petitioner be so far granted that he have liberty to take the seven children of the said Jolley Allen, for which he shall be paid out of the proceeds of the sales of the goods and effects of the said Jolley Allen thirty-six pounds eight shillings [which sum in sterling makes twenty-seven pounds six shillings], for the maintenance and support of the same ; and the petitioner to give bonds in the sum of one hundred pounds that they shall not become chargeable to the community for any further support and maintenance; and that he shall receive and support the said Jolley Allen, and that he shall not depart the County of Worcester, or hold correspondence with any person knowing them to be inimical to the liberties of America, till further orders of this Court.

That Mr. Nye, Mr. Wendell, and Mr. Deacon Thomas be a committee to receive all the goods and effects of the said Jolley Allen that can be found, and deliver the petitioner at Boston the children and four feather beds and bedding, and the wearing apparel of the children and the late wife of the said Jolley Allen, also his own wearing apparel ; the remainder of the goods and effects to be disposed of by the said committee at public auction, and pay the above sum of thirty-six pounds eight shillings to the said Lewis Allen; also pay all necessary charges that have arisen or may arise in collecting and transporting said goods and effects; also the charges for supporting the said Jolley Allen and family in Provincetown, and to be accountable to the General Court for the same.

Sent up for concurrence.

J. WARREN, *Speaker*.

In Council 14th June, 1776. Read and concurred.

JOHN LOWELL, *Deputy P.*

Consented to.

WILLIAM SEVER.	B. WHITE.
WILLIAM SPOONER.	WILLIAM PHILLIPS.
CALEB CUSHING.	B. AUSTIN.
J. WINTHROP.	T. GARDNER.
S. HOLTEN.	DANIEL DAVIS.
RICHARD DERBY, Jr.	D. SEWELL.
T. CUSHING.	D. HOPKINS.
JOHN WHETCOMB.	

A true copy. Attest :

JOHN LOWELL, *Deputy Secretary, P.*

I beg leave, though in an improper place, to insert the receipt my brother Lewis Allen gave me, the night before I made my escape and broke my confinement, at the hazard of my life, for fear it should be forgot, only to show the honor of the General Court, notwithstanding their Resolves to allow my brother twenty-seven pound six shillings, as above resolved, with my children, they never gave him one farthing, viz. : —

SHREWSBURY, 7th Feb., 1777.

Received the within named Jolley Allen and family 17th June last, but have received not one farthing from the General Court.

L. ALLEN.

This was the utterance to myself of a heavy heart when I left Watertown, 15th June, 1776 : Now farewell, Watertown. I hope no friend of government will ever hereafter fall into your hands, nor

receive the hundredth part of the most barbarous and inhumane usage as I have for this fifteen days past. On this day I left Watertown, and have got thirty-one miles to go to Shrewsbury, the place of my confinement, and on the greatest part of the road was insulted almost by every one. From my keeping of a shop for the sale of English goods for many years in Boston was known to all the country round; and not a morsel of bread would any of them give me or my son for money; and when night came on was obliged to go into the woods to lay. Through the mercy of God, we arrived at Shrewsbury the second day, being the 17th of June, Sunday, very hungry, but I cannot say I was dry; by often lying down and drinking of the running stream, both me and my son as we went along, was all the sustenance we had. My brother, being obliged to go to Boston on some urgent business, could not go home with us, but gave me money to hire a horse and chaise, but none durst let one to us for fear of being tarred and feathered.

When I got to Shrewsbury, I was in hopes the bitterness of my hard fate was over; but I soon found, to my inexpressible grief, I was much mistaken, which I beg leave to relate, for the people of Shrewsbury, of the 20th of June, three days after my arrival, expressed most horrid and cruel invectives against me, and threatened me most violently, and friends of government informed me so much of their behavior that I durst not venture out of the house, for my life was in imminent danger, I found; and on the 27th of June, about ten o'clock at night, I was going to my bed half undressed, my brother came up to me and knocked at the door, to let me know the house was going to be surrounded that night by a very great mob from different towns. At which news I was quite composed, thinking I must resign my breath as well as my effects. My brother was greatly agitated, thinking he and his family must die along with me, and my poor mother, who was near ninety years of age. The terror was so great on her that I thought she would expire several times; and then I was exceedingly sorry that my brother had sent a memorial to the General Court for me, as I said to him at Watertown, when he chided me for not writing to him. I said, "No, Lewis, I have brought this difficulty on myself: let me work myself out of it as well as I can, and let me not be the instigation of ruining the whole family." But my case was so desperate from the General Court, that I was glad to accept his offer, which succeeded for a time, but now it seemed to fall with more violence than ever. We sat up the whole night, but the Shrewsbury mob being disappointed by the other towns did not come, and we heard nothing further of them until the 8th of July, which was twelve days, expecting them the first four days that they was coming every minute on us; the family crying and lamenting day and night the greatest part of the time, saying they was ruined for ever; and I preparing myself for death as well as I was able. The 8th of July, this mob sent word to Shrewsbury mob that the reason of they being disappointed was they could not collect themselves together, but of this night was determined to come and set fire to the house and destroy every thing there was. This farm my father gave, above twenty years before, one thousand pounds sterling

for it. Upon three friends of government hearing of their determination, came and acquainted me of it, about three o'clock the same afternoon, unknown to the mob, or else I must have perished that night. I took this information into consideration immediately. What to do I could not tell; at last, I bethought myself. About four o'clock, to save the house, effects, and the lives of the rest of the family that was there, I sent for two men of the town who I was informed was the head of the mob. They came to me. I begged the favor of them that I might go to Mr. Stone, their representative,* which lived three miles off from my brother's. I took no notice to those two men that I knew what was to happen that night, when I first asked them the favor. They answered me they durst not grant it. I interceded with them all I could. They went back and returned to me about six o'clock the same evening (those two men was officers belonging to the rebel army), and when they came to me the second time they had changed their clothes and had put on their regimentals. They told me then that I had liberty to go to their representative, but they must go with me, which they did. I then took leave of my brother and his family, and happy to think within myself that I had bethought myself of an expedient to save the lives of my aged mother, my brother, and the rest of the family that was in the house, to get out of the house from them, that they should not fall a sacrifice with me, as I expected nothing but present death with going out with them two men. Soon after, I left the house to go this three miles of ground, in going of which the mob had placed themselves in small parties about a quarter of a mile distance from each other, and as I passed them, and most of the houses, no tongue can express the ill-treatment and abusive language I received; and happy was I to think I had escaped with my life to the representative's house, he being the representative for the town of Shrewsbury, and a constant attendant on the General Court, was well acquainted with all the afflictions the General Court had laid on me, that he was fully satisfied that no one had any business with me; they had afflicted me as much as could be done as they thought, and that I had no business to wait of him. I told him I waited upon him to know if I had broke the resolves of the General Court, or what I had done to the people of Shrewsbury, and I begged leave to state my case as follows: That I was well informed that there was mobs to assemble from different towns that night, and was to surround my brother's house, and if they could not lay hold of me they was determined to destroy it and every thing therein by fire; for they was determined to have my life, and, if he should refuse me to stay in his house, begged he would let me have a private room for half an hour to prepare myself for death. Mr. Stone answered me, saying, "Mr. Allen, I never knew you to tell me a falsity in your life, and it is hard for me to think ill of my

* Jonas Stone, born Aug. 12, 1725, died March 22, 1809. Ward says in the *History of Shrewsbury*, pp. 424, 425: "He was an ardent friend of his country in her Revolutionary struggle; represented the town in General Court, when held at Watertown, May, 1775, and rendered long and important services in town and parish affairs."—Eps.

townsmen." Upon that, he turned round to the two officers that came with me, and conversed with them upon the matter I had just related to him. The two officers was greatly surprised when they found I knew all the plot, and hesitated some time before they could answer Mr. Stone clearly; but at last they did confess that was the intent of the mob, to come upon me that night, and how I knew it they could not tell. I desired leave to wait upon him, and we had granted him that favor. On this, Mr. Stone took the two officers into another room, and staid there about a quarter of an hour: their conversation I can form no judgment of, but on their return I applied to Mr. Stone in these words: "Sir, what am I to do in this deplorable situation I am now in? Do you receive me in your house, or do you not?" He answered me, "I am sorry for you, and that you may stay in my house." I told him I would pay him with the greatest honor, which I did. During the time I staid at Mr. Stone's house, which was eight days, he used me very kindly; but, poor man, I was exceedingly sorry for him and his family, for I had not been but two days there, when the mob threatened to destroy him, and burn his house and all his effects with fire, declaring he was a greater Tory than I was for taking me in, and this repeated several times, saying he deserved to be sent out of the world as quick as I myself, and that he was the last person they should have thought of acting so, being their representative; which greatly alarmed his wife and children, to my great trouble. And, on my leaving his house and settling with him about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 16th of July, he expressed great concern for me, and if it was in his power he would take a pleasure in serving me. On my quitting his house, I went the roadway to go to my brother's house again. Whilst I was going the roadway, the mob rising, and knowing the country better than me, took a shorter way through the fields to Mr. Stone's house, where they sent one before them to inquire for me. They received an answer from Mr. Stone himself that I had left his house and gone to my brother's. Accordingly, this man went to the rest of the mob to acquaint them thereof, and they immediately set off after me, to my brother's, where they found me. They sent two men to inquire of my brother if I was there. He asked them what their business was with me. They told him it was not his business to know; they wanted me, and they would have me; and, if he would not consent to it, they would have me out of the house by force. Upon that, he declared they should not; which they answered they was determined they would, or else die by it. On which a scuffle ensued, and they got the better of my brother, and got into the house, and was forcing their way through it, breaking every thing before them. This happened about half after twelve o'clock the same day. The first and second attempt was to have been in the night; not succeeding, they was now determined to take the day, that every one should see what they did do. Hearing the scuffle and uproar in the parlor, I came in and asked what was the matter. These two men made me answer, and said they came to demand my body, and was determined to have it, or they would lose their lives in the cause. As I now appeared before

them, I asked them what they wanted to do with me. They told me I should soon see that. I asked them whether they wanted to lay violent hands on me. They said they was determined to do that to the very utmost of their power, if I did not give up myself to them immediately. I asked, upon these words, what difference would it be their seizing me or I to give myself up. They made me this reply: "If you deliver yourself up to us, you shall not be hurt; if you do not, all the punishment we are able to lay upon you we will do, if we take you by force." I asked them both directly whether they had any honor in them. They both told me I was a scoundrel. Upon that word, I asked them if they would give me their honor I should not be hurt if I gave myself up to them. They accordingly did, and I said to them, "I hope it is that part of honor that my life might not be taken from me." Upon which they answered me that was owing to my behavior whilst I was with them. Accordingly, I went with them, and was greatly astonished to see the number of people was waiting for them. They took me and marched me back the three miles I had come that morning to Mr. Stone's house; insulted the greatest part of the way too inhuman to put pen to paper to describe, and joined by other mobs on the road, all in chorus one with another. At about three o'clock, the mob arrived at the representative's house, and asked if Deacon Stone was at home; the answer they received was no, that he was in the field; and seeing so many people gathered together about the house, they stood amazed, and me in the middle of them a prisoner. They sent a boy with that body to show them where their representative was in the field at work, which greatly surprised him (I thought he looked wild) at seeing so large a mob of people should make their appearance before him in the field, and in looking about him happened to see me, almost fatigued to death, and broken-hearted in the midst. Upon which he said to them, "Ho, ho! what's your will with me?" Upon which they began to ask the meaning of my leaving his house that day. "Ah, my townsmen," said he, "are you the people that threaten to set my house in flames and destroy all my effects? I now know you all well, and know how to make a proper return of the whole of you to the General Court; and what are you come about, or what is your business with Mr. Allen?" They answered, "We are all in a body come upon that account, that he shall not live in the town of Shrewsbury, nor no king of the Tories, nor no villain like him, that went off with the fleet and army"; but insisted of carrying me back to the General Court, then sitting at Watertown. He answered them, saying, "What has this here mob to allege against Mr. Allen? Has he broke his confinement; has he insulted any of the townspeople; has he been disguised in liquor; has he been guilty of any misdemeanor amongst you since he has been here? If he has, I will save you the trouble of sending him to the General Court; but I will send him under a strong guard, and that immediately." The speaker of this mob made answer, and said there was not one of those articles to lay to his charge or any other whatsoever; but as a body that had appeared before him, all friends to the United States of America, and

that regard for their thirteen stripes, that they would not suffer no such a villanous Tory to be in the town of Shrewsbury; but at the hazard of all their lives was determined to have me out of it, and that immediately. Upon which their representative said to them, "I understand you now all plainly," and said he was thoroughly tired, and desired they would all sit down in the field with him, which they did except myself (I suppose it was in order that none of them should get away clandestinely, if they had so minded); I left standing, ready to sink into the earth, a spectacle for the whole mob to gaze on during their conversation, and to make their remarks on, and loading me with abuse; setting no regard upon the presence of their representative between whites. This mob being seated, their representative began to open the conversation to that whole body as follows: "Now I am seated, I now understand your conversation right well. You want me to send that man that you have a prisoner, under a strong guard, to Watertown to the General Court, where they are now sitting. Had you any crime in particular against him, I would do it; but I plainly see you have none. Now I will give you my opinion as your representative: this man lived eight days with me; I never lived with more satisfaction than during the time he was in my house, no further than this, often having been told that my house was going to be set on fire and destroyed during the greatest part of the time he lived with me. I have said to a great many of my townsmen, if that was the case, I would make them build me up a better in the room of this I have. And you want me truly to send this man who is standing up among us to Watertown, thirty-one miles, which is because I took him into my house, and you had not the satisfaction of murdering him eight days back? Now you all know I am representative; I have this to say to you, now you are calmly sitting with me: you are all the transgressors, not only upon me, but this man you have made a prisoner of, and now with you, and if I knew where to send for a sufficient guard to surround you all, you are the people I ought to send to the General Court for disobeying the General Court's orders, and not this man, who by your own confession having nothing to lay to his charge that I can find out by any of you. You even say he has not broke his confinement. You all say you are all friends to the United States, and the thirteen stripes; you are the people that wants to pull down the United States, and tear the thirteen stripes to pieces. I cannot see any occasion the town of Shrewsbury has for any representative. Although I have been your representative for a number of years, and always have done in the General Court every thing that lay in my power for the prosperity of the town of Shrewsbury ever since I have been your representative, in promoting such salutary laws as was serviceable to the town of Shrewsbury, I am now convinced this body that appears now before me, they seemly are determined to break through the laws I have been striving to hold up to the utmost of my abilities; but now I find it is impossible for me to do it any longer. And now I see plainly the minds of this body, which is the greatest part of this town, that you have no occasion for a representative: I

am determined to serve you no longer, appoint who you will." Upon this, the foreman of the mob got up and spoke to the mob in these words: "We are like to have a long and disagreeable conversation; I move that a guard of six men take the prisoner away, that he may hear no more of it." And accordingly the guard took me to the representative's house, being near the field, and staid with me there during the short conversation that passed whilst I was with this guard, the purport of which I am unacquainted with. In about twenty minutes after, the whole mob came out of the field and demanded my body; on which the guard marched me into the midst of them. From between twelve and one o'clock, they took me out of my brother's house, they marched me sixteen miles, until two o'clock the next morning. In this sixteen miles, they took me to Northborough; the militia of the town with their guns and bayonets fixed was drawn up ready to receive me, to my great surprise (from which I imagined they had sent some of their party a shorter way to give them notice). They applied to the representative of that town* and stated their case, and he told them likewise that they was entirely wrong, and if they persevered to carry me to Watertown, as they had nothing to allege against me, it was his opinion that I should be sent back and they would be all made prisoners; but they might do as they pleased, for had I broke my confinement, or any ways done amiss, he would have sent his guard to Watertown with me. Upon this second repulse, they, finding themselves in the wrong, did not know how to act for some time. But a little while after the body agreed to draw up an instrument for me to sign, which was for me to consent to be shot through the heart if I attempted to come off my brother's farm; which instrument I refused to sign, saying I never would sign my own death-warrant; but as my presence was so disagreeable, and if it would give any satisfaction to them to draw up any thing that would not take my life immediately, I would sign it (there I had given my word). They then paused a little, and withdrew, and transversed the sentence to five hundred stripes, which I signed as follows:—

NORTHBOROUGH, 16th July, 1776.

Whereas, I have been unfriendly to the common cause of America, and it being grievous to the good people of Shrewsbury for me to walk the streets, I promise and engage to abide within the limits of the farm of Lewis Allen of said Shrewsbury, excepting to attend public worship at the meeting-house in the first precinct of said Shrewsbury, and if found without the said bounds I consent to receive any punishment they shall inflict not exceeding five hundred stripes on the naked back. And I further promise not to send any letter to any person, unless first shown to some person whom they shall appoint for that purpose.

Witness my hand.

JOLLEY ALLEN.

Many a time I was exceedingly sorry since I had given my word to sign the aforesaid instrument, for reason I was always determined to

* The representative from Northborough at that time was John Ball.—Eds.

break my confinement the first opportunity, even at the hazard of my life; not thinking that they would have taken the advantage of my word to lay on me so hard a sentence. But I had given my word, and could not go from it, otherwise I never should have consented to have done any such thing, for I was sensible, if I had been taken after I broke my confinement, that I could not have been able to a gone through the above punishment from their savage conduct to me; must have died in the operation. About two o'clock in the morning, they marched me back to my brother's farm, their place of confinement, not approving what their General Court had done to me; where I remained well watched, may be depended on, for the sake of what I had signed. But some friends of government who used come to bemoan their hard fate with me in the night, which durst not come at any other time, has frequently told me what a kind hand of Providence was over me for me to sign the aforementioned instrument, as a party of the mob that took me to Northborough had dug a grave six feet deep, and as I was to walk by they was to shove me in it and cover me up immediately, that none might ever know what was become of me; but kind Providence would have brought the whole to light, I make no doubt. This it seems was their determination before drawing the aforesaid instrument for me to sign. During my confinement, I beg leave to mention my son, then in the seventeenth year of his age, being then at Boston striving to do what lay in power for me, but to no effect; the General Court hearing that the mobs from other towns came to Provincetown and broke open the stores where my effects lay, and took out whatever they pleased and carried them away, and likewise burnt the vessel for the sake of the iron. Amongst my effects taken away, there was a crimson silk damask bed which cost one hundred fifty pounds sterling; and as every one was for getting all they could, it was torn to pieces, and some got enough to make capshreens, others to make bonnets; and those that could get no bigger, made shoes of them, which my own children saw worn before they left the Cape, and came to me at Shrewsbury. The General Court, as I said before, hearing of these plunderers, ordered my son, then at Boston, to go with an empty vessel to Cape Cod, and bring the remainder of my effects away with him; but, on his arrival at Cape Cod, the people there refused to deliver them to him, saying the General Court had no right to the goods, as they came into their harbor in the greatest distress imaginable; that the vessel and cargo was their property, a wreck from sea. On which my son and vessel returned to Boston, with only my other six poor children, and four beds and bedding which the General Court had ordered. And my children came to me at Shrewsbury: this was in the month of August, and not before, that I received my dear children.

I hope the candid reader will permit a parent to leave his own present troubles awhile, and lament on his son, who in the eighteenth year of his age, and never knew what hardships was before, being always brought up very tenderly with me, but being separated from me, and losing his mother, and cruelly insulted, am informed he died quite

broken-hearted, for want of his father being there to take his part. In this youth, I have lost a very promising and dutiful child, and my other six dear children a loving and kind brother, was advancing in life very fast to be enabled to defend himself and protect them, which friendly aid they have stood in great need of since I arrived in England. After receiving my six poor children, I continued in my confinement until I received Mr. Wendell's letter, a copy of which is as follows:—

WATERTOWN, 19th Sept., 1776.

The General Court have resolved that you be permitted to go to Cape Cod, there to sell so many of your effects as are sufficient to discharge your debts in Provincetown, and you are to settle and pay off the same. After that is done, you will assist the selectmen of that town in forwarding the remainder of your effects up to Boston, to be deposited in the hands of Mr. Pitts and myself, till the further order of the Court. This is the best that can be done at present, and hope you'll perform the business with integrity. I must desire to see you before you go down to the Cape, as I shall write by you, and give you some directions.

Call at the Secretary's office at the Council Chambers for the resolves of Court.

Yours,

OLIVER WENDELL,
One of the Court's Committee.

On the receipt of the above letter, I greatly feared it was a scheme laid to get me off the farm, in order that the mob might inflict me with the punishment of five hundred lashes. I durst not go until my brother had got a pass for me from Dr. Flint, chairman of the committee of Shrewsbury, which took him three days to procure for me, and is as follows:—

In compliance with Mr. Wendell's directions, Jolley Allen, the bearer hereof, is permitted to go to Cape Cod or elsewhere, agreeable to what the Court shall order.

EDWARD FLINT,

Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, &c., at Shrewsbury.
SHREWSBURY, 23d Sept., 1776.

The next morning after I received the above pass, I set off to Watertown for the copy of the Resolves of the General Court, which is as follows:—

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Sept. 18, 1776.

Resolved, That Jolley Allen be permitted to collect and make sale of so much of his effects at Cape Cod as shall be sufficient to discharge the debts incurred by him and his family at Provincetown since March last; and, after settling and paying said debts, that the selectmen of Provincetown deliver the remainder of his effects into the hands of Mr. Wendell and Mr. Pitts, of Boston, who shall be accountable to this Court for the same that may be delivered to them.

Sent up for concurrence.

J. WARREN, *Speaker.*

In Council, Sept. 18, 1776. Read and concurred.

JNO. AVERY, *Deputy Secretary.*

Consented to by the major part of the Council.

A true copy. Attest:

JNO. AVERY, *Deputy Secretary.*

On receiving the said Resolve from the secretary's office, I went to Boston that same evening, and attended on Mr. Wendell at his house (I took care to have a copy of the Resolve before I gave it him), and entered into conversation immediately on the subject of my going to the Cape. Afterwards he sat down and wrote a letter to the selectmen of Provincetown, which he sealed (or I would have had a copy of it also), desiring me to go as quick as possible I could contrive to get to Provincetown with this letter. (At this time of leaving Shrewsbury, I thought it very prudent to have my eldest daughter with me, which was then in the nineteenth year of her age, for fear of any accident happening to me of being murdered on the road; hearing the mobs had broke open all the warehouses where my effects lay, and took out what they pleased, and left the remainder, by which means I thought my life in danger, was the reason of me taking my daughter with me.) On leaving Mr. Wendell and he giving me the above letter, he said if I found any difficulty, or that the people of Cape Cod refusing to deliver me the goods, to tell them they had once disobliged the General Court, and let them take care how they offended the General Court again, if ever the town wanted or should ask a favor from them. But, before I left Mr. Wendell, I asked how I was to go to the Cape. He said the best way I could. I told him I had no money, how was I to go two hundred and forty miles thither and back again. He said he had no directions from the General Court, and therefore he could do nothing in it. I answered, "Sir, you know they have taken away all my property; I have nothing left that I can come at; I cannot go without support; and pray, sir, am I to stay in Boston or return to Shrewsbury?" Besides, I had my daughter with me, as I did not know from the cruelty I had received at Shrewsbury but that I might be murdered by the way in going or coming back; for that reason, I had brought my daughter with me, that she might be a witness of my funeral, that the General Court might know what was become of me. After waiting two days in Boston, Mr. Pitts, the other Court's committee man, sent for me, and gave me twenty dollars in paper money, which is four pounds ten shillings sterling, and desired I would make what haste I could there, and come back as quick as possible, which I did to the great astonishment of the people of Provincetown, for they never expected to see me again. And to my great surprise on my arrival in Provincetown, and delivered Mr. Wendell's letter to the selectmen, on reading which they told me neither I nor the General Court had any right to my effects, as I came into their harbor in the greatest distress; that the like was never seen before; and refused to give me up the effects, until I told them of the message that Mr. Wendell gave me beside the letter. On which, the selectmen had a consultation together, and then agreed to let me have the effects, and gave me an account, which I never before was able to obtain, for unloading the vessel and storing the effects. They charged one hundred and fifty pounds sterling; but, on my disputing so unjust and enormous an account, they agreed to take seventy-four sterling, and this account they afterwards acknowledged to be a very heavy charge when thus

reduced, as will appear by the subjoined certificate. Being obliged by order of the Court to sell the effects at Provincetown to discharge the said sum, I am well satisfied in my own mind what was there sold for the above sum of seventy-four pounds sterling would have sold in Boston for five hundred guineas sterling. Such was the advantage taken of me, and never allowed me what was left besides, after the above sale. I did the best that lay in my power from Mr. Pitts and Mr. Wendell's direction to me, ordering me to assist the selectmen. I hired a vessel to take the remainder of my effects to Boston, as appears by the receipt at the bottom of the bill of lading, as follows:—

PROVINCETOWN, Oct. 9, 1776.

Received the above goods and articles on board the schooner *Ester*, which I promise to deliver at Boston, to Oliver Wendell and John Pitts, Esqs., or their order, danger of the seas only excepted, they paying freight thereof, eight pounds lawful money, as witness my hand.

Bureau, mahogany table, six mahogany chairs omitted.

HENRY ATKINS.

My trouble from the conduct of the Court has been very great, on the above occasion, and never thanked for it, though at the same time recommended by the selectmen of Provincetown, as follows:—

These are to certify that Jolley Allen hath suffered a very heavy loss in being cast on shore, in his house-furniture being stove, damaged, and destroyed, and his papers it is presumed were all lost with his books and accounts, and a very large quantity of china, glass, and other ware destroyed in the vessel. His charges here hath unavoidably arisen to a large sum on what little he saved out of the whole, which charges he hath paid with honor by the sale of his effects, in which sale he hath done the most he could to save the remainder, to whom it shall be ordered by the General Court.

NEHEMIAH NICKERSON, } *Selectmen of*
SOLOMON COOK, } *Provincetown.*

PROVINCETOWN, Oct. 9, 1776.

If my effects was but little, how came they to charge one hundred and fifty pounds sterling for unloading and storing the same? I and my daughter went in the vessel with the remainder of my effects. I was very sorry we did not meet with some English man-of-war to carry us into some other port, for had there been but ever so little it would have been of service to me. But though the mobs at several times had stolen so much, and those sold at Cape Cod to so great a disadvantage, there was a great quantity left. But unfortunately for us we got safe to Boston, and I waited on Messrs. Wendell and Pitts, and gave them the bill of lading, and a copy of every one's name and where they lived that bought any of my effects at Cape Cod; also what they gave for them. Mr. Wendell and Mr. Pitts both agreed that my effects should be put into Mr. Wendell's store, and the vessel was ordered round to his wharf, and I was desired to see the vessel unloaded, and likewise to see them safe stored, and make out a just account and give them, which I did; and, when done, I waited on Mr. Wendell with the account. He asked me if every thing was stored. I told him it was, only a crimson silk curtain in which I put all my

plate and the plate I had by me belonging to the late Mrs. Vintino (I have before mentioned). He answered me: "How can I give a true return to the General Court of your fidelity, if you do not let me have all the plate?" I replied, I thought my lodgings a more fitter place than his warehouse to keep the plate. He answered, he thought his house a fitter place, and ordered me to bring it there the next morning, saying, "Mr. Allen, if I had ever such a mind to serve you, I could not; how can I make a proper return of all your effects delivered to me? I can only say you have delivered to me all the remainder of your effects except one silk curtain and your plate. I make not the least doubt in life," added he, "but what you will have all your effects returned to you, and that immediately by our General Court, on my making your return to them with the character the selectmen of Provincetown has given of you to me, which I shall lay before the General Court in your behalf." Upon which, I delivered the silk curtain and all my plate I was possessed of, the next morning, to Mr. Wendell and Mr. Pitts, two famous selectmen, who call themselves honest men of the town of Boston, which promised to do every thing in their power to serve me. But I never heard from them afterwards: it plainly appeared they meant to serve themselves, and not me, for when I left the plate in their hands they ordered me immediately to my confinement, and not to be within forty miles of any seaport, this 27th of October, 1776, which is thirty-three days from the time I left Shrewsbury to the time I returned; and there I remained, as much insulted as before, playing at bo-peep with them, as they watched me very narrowly. I often baffled them, for sometimes I would stay in the house for a week, and make my appearance again; sometimes a fortnight and three weeks, and once I confined myself for a month, and then made my appearance. During this space, I used to keep myself close in the house, they used to be upon the watch, and often would say I was gone; and when I did appear, to the great surprise and astonishment, was insulted in such a manner that my life was in danger. The reason of my confining myself was that, when I should be so fortunate as to make my escape, they should not suspect me. In this manner I continued from the 28th day of March, 1776, I fell a sacrifice amongst them, to the 8th day of February, 1777, — I think to the best of my knowledge is three hundred and seventeen days.

And then kind goodness appeared to me, by three friends of government, that lived eighty miles' distance, hearing how barbarously I had been treated, and how violently used by the Americans, came to my relief at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, which they was determined to effect that I might not suffer any longer amongst them, which through God's goodness they succeeded, and brought me away triumphant with them about the hour of one o'clock in the morning.*

* Mrs. Stoddard informs us, from family tradition, that Allen's escape from Shrewsbury was effected by the help of his nephew, Thomas Allen, Jr., of New London, then a young man of twenty-two, who was the only person concerned in the affair. On reaching New London, Allen was carried on board of the British man-of-war by three persons, all of them connected with the family by marriage, who were afterward imprisoned. — Eds.

And we arrived at New London about two o'clock the next day, eighty miles from the place of my confinement; and about two o'clock the next morning, being Monday, the 10th day of February, I went on board the *Amazon* frigate of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Jacobson, who generously received me at that hour in the night, and took me in his own apartments and loaded me with kindnesses, as much as could be, as a friend of government. I continued with him until the Thursday following. I applied to him to be landed: he ordered his boat out with reluctance, and begged to keep me on board to carry me safe himself to New York, for fear I should fall into the hands of the Americans again; but I being desirous of getting there, and he not knowing the exact time of his going, granted my request and brought the king's frigate under sail to see me safe landed, for if any of the American boats, of which there was several in sight, should offer to come after me, he would have sunk them. He was induced to this from motives of humanity, as my sufferings had been so great, for which kindness I can never sufficiently thank him, but shall always remember his name with the greatest gratitude. And after I was landed I had one hundred and twenty miles to go to New York. I was in imminent danger all the way of being taken, but through the mercy of God I escaped, and arrived at New York safe of Monday following, the 17th day of February, about sunset, and waited on Sir William Howe immediately, and he desired me to wait of his brother, Lord Howe; and, when I came to his Lordship, found the General there before me. I told his Lordship and the General part of my difficulties, and I hearing there was a fleet bound to England, I begged his Lordship would give me a passage in the said fleet, which his Lordship readily granted, and ordered a pass for me to go on board a brig two hundred and eighty tons, commanded by Captain Montgomery, as I had not money to pay my passage, nor even to lay in any stores for myself. After I received Lord and General Howe's directions for my pass, was obliged to call Captain Bowmaster out of bed, as the fleet was getting under sail, as he was appointed to make out passes, and I was near losing my passage. I was obliged to give half a guinea for a boat, and they put me on board the wrong vessel, which I went aboard of the 18th of February. But, lying at Sandy Hook one day, I was desirous to go on board a ship-of-war which I was informed that General Robinson was in, whom I well knew for many years. The captain ordered his boat out, and went with me. When I came on board, General Robinson received me very kindly, and expressed great concern for my losses, which he well knew. On the 19th day of February, we sailed from Sandy Hook, and arrived in England the 19th day of March following, and arrived in London the next day, the 20th March, 1777, and the first inquiry I made was after my wife's sister, Mrs. Lewington, and to my great grief found her doubly chained down, raving mad, in Bedlam; she thinking myself, wife, and seven children was all fell a sacrifice to the barbarity of the Americans. I thought to have lived comfortable during my stay in England with her; but I thank God she is now out of Bedlam, and much better than could be expected.

The next day I applied to Messrs. Harrison and Ansley, No. 50 Bread Street, Cheapside, London, who I at the beginning of the troubles in America, I had sent from Boston two hundred and thirty pounds sterling in bills of exchange, and desired them to put the money out at interest upon good security for my use, think it might some time or other be of service to my family, little expecting at that time that I should ever come to London again myself. But, to add grief to my sorrow, I found not one shilling of the money paid to them; but the bills lay in their hands all protested, which bills I have now by me. I being so long out of London, I was almost as great a stranger, though born and brought up in it, as those that had never seen the place. Having been out of it twenty-two years, most of my friends and acquaintance was dead and gone away; my distress was so great that it almost overcame me, and had I not a gone to the New England Coffee House, where I saw many Boston and New England gentlemen, I know not what would have become of me. By seeing of them revived my drooping spirits, and finding myself deprived of this money in London, as I thought to have received to have helped to relieve myself and children, I did not know what to do.

Necessity obliged me to apply to kind government; and, on Wednesday, the 26th of March, 1777, I went to wait on the Right Honorable Lord George Germain, and present to him a memorial. It not being levee day, Mr. Cumberland, his Lordship's secretary, behaved to me very genteelly, and told me to come early the next day; he expressed a very great concern for my troubles, and introduced me to several gentlemen of his acquaintance, and offered at the same time to do me all the service that lay in his power; of which kindness I shall never forget, and I pray to God that he may be rewarded for the same, as his humane and friendly offers greatly relieved my troubled and afflicted mind at that time.

The next day, Thursday the 27th March, about one o'clock, I was introduced to the Right Honorable Lord George Germain, who very graciously received me at his levee, and did me the honor to cause me to sit down by him. Mr. Cumberland then presented my memorial to his Lordship, who likewise received it as kindly as he did myself, and returned it to his secretary, and ordered him to read it. And his Lordship heard it throughout very patiently, and afterwards his Lordship asked me a great many questions relating to my sufferings, &c., all which I answered. But his Lordship has never been acquainted with very few of my difficulties, but upon the mentioning those few (with the blessing of God, and the tender sympathizing feelings of his Lordship for those in distress, which is well known is his Lordship's characteristic by those who have the honor of being known to him), my troubled and afflicted heart was soon alleviated and eased by his Lordship graciously condescending to say to me he would take care of me. And a short time after I was ordered to wait of Mr. Row, at the King's treasury, who gave me an order on the bank; and from this place I receive my daily bread once a quarter, or else I must have perished in London; for which great kindness and attention in his

Lordship to me, I shall always remember with the utmost gratitude, and that his Lordship may enjoy every blessing this life can afford, and a crown of glory after his leaving this troublesome world, is and ever will be the ardent prayer of his most grateful humble servant,

JOLLEY ALLEN.

I shall with the greatest gratitude ever pray for the prosperity and welfare of my good King and native country, and I hope to live to see the time that this my native country will be triumphant over all her enemies.

But for fear death should come upon me, being now in the sixty-fourth year of my age, and having six poor children now living in America, I fear in great distress, which could I by any means get them over to England, would have this my case printed and made as public as possible, to show the depravity of nature, and how cruel mankind can be to their fellow-creature when divested of parental affection and true religion, which is the case of the Americans at this time.

I have likewise seen General Robinson (now Governor of New York) since I came to England, and he has expressed the warmest friendship for me, and assured me he would use all his interest in his power for me when opportunity served, and gave me leave to make use of his name on all or every occasion that might offer or likely to be of use to me, for which kindness I shall always retain the most grateful remembrance.

My case is different from a great many: I have neither houses nor lands in America, if even the times were settled; I have sacrificed my all for the good of the English nation (all for my good King and native country, whom I pray God may always triumph over all her enemies), and this will very plainly appear to my executors after my death, which I desire may be printed and made known to the world. I should have done it long ago, as I said before, only for my poor children, which I fear is wanting bread in America. If I should not live to see the times settled, I leave it to my executors to publish the whole or any part of my writings that is most agreeable to them.

I desire and beg some able penman will take up my hard case after my death to state my great troubles properly to the world for my six poor children, both fatherless, motherless, and friendless, who has lost their all in the above glorious cause, which I hope kind Providence will protect and bring them through this troublesome world. Those six children never knew what it was to be cold or hungry before those troubles came on in Boston, but always had a plenty of every thing, which is well known to all the inhabitants of Boston.

The President invited all the members to a reception to be given by Mrs. Winthrop at his house, No. 90 Marlboro' Street, on the 22d instant, being the anniversary of Washington's birthday.

MARCH MEETING, 1878.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday the 14th instant, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the preceding meeting, which was approved.

The Librarian reported various gifts to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-keeper announced the gift from Mr. Harrison Ellery of a photograph of a portrait of Mrs. Nathaniel Ellery, painted by Copley about 1760.

The following committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting, were appointed: to nominate a list of officers, Messrs. Foote, Goddard, and Upham; to examine the Treasurer's account, Messrs. W. Amory, Lawrence, and Chase.

The stated day for the annual meeting having been selected by the Governor of the Commonwealth for the Annual Fast, it was voted to hold that meeting of the Society on Wednesday, the 10th of April.

Colonel Henry Lee, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member; and Mr. John Austin Stevens, of New York, a Corresponding Member.

A copy of the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Donation Fund was presented by the President.

Mr. DEANE reported, from a committee previously appointed, the printed sheets for supplying the deficiency in Hubbard's "History of New England," procured from a perfect transcript in England. These consisted of a title-page, a preface of nine pages, and twenty pages of text, with a prefatory note by the committee. These sheets were intended for the copies of Hubbard now in the Society's possession and for those in public and private libraries, the work having been printed in the Society's "Collections," as well as in a separate volume.

He also read a private letter from Peter O. Hutchinson, Esq., of Sidmouth, England, the owner of the perfect copy of Hubbard's History, giving some interesting incidents relative to the family papers, and communicating the following account of the death of Governor Hutchinson, taken from the diary of his second son, Elisha Hutchinson:—

"Governor Hutchinson died either of heart disease or apoplexy, on the 3d of June, 1780, as he was walking from the door of his house to his carriage to take an afternoon drive, as his custom was. His second son, Elisha, and his son-in-law, Dr. Peter Oliver, saw him stagger on the pavement and catch at his footman for support, and they ran downstairs to his assistance. He was led back into the hall and placed in a chair, where he died almost immediately. He was buried on the 9th of June at Croydon, some ten miles south of London, as I have myself seen in the Register; and he was placed in a vault belonging to the Apthorpe family, with members of whom he had been on terms of friendship. There is no record over his remains, but there are inscriptions cut in the pavement of the floor to one or two members of the family."

The Rev. E. E. HALE called attention to what he supposed was an original broadside of the "Declaration of Independence," in a volume of proclamations, &c., in the Society's Library, there having sometimes been a doubt expressed as to whether the Declaration was originally issued in a broadside. This only bore the signatures of John Hancock, president, and Charles Thomson, secretary, it being well known that the general signing of the instrument did not take place until some weeks later.

Mr. FROTHINGHAM, referring to the discussion at the last meeting relative to the "Hutchinson Papers controversy," said that the "Massachusetts Gazette" of April 25, 1774, had a letter dated London, Feb. 15, 1774, containing the following statement: "The letters sent to Boston by Dr. Franklin have made much noise here, and he has been roughly handled by the ministry for the same; but it is pretty well known with us that the said letters were given by Mr. Whately to the late Hon. George Grenville, at whose death they fell into the hands of Lord Temple, who gave them to the Hon. Mr. Fitzherbert, and were by that gentleman given to Dr. Franklin."

Mr. FOOTE laid before the meeting the journal of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant, relating to proceedings in Boston immediately following the revolution under Andros, copied from the original in her Majesty's Public Record Office, in London; introducing it as follows:—

In consulting the "Continuation of Chalmers's Political Annals" (Colls. of N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1868), I was led to think that the document which is referred to in the note on page 88 as "Bullivant's curious diary in N. Eng. Ent. 30," might be of value.

By the kind offices of our President in communicating with

Mr. W. Noël Sainsbury, of London, I was enabled to procure a copy by that gentleman from the original Diary of Dr. Bullivant, now among the papers in the Public Record Office in London.

The writer was himself one of the prominent persons in the Andros government, and enjoyed special opportunities for knowing and recording the history of that eventful time. It was my hope to find that he had done so in such detail as to furnish a companion picture to the Diary of Judge Sewall, and especially that he would complete the fragmentary records of the establishment of King's Chapel in Boston, of which church he was an important member. Although his brief jotting of public events does not fulfil this expectation, it is not without value.

Concerning the author, it may be noted that Benjamin Bullivant came to Boston from London, about 1685. He was a physician and apothecary. John Dunton describes him thus:—

“I pass to my good friend Dr. Bullivant, formerly my fellow-citizen in London. I must consider him both as a gentleman and a physician. As a gentleman, he came of a noble family, but his good qualities exceeded his birth. He is a great master of the English tongue, and the Northampton people find him a universal scholar. His knowledge of the laws fitted him for the office of attorney-general, which was conferred upon him on the revolution in Boston: it is true he sought it not, but New England knew his worth, and even forced him to accept of it. While he held this place of attorney-general, he was so far from pushing things to that extremity as some hot spirits would have had him that he was for accommodating things, and making peace. His eloquence is admirable: he never speaks but 'tis a sentence, and no man ever clothed his thoughts in better words.

“I shall next consider him as a physician. His skill in pharmacy was such as had no equal in Boston, nor perhaps Northampton. He is so conversant with the great variety of nature that not a drug or simple escapes his knowledge, so that he never practises new experiments upon his patients, except it be in desperate cases, where death must be expelled by death. This also is praiseworthy in him, that to the poor he always practises cheap, but wholesome medicines, not curing them of a consumption in their bodies, and sending it into their purses, nor yet directing them to the East Indies to look for drugs, when they may have far better out of their gardens.”

He probably brought a wife from England, as his daughter Hannah was baptized Jan. 3d, 1685-6, at the Old South Church; but neither he nor his wife is in the printed list of members of that church. He was the first Senior Warden of King's Chapel from 1686 to 1687.

He was made attorney-general under Governor Andros, and took a conspicuous part during his administration, and, sharing in its downfall, was imprisoned for eight weeks in the common jail, and was detained in Boston for many months before he could get away to England, as his petition to the king for redress relates.

Notwithstanding his treatment by the people of Boston, he must have returned here later; for Hutchinson, who terms him "among the more liberal" (II. p. 112), records that "Lord Bellomont, going from the [Thursday] lecture to his house, with a great crowd round him, passed by Bullivant standing at his shop-door loitering. 'Doctor,' says his lordship, with an audible voice, 'you have lost a precious sermon to-day.' Bullivant whispered to one of his companions who stood by him, 'If I could have got as much by being there as his lordship will, I would have been there too.'"

[P. R. O. New England B. T. Vol. 5. B. C. P. 32.]

[Indorsed:]

NEW ENGLAND, 1690.

Mr. Bullivant's Journall of Proceedings from the 13 Feb. to the 19th of May.

S^r.—Underneath I give you the minutes of such occurrences I noated in Boston since the departure of Sir Edmond Andros: they are without any enlargements taken from my pocket booke, where I entred them dayly, as I could obtain a certainty of the Report. I am,

Sir, your humble servant,

B. B.

February 13th, 1689-90. Sir Edmond Andros putt to Sea in Capt. Bant.

17. Advice from Casco, that the Indians had carried off from thence about 30 head of Cattle, without other mischief.

19. The Piscataqua men of the 4 townes in Hampshire endeavoured an association amongst themselves, independent on Boston; but Hampton stood out, alledgeing they would tax them immoderately and certainly, but relieve them not att all; so the Bank moved by Martin the Baker an independent, who gott himselfe chosen Justice by the common people in the church, tooke upon him the power to send Pickering the miller to Boston to negotiate the matter and procure powder of the Councell there: the Councell was at first regardless of him, but tendring to come under theyr government, sold him a barrell of powder for £9 ready money, but did no more for them to this day.

One Davis, a common Alehouse Keeper, proposed to be Deputy President of the Province of Main with the title of Mayor, the people refuse him obedience. Resolved by the Representatives that an Election be in May next according to Charter usalges.

20. The Generall Court pardoned all the pirates except Tom Pounds; adjourned for 10 days; ordered a fast.

24. Tom Pounds further reprieved at the Instance of M^r Epaphras Shrimpton and sundry women of quality.

24. A post from Albany advised the French and Indians in a stormy night had surprised and taken Skenectadie, had murdered all Males in number about 60, particularly the minister, whom they miserably tortured, the women and children carried Captives, some of whom gott away in the woods, but with some children were frozen to death in theyre return to Albany, the Enemie haveing wholly destroyed the town; there were severall Mohacks in the Town, the mortall Enemies to the French, yet were they not only spared, but the families in which they lay treated well for theyr sakes, so desirous are the French to reconcile the Mohacks to them, yet were not the barbarous Mohacks so kind to them, for surprizeing one of them in theyre retreat, bitt of his fingers joynt by joynt, who confessed that 200 had made the Surprise and that 600 more were preparing to make a desent on the more Northern parts of New England. With this Messenger of the surprize of Skenectadie came a Letter from the Mohacks to the people at Boston, sharply chideing with them, and alledgeing they of Boston had told them (the Mohacks) they of Boston were a great people, and would be out early in the Spring against theyr Enemies the French at Kebeck; yet they observed it was but idle talk, and thrice in theyr Letter upbraided the Bostoners that they did much Eate, much sleep, much speake, but left the warr upon them, and therefore desire they

will be speedily at Canada by Sea, where they would meet
27 *Febry.* them at a day certain; hereupon by beate of Drumm was published a generall Embargo, and that all persons should lay aside trade and apply themselves to be in readinesse for warr against the French and Indians in all Quarters. A law came out enjoyneing the collection of all rates left uncollected in Sir Edmond's time, which was hardly dijested by the people, as also for collecting the Arears of Excise, and continueng the same: many went to prison for refusall. The condemned pirates are now told they may be at liberty paying 13: 6: 8. a man fees, or be sold into Virginea. Tom Pounds excepted.

24 *Febry.* At the county court Bantam was tryed on a malicious prosecution for Felony without a Grand Jury, though he objected he ought not to plead, untill he had been indicted by his country, but the Bench over ruled him, and on a full tryall was acquitted.

March 10. A post from Albany gave an account that a Ladd who had been made prisoner by the French and Indians at the surprising of Shenectadie gott from them in the woods, and loosing his way home was mett by 200 Mohacks and 30 Dutch, who were makeing after the French, who enquiring of the boy the state of the Enemy, were assured they were weary and tyred with the plunder and might be over taken in 2 houres march; the Indians put the boy in his way for Albany, and hasted after the Enemie, and in about one houre after the boy saith he heard much firing and stayed to heare it a Long while, and believes the parties were briskly engaged.

17 *March*. M^r Livingston, secretary of Albany, came to Town, accompted the disgust of that place against Leislars his violent and monstrous proceedings at N. Yorke, and to urge the Bostoners to dispatch the forces promised the Mohacks, who (as above said) had fallen upon the French and Indians in the Rear, that the Mohacks had lost theyr captain (the same that was at Boston) & 3 common Indians, that 3 Indians of the French side and one Frenchman were slayn & 15 French made prisoners and brought to Albany.

Trade so extremely fallen off in Boston by the discouragements on most men of Businesse, the encrease of the small pox, the disorders, complaints & ungovernableness of the soldiers, that no payments were made in trade, & poor people ready to eat up one another or turn Levellers.

23. Sir William Phipps was publicly baptized by young M^r Mather, made his publication & entred a member, soon after nominated a Magistrate.

18 *March*. A post from Salmon falls on Piscataqua river brought the sad & certain news of the Indians & French having fallen on that plantation, haveing killed and captived 80 persons & burned all the houses, with these Capt. Hopewood or Wayhamoo was the chiefe Indian. One Playstead, who was taken there & gott away, told us, this Wayhamoo was his old friend, & desirous to putt him at Liberty, sent him with a flagg of truce on pretense to summon the neighbour garri- sons & offer conditions, but gave him instructions to save himselfe & not return. Secretary Livingston attends his negotiation about the succors from Connecticut for Albany, is opposed by one Blayne, a sloop man of New York & one of Leislars councill, and is disregarded by the Bostoners, and some of Leislars faction were for Imprisoning him; but he managed his affaire with such discrecion, & printing the treaty betwixt the Mohacks and Albanians he walked the streets more chearfully. But before he got to Albany, they had news that the French & Indians had passed the Lake about 1500 men, & the Albanians to strengthen themselves had received in Leislars men. After the News arrived about the Bank of the destruction of Salmon falls, a party of volunteers gott together & made one Hammond theyr Captain & overtooke the Enemie, lodged in a large farme house & hoped to have attacked them privately, but they had placed centinells abroad, who gave notice to their main guard of our approach, & received us with a sudden & brisk volly of small shott, killing 7 or 8 men who retired to a logg fence for shelter & continued pelting the enemy & receiving theyr Ball for some time, till under the shelter of the night the enemy retired & our men made an Alt & soone after tooke one Frenchman alive & found 3 or 4 more killed. The Frenchman on his examination declared he was born at Paris, his name Francis Montier, that he had been 3 years at Canada, that the party of which he was 30 French and 20 Indians, that they came from Canada the latter end of February, lay in the Ayr & snow all that passage neare 60 dayes, that they designed more easterly, but meeting with Hopewood alias Wayhamoo and 9 Indians more in the woods, was by him encouraged &

piloted to fall upon Salmon falls; saith they surprized the garrison by night, killed 14 of the souldiers ere they were aware of the enemy, haveing no Centinells out; being demanded why they killed women & children, answered the Indians would have it so, to be revenged of the Mohacks, who had rosted & eaten off the fingers of their relations and had confessed to them that the English sett them on. He farther declared the French had 3 parties of about 900 men abroad, designed some against Tings garrison at Casco, others else where; he said he fell into our hands on purpose to avoid returning to Canada where the officers were very severe; he said 2 Merchant men of 25 guns a piece were in the River at his coming away, but that the men of warr were gone home; that there were 3000 men efective at Canada in severall posts, about one 3d being souldiers. The souldiers about this time that were returned from the Eastward were in a high disgust for theyr pay they had earned since the Revolution (for all before was lost to them) and spake very insolently to theyr new masters publicly in the streets, crying out, God blesse King William, God blesse Sir Ed: Andros, & Dam all pumpkin states; the constables are pressed to collect the new rates, but have so much work to distrain the very many refusers, that little came in. In the meane time to stopp the souldiers clamors, they had debentures on the Constables, but could not be payd unlesse they would abate for present pay some 25, some 50 per cent, according as theyr necessities were. Doctor Arden & severall others told me this of the constables of Charles Town & Boston. The Councill & Deputies are now upon the Debate of making a Descent on port Royall; many weekes are taken up in the talk. M^r Nelson is desired to lay his Methods before them, which he did in writeing and was proposed for generalissimo, & people believed it would fall so, as the fittest person for such an enterprise; but the Country Deputies said he was a Merchant & not to be trusted, so it is offered to Sir W^m. Phipps & the ministers are said with great difficulty to obtain his lady's consent to itt, & then he would accept itt. Nelson offred to be his Lieuten^t Gen^l refuseth with scorn & contempt. Drums beate up for the Service, some few List, & as soon change theyr minds & desert at discretion, no one daring to question them, printed propositions for theyr encouragement are spread abroad; (viz^t) they should have $\frac{1}{2}$ the plunder (ammunition excepted) & the pay made good to theyr relations if they were killed in the Service. The Northend men headed by Sir W^m. Phips, Milbourne, & Way, apply to the Deputies for the discharge of Turell & White in execution for a just Debt, the Deputies vote for theyr discharge, the magistrates opposed, as being in custody under theyr commitment. Sir W^m. Phips & a not contented with the opinion of the Magistrates go personally to the prison, proffers the keeper £3000 security to bear him harmless if he would put them at large, the keeper refuseth & gives as hard language as he receives. An alarm from Aimsbury of the Indians, who had killed 3 or 4 English in the meadows & retired.

27 March. M^r Levingston went for Albany with the Massathussetts dispatches in favour of Leislar.

The same day Capt. Blackwell arrived from Pennsylvania in his way by N. York, visited Leislar, saith he was a mad man as arbitrary & tyrannical as any Bassa, brought over the Manifesto of the people of N. York against him printed at Pennsylvania.

3^d April. Gen^l Phips his men mustred at the Town house, most without armes, about 80 in a body deserted, with hurra's, haveing beene told they must find theyr own armes. Greenough, Hall, Bernard, Coleman, Willy, Skates, made commanders by the Gen^l. Coleman next day hooted at by his company, induced thereto by Young Winslo, whom they chose theyr Captain. The Gen^l & Councell dissolve itt, & turn out Winslo againe & would give him not so much as a halabert. Price & Higginson, Salem Deputies, protest & argue against an Election till theyr Magesties pleasure be known, some ministers made speeches also against it, as of very dangerous consequences, but prevayle not. Leave the assembly in Disgust, soon after are libelled in print, but theyr whole town unanimously protect them.

April 4. At a town meeting at Boston, Justices were elected, Joyliff, Sergeant, Friery, Willis, Adam Wintrop, D^r Clark, Thornton.

Sir W^m Phips his ship weighed from Boston & came to an anchor at Long-Island head; Capt. George weighed from Nantasket for Piscataqua, arrived there 21 at even, the people sent out a Boat with a letter to excuse them that they could not salute him from the fort, wanting ammunition. He bad them save it for theyr enemies. The best of those parts came on board him & payd him all the respects imaginable, & the most intelligent & aged of the Eastern people, who had fledd for to save theyr lives from severall parts, gave him the sad accompt of theyr deplorable condition, the sad spoyles & horrid murders of theyr wives, children, fathers, relations were amazing to know, they gave in an accompt of above 400 had been massacred & captived. Since the seizure of Sir Edmond Andros & his commanders, the drawing of the souldiery & ca, Captain George advised they would adresse to England, the best of them said they desired to do so. But Marten the Baker who makes himselfe chiefe thereabouts would deale ill by them, but most earnestly besought him to represent this theyr deplorable estate. The numbers of these distressed are so great Piscataqua cannot feed and employ them, so they resolved for Boston & cast themselves on them for maintenance, as those that had much occasioned theyr wants. Some also in & about Boston signed a petition to theyr Majesties, discouraged in itt by the present magistracy, some threatened & theyr houses searched.

28 April (or thereabouts). Sir W^m Phipps sayled by the Isles of Shoales for Port Royall.

19 May. Cap^t George sayled with the most shippis from Piscataqua; at that time no news at all of Sir W^m Phipps, though Chalops & other small craft came in dayly & examined about itt.

Councillor Hinks, Justice Elliot, Justice Fiery, the Cap^t & Lieutenant of the fort, & some other principall persons in Piscataqua came on board Cap^t George (ready to say) & brought him theyr petition about government, beseeching him to lay itt & the Instructions before his

Magesty &ca. The Duplicates were putt in the hands of a passenger on board, Capt. B. Clarke.

Came on board Cap^t George John Holman, Constable of Casco-Bay-forts, & with many tears & lamentable expressions acquainted him that he was with his Chalops friday night 16 May, hoping to bring off his children, but seeing 45 Canoes of the Enemie there, durst not goe on shoare, but stood on & off all night long till break of day; that he heard many hundreds of gunns fired in the night & saw much Burning, perticularly Tings & fendalls garrisons, that by day breake he came as near the shoare as he could & fired at the Indians who lay under the Rocks firing at him, that there were no Vessells there but himselfe; that he observed Ingerson's garrison under Sergeant Hix & 18 Red-coats left there by Sir Ed. Andros to fire stoutly & constantly a good while, But that soone after he heard no gunns at all, but saw 4 or 500 Indians & French running up & down yelling & rejoyceing; that he expected the fort would have fired upon them & opened a way for his Chalop to come in, but findeing the fort silent, concluded it taken, so stood off, haveing but 3 firearms on board. His further Businesse was to beseech Cap^t George to be a meanes to procure 30 men from Major Frost the Massachusetts commander there, with which he would joyn fishermen, & man out 3 Chaloops to save his children (if he could) or any others that might have gott into the woods. Cap^t George immediately sent away his Pinnace for Major Frost & Cap^t Frier who came on Board & were vehemently urged to furnish the said 30 men, but absolutely refused, saying it was to no purpose at all (besides they had not men ready, being drawn off by an order signed J. Addington 3 days before, which order Cap^t George tooke a coppie of), for that Sergeant Johnson arrived yesterday morning at York & gave an account to Major Davis who sent an Expreste to the said Cap^t Frier Vaughan & Martin at the Bank, adviseing all the forts were taken & burnt & all people about 250 souls killed or taken captives. The same expresse brings an humble request from the Inhabitants of Black point & winter harbour, begging for the Lord's-sake to be immediately fetched off or they should all perish. Cap^t George urged this also, the which was faintly promised. Cap^t George, haveing an Anchor on Board & ready to way, stayed yet 2 houres to see if the Chalops would go out, but about one heure after some chalops of York & Wells came in crowded with those poor people & such goods as they could save, & confirmed the losse & that theyr own dwellings were probable ere this consumed by the Enemie. The River people are hereupon so dismayed, they were packing up theyr goods & putting them, theyr women & children, on board the Chalops for Boston. The wind being fayr, Cap^t George with the 2 mast men sayled into the Sea about 2 of the clock afternoon. 19th May. 1690.

Mr. ELLIS AMES produced an original letter of Richard Henry Lee, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, to the "Honorable John Page, Esq., at Williamsburg, Virginia," post-marked "Baltimore, January 2"; and

on the lower left-hand corner, in the handwriting of the writer, are also superscribed the words, "Free, R. H. Lee."

The letter had been sealed up with sealing-wax, and the motto of the seal is now as plainly legible as ever, "*Non incautus futuri.*" This motto is taken from the 35th line of the first Satire of Horace, Book 1st, where the sentence or part of the sentence reads as follows, viz. :—

" Sicut
Parvula (nam exemplo est) magni formica laboris,
Ore trahit quodcunque potest, atque addit acervo,
Quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri."

Smart translates the foregoing passage from Horace thus :

"Thus the little ant (for she may serve for an example) of great industry, carries with her mouth whatever she is able, and adds to her heap, which she piles up, by no means ignorant of, and *not improvident for the future.*"

It would be superfluous to say any thing of Richard Henry Lee. Of the Honorable John Page, it may be proper to say that he rendered most important services to his country during the Revolutionary war. He was one of the first representatives from the State of Virginia under the Constitution of the United States. In 1800, he was chosen one of the Electors of President; and in December, 1802, he was chosen Governor of Virginia, in the place of Mr. Monroe. His residence was at Rosewell, Virginia. He died at Richmond, Va., Oct. 11, 1808, aged sixty-four years.

The following is a copy of the letter :—

BALTIMORE, 2d January, 1776.*

DEAR SIR,—By the express lately sent from hence, I enclosed you both the printed accounts that we have had of the General's success against the enemy in New Jersey. Colonel Baylor, who brought us the General's letter, says that a party of Hessians more was brought in just as he came away, which makes the number of prisoners between one thousand and eleven hundred. Re-enforcements are daily going up, and in such numbers that the General intends to push the enemy, and we hope successfully, out of the Jerseys. The Hessian officers in general behaved infamously in this battle; and the British light-horse, with the Tories that were in town, scampered off at the beginning of the engagement. A few days before this attack, a flag was sent over to Trenton to this Colonel Rohl, now a prisoner: he received and treated the officer kindly; asked him if 'twas not reported that the

* This date is an evident mistake for 1777. The battle of Trenton was fought Dec. 26, 1776.—Eds.

Hessians plundered much, and that they were the only plunderers. The officer answering in the affirmative, Colonel Rohl replied that the English had address enough to have it so believed, but that it was notorious that the British officers and soldiers plundered more than the Hessians. Two British officers present denied it not. Soon after this rout, two thousand Hessians that were at Bordentown, below Trenton, on Delaware, marched off, having previously sent away one hundred wagons loaded with plunder, directly towards New York. If the Hessians are the smallest plunderers, what are the British? In truth, we hear that the people are enraged to a great degree at the brutal treatment they have met with. Our worthy friend, General Lee, had retired to a house but a little way from his army (and by the advice of a man who lived in the parts, and who affected great resentment at the enemies' conduct) to write a few letters to General Gates and others on business of consequence; when the villain who had brought him there, went privately express to the enemy and brought up the light-horse, seventy of them, who made the General prisoner, carrying him off without his hat. They had travelled very fast, their horses being in a foam when they arrived at the house. This is certainly a heavy loss to the American cause, but still it rests on ground too strong to be shaken. You say it is reported that my letters have given up all for lost. You may rely upon it, sir, that this is false. I have related things truly as they were, and, whilst Pennsylvania was in lethargy, supposed, as our General was without an army, that Philadelphia might fall; but always subjoined that, though this might hurt, yet the loss of ten such cities would not ruin, the American cause, and called upon my correspondents to remember that at the beginning of this quarrel we told our enemies that we knew they could take our cities and our sea-coast, but that still enough would be left to secure American freedom. These have been my sentiments, and therefore you see how grossly I have been misrepresented. But the treatment I have received this way from some mean-spirited, dirty, envious wretches, has been frequent and gross. My contempt for those folks is abundantly greater than I can express. I am perfectly satisfied that these little malicious lies will make no impression on you or any sensible, virtuous man, and the rest may think of me as they please. I love their ill opinion, but should be miserable under their esteem. The king of Spain has certainly given us free use of his ports for our ships of all kinds, including prizes. And every wicked art, even lies of the British Ambassador at the Court of France, cannot prevent them from assisting us.

Farewell, dear sir; encourage the enlisting business, because with our new army American freedom and independence will be secure.

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

The President communicated the following original letter of Edward Winslow, the Pilgrim governor, and a number of original Indian deeds:—

Mr. Bradford, Mr. Prence, and the rest of our ancient partners :

After divers and sundry treaties with Mounsier Latour and sundry the gentlemen of Boston concerning our loss and wrong * at Machebiguatus by Mounsier D'Aulney, this last of the month, and last of the week at afternoon, I have made over our right and title to the Fort there, &c., to John Winthrop, Junior, Esq., Capt., Major Edward Gibbons and Capt. Thomas Hawkins, of Boston, their heirs, associates and assigns. And because I cannot stay to perfect the things, Mr. Winthrop, Jun^r is bound to me on the behalf of the rest, that if Mounsier Latour shall not pay unto me to your and my [illegible] use, the sum of two hundred pounds sterling upon the taking of the said Fort, at the house of Valentine Hill, merchant of Boston, if so much goods be in it, or if not, in one or two years after the taking of the same, in beaver or moose skins, and give not bond obligatory for that end forthwith, that then the said deed by me made to be void and of none effect, or else to stand in full power, force, and virtue.

Now the thing desired by them and me is that yourselves, the rest of the partners therein, will be pleased to manifest your consent by some joynt writing herewith. Thus having nothing more to write thereabout take leave and remain

Yours as his own,

EDW. WINSLOW.

CAMBRIDGE, this last of Aug., 1644.

Mr. GEORGE S. HILLARD was appointed by the President to prepare a Memoir of Colonel Aspinwall.

Judge HOAR presented, and by request read to the meeting, a Memoir of George Bemis.

Mr. HILLARD, through Mr. DEANE, communicated the Memoir of the Hon. James Savage, which he had been appointed to prepare.

These Memoirs are here presented.

* The "loss and wrong" which the Plymouth people sustained by D'Aulney occurred at their fort, in what is now Castine, on the Penobscot River, in 1635; for a full account of which see Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, pp. 332-337; also Winthrop's History, I. 168; and Wheeler's History of Castine, pp. 15, 17. We find no reference, either in Bradford or Winthrop, to the settlement effected by Winslow, as described in this letter. The orthography of the letter has been modernized.—Eds.

MEMOIR
OF
GEORGE BEMIS.

BY HON. E. R. HOAR.

GEORGE BEMIS was born in Watertown, Massachusetts, on the 13th of October, 1816; and died at Nice, in France, on the 5th of January, 1878, in the sixty-second year of his age.

He was the youngest son of Seth and Sarah (Wheeler) Bemis. His father was an intelligent and successful manufacturer, a graduate of Harvard College of the year 1795, who died in 1850, leaving to his children a considerable property. His ancestors on the father's side had been substantial citizens of Watertown from about the year 1640. His mother was a native of Concord, belonging to a family of the earliest settlers of that town.

Mr. Bemis was fitted for college with Mrs. Samuel Ripley of Waltham, a lady whose thorough scholarship and elevation of character made a profound and permanent impression upon the young men who were fortunate enough to be her pupils. He was a handsome boy, fond of study, quick of apprehension, with a ready and retentive memory, affectionate, and with a native refinement and purity. I have heard that he was a favorite with his teacher; but, from another source, have learned that she once said "that her objection to George Bemis was that he was *too perfect*." He passed the examination for entering Harvard College in 1829, when but thirteen years of age; but continued under Mrs. Ripley's instruction for three years more, entering the Sophomore class in 1832, and graduating the second scholar in his class in 1835. He studied law in the law school of the University, then in the charge of Judge Story and Professor Greenleaf; took the degree of bachelor of laws in 1839, and was admitted to the bar in July of that year. His legal training

was very thorough ; and his learning, acuteness, diligence, and fidelity gave him very soon a good position at the bar, and a profitable practice.

His first appearance as counsel in the reports is peculiar and characteristic. While a law student, he had taken a class in the Sunday school of the State prison. At that time, the system of imposing additional and severe sentences upon "second and third comers" to that institution was established by law. On inquiring into the history of members of his class, whose confidence he had gained by his Christian sympathy and faithful labors for their welfare, he learned that some of them were undergoing imprisonments for long terms of years, or for life, for offences comparatively trivial ; and, considering what remedy could be found for this injustice, he became satisfied that some of the original sentences, upon which the accumulations of punishment were based, were themselves erroneous. He thereupon brought writs of error (defraying the whole expense of the process himself), which were argued before the Supreme Court and sustained ; by which a considerable number of prisoners were released. Some alarm was expressed at the letting loose of these convicts upon technical grounds, and warnings and remonstrances were addressed to Mr. Bemis, intimating that his course would be prejudicial to his prospect of success in his profession. But he was resolute and persistent in adhering to his own views of duty, and only ceased his efforts when he was satisfied that the substantial ends of justice did not further require his interference. The result was a marked increase of care by the courts in the imposition of sentences for crime, and the abolition in Massachusetts of the whole system of cumulative punishments.

He was associated with Mr. Bigelow (afterward Chief Justice), in 1843, in conducting the defence of Abner Rogers, a convict in the State prison, who had killed the warden. The case was twice tried, and is a leading American authority upon insanity, and especially that form of it defined as uncontrollable impulse, as an excuse for homicide. The defence was maintained with great gallantry in the face of a public opinion at first extremely hostile ; was at last successful ; and subsequent events proved it to have been well founded.

He was also associated with Attorney-General Clifford in conducting the prosecution of Dr. Webster, in the year 1850, for the murder of Dr. Parkman, and did no small part of the labor which that celebrated case required. Each of these

trials was fully reported in a published volume, with Mr. Bemis as the editor.

He was engaged for some time in the earlier part of his professional life in assisting the late Judge Willard Phillips in preparing a codification of the criminal law, which, however, failed of adoption by the legislature. But he made the subjects of crimes and punishments the object of profound and philosophical study, and in the course of it maintained a correspondence with some foreign jurists, among whom was the eminent professor of jurisprudence at Heidelberg, Mittermeyer.

In 1858, when in the possession of a lucrative private practice, from which he had already acquired a competency, his delicate constitution received a severe shock, which changed the whole course of his subsequent life. He was employed upon a railroad case before a committee of the legislature, and after a hearing which had continued many hours he made his argument at a late hour of the night. The next day, he suffered a severe hemorrhage from the lungs. A large part of the rest of his life was spent in Europe, the winters in Italy or the south of France; using the precautions of an invalid, but enjoying thereby a very considerable amount of strength and capacity for labor. His favorite pursuit during these twenty years was the study of public law, and the law of nations. When the war of the Rebellion brought into new prominence questions of neutral and belligerent rights and obligations, Mr. Bemis entered with great vigor into the discussion on the American side of the controversy. He contributed numerous articles to newspapers, and exposed unfounded pretences of the British government with a thoroughness of research and closeness of reasoning which could hardly have been surpassed. Between 1864 and 1869, he published in succession four considerable pamphlets.

1. *Precedents of American Neutrality, in Reply to the Speech of Sir Roundell Palmer, Attorney-General of England, in the British House of Commons, May 13, 1864.*

2. *Hasty Recognition of Rebel Belligerency, and Our Right to Complain of It.*

3. *American Neutrality: Its Honorable Past, its Expedient Future.* A protest against the proposed repeal of the neutrality laws, and a plea for their improvement and consolidation.

4. *Mr. Reverdy Johnson: The Alabama Negotiations, and their just Repudiation by the Senate of the United States.*

These contained substantial, and in many cases absolutely

conclusive, replies to the position taken by the British ministry, and supported on their behalf by the eminent publicist, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, the present member of Parliament for Oxford, who wrote for the London Times over the signature "Historicus."

Mr. Bemis rendered important service to the State Department in the investigations necessary in preparing for the settlement of the Alabama claims. He was a warm and valued friend of Charles Sumner, who had the highest respect for his character and acquirements; and he left Mr. Sumner a large legacy in his will, which, however, lapsed by the death of the distinguished legatee.

Mr. Bemis became a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society on the 13th of July, 1865, and by his will has left to the Society \$1,000. The same clause in the will bequeaths a like amount to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, with this modest statement appended, "of each of which societies I have been for some years a *negligent* member."

Mr. Bemis was a man of singular purity and refinement of character. His professional reputation was rather that of an acute and subtle lawyer than that of a specially successful advocate. Though never holding or desiring public office, he was warmly interested in public affairs, intensely American and patriotic, and a Yankee of the best Massachusetts type. With profound religious convictions, he was fond of theological speculation, attended all the lectures of Mr. Emerson, and, as his pastor and friend, the Rev. Dr. Clarke (of whose society in Boston he was an original and valued member), said at his funeral, "was always regarded as the *critical* member of the parish committee."

He was never married; but was social, friendly, and hospitable, affectionate and sincere. Frugal in personal expenditure, his private charities were constant and ample, and his public spirit was ready and unflinching. He was strongly attached to his classmates, and a dutiful son of Harvard College. I think he carried the heart of the boy into the life and labors of the man more completely than is often to be found.

In addition to the bequests already mentioned, beside a provision for his kindred, and legacies of friendship and charity, his will contains a gift of some magnitude to the Boston Athenæum, a provision for completing the purchase of Mr. Story's statue of President Quincy for the alumni of Harvard College, and the munificent endowment of a pro-

fessorship in the law department of the University, the precise terms of which I have copied and append to this Memoir. It is a generous recognition of "the debt which a man owes to his profession," a debt which in other ways he had never failed to acknowledge, and is the crown of his diligent, thoughtful, liberal, upright, and honorable life.

Extract from the Will of George Bemis, dated October 23d, 1872.

8. I devise and bequeath to the President and Fellows of Harvard College the sum of fifty (50) thousand dollars, subject to the life use of my sister Sarah, as hereinbefore specifically set apart; said legacy to become absolute in case of my sister's death before my own. To have and to hold to said President and Fellows, and their successors in office, in trust for the establishment and maintenance of a professorship of public or international law in the Dane Law School of said University.

I have no restrictions or conditions to lay upon the Corporation in regard to the organization and management of said professorship, other than that I desire that it may be filled by some able and upright publicist and jurist, who shall bring to the office a competent fitness for that special department of study and practice, and of sufficient ability to discuss the current questions of national interest connected with it in such a way as to instruct and aid the popular and professional understanding of them. In that sense, I should desire him to be not merely a professor of the science, but a practical co-operator in the work of advancing knowledge and good-will among nations and governments. For that object, I should prefer, if practicable, that the incumbent should have had some official connection with public or diplomatic life, or, at least, have had an opportunity, by foreign travel or residence, to look at the United States from a foreign point of view, and so to estimate it as only one of the family of nations.

I will add that I make this bequest to my Alma Mater largely through the impulse of gratitude for her valued teachings; but more especially for the instruction which I derived from the legal department of her schools through the lips of the late Judge Story, whose memory I cherish as one of the best guides to study whom I ever had the good fortune to meet, and whose friendly stimulus to exertion I shall always gratefully remember. I may also add the expression of my hope that this bequest will in some degree aid the promotion of the science of public law in the United States, particularly on the part of my brother lawyers, who, I have thought, have been hardly alert enough in coming to the aid of the national government on the great questions of belligerent and neutral rights, which have of late years so exercised our country and England. May it be the continuing pre-eminence of my country to know and practise a just and Christian neutrality, while other nations are cultivating the arts and prerogatives of war.

MEMOIR
OF THE
HON. JAMES SAVAGE, LL.D.
BY HON. G. S. HILLARD.

THE name of Savage has been well known in New England for nearly two and a half centuries. Thomas Savage, the founder of the family, arrived in Boston in the year 1635, probably one of those who accompanied Sir Henry Vane. He was twenty-seven years old at the time. In 1637, he married Faith Hutchinson, daughter of the celebrated Ann Hutchinson, who gave our fathers so much trouble by her peculiar theological opinions, and her obstinacy in adhering to them. Thomas Savage was a man of influence and consideration in the infant colony up to the time of his death in 1682, and held many offices, both civil and military. He was often one of the representatives of the town in the General Court, was Speaker in 1659 and frequently afterward.

In 1680, he was chosen by the Colony one of the Assistants, which office he held till his death. He was one of a committee appointed in 1673 to erect a barricade in the harbor of Boston for defence against a fleet then expected from Holland. Out of this barricade grew, in less than forty years, the Long Wharf, a small portion of which has continued ever since the property of some member or members of the family. Thomas Savage was Captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, and was commander of the forces in King Philip's War at its opening, and served during its continuance with reputation. Upon his death, a funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Samuel Willard, pastor of the Third Church, of which Major Savage was one of the founders. The sermon was printed in 1684 by Samuel Green. A copy of this sermon was given to Mr. James Savage, the subject of this Memoir, by Mr. John Farmer. On the fly-leaf is the following inscription in the handwriting of Mr. Savage:

"This sermon was presented to me by John Farmer, Esq., of Concord, N. H. It was taken out of a volume by the Rev. Samuel Willard, Vice-President of Harvard College." Mr. Samuel Willard, the author of the sermon, was chosen Vice-President of the College in 1701, upon the resignation of Increase Mather, its President.

Major Savage had a family of patriarchal extent, being the father, by two wives, of no less than eighteen children. Mr. James Savage, in his *Genealogical Dictionary* of the settlers of New England, quaintly remarks, "I believe no descendant has equalled that number of children!" The family has been numerous in New England ever since. Thirteen of the name had been graduated at Harvard in 1854, and four at Yale, all descendants of Major Thomas Savage. The branch of the family which settled in Boston has continued there for several generations. James Savage, descended in the sixth degree from Major Thomas Savage, was born in Boston on the thirteenth day of July, 1784. His father was Habijah Savage, and his mother Elizabeth, daughter of John Tudor. They had a numerous family, comprising eight sons and three daughters. James was the ninth child and sixth son. He lost his mother before he had completed his fourth year. Nor was this loss, so irreparable to a child of his tender years, the only misfortune which fell upon him. His father had before this been afflicted by a failure of reason, for irregular periods of short duration; but such was the effect upon him of the death of his wife that he became permanently and hopelessly deranged.

There being no public retreats for the insane at that time, he was placed by his friends in the family of a farmer at Andover, where his life was prolonged for many years. Some one or more of his children boarded in a neighboring house, so as to be able to give such filial attention as his situation required. But James was not one of those; and he himself says, "I can hardly dare to say my memory runs to partaking his smile more than two or three times in my life." The Rev. Dr. Thacher, who preached upon the death of his mother, selected a touching and appropriate text in Psalms xxvii. 10: "When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up." In this forlorn condition of the family, the place of parents was supplied by their maternal uncle, Judge Tudor, and his sister, Mrs. Mary Thompson.

James was fitted for college partly at the Washington Academy in Machias, in which place two of his sisters were married and settled, and partly at the Derby Academy in

Hingham. Here, to use his own language, "most happily had I the affectionate regard of a lady in whose family my mind gained its strongest impressions, my heart its tendency to quick impulses of benevolence." This was Mrs. Lincoln, the daughter of James Otis, and the widow of Benjamin Lincoln, son of General Lincoln, a lawyer of much promise, who died young. This lady was in all respects to him a mother. Indeed, in his letters to her he always addressed her by that name, and she in her turn always called him "her dear child." In 1799, he entered Harvard College. His college life was uniformly a very happy one, though in his Sophomore year he incurred the censure of the Government, and with three others was suspended. The cause was some riotous proceedings of the class consequent upon the punishment of one of its members; and Savage was selected for discipline, because a black flag was raised on the building in which he lived at the time. One of his companions in misfortune was Willard, afterward the pastor of Deerfield, the oldest man in the class, of staid aspect and carriage, upon whom the trial fell more severely because he was the nephew of President Willard.

This youthful escapade was the more remembered in after times, because there could be no two persons less likely to incur censure for resistance to lawful authority than Mr. Savage and Dr. Willard; the latter being remarkable for his saintly and apostolic character, an impression deepened by the total loss of sight, which he suffered twenty or thirty years before his death. For Mr. Savage himself his suspension was a good thing, for he was sent to the Rev. Isaac Braman of Rowley, a man of cheerful conversation, and with a wife in every way suited for a clergyman's helpmate.

By this amiable family he was treated as a son, while he pursued his studies without the distractions or interruptions of a college life. Upon his return to Cambridge, he applied himself with more than former diligence, and with such success that he was graduated in 1803 with the highest honors of his class. The Valedictory Oration was on the Patronage of Genius, and is a thoughtful performance, showing much reading, and written in a style finished and mature, though, as might be expected in a composition of that time, somewhat deficient in simplicity.

There is still, in Mr. Savage's handwriting, a picture of his mind and character in his youth and early manhood. It consists of copies of the various letters written by him while he was in college, and for a year after. They are contained in

several loose sheets, upon one of which in his later life he has inscribed the following memorandum: "This roll contains rude copies of my boyish letters from 1800 to 1804, which may be preserved as a mortification, but containing useful dates." The originals of these letters were addressed to his relatives and classmates. Why he should say, they "may be preserved as a mortification," it is not easy to understand; because, while they have no essential literary merit, as a record of the growth of his mind and the formation of his character, they might have been looked back upon with satisfaction at any time of life. They are characteristic alike of the writer and of the times in which they were written. Letters were then considered as an exercise in composition, and were not used as now, simply to communicate some passing event or fact, or to convey some transient mood of feeling. Correspondence is now simply a conversation in black and white. In those days, postage was dear, and money was scarce. These letters of young Savage were evidently written with much care: they may even be called labored, and occasionally a little stilted. The influence of Dr. Johnson was at that time all-pervading, and evidence of it appears in this correspondence. Cheap postage has proved one of the greatest blessings conferred on humanity; but it has made such letters as those of Gray and Cowper things of the past not likely to be revived.

These letters serve to show, even at that early age, the strength of principle, the purity of life, the warmth of domestic affection which always distinguished him. They also show that he held, when a boy, the same views, especially upon public subjects, which he maintained through life. The times in which they were written were times in which politics ran high, and convictions were held and expressed with great warmth and vehemence. We give a few extracts, which we think will be of interest to those who knew Mr. Savage in his manhood and declining years.

In the summer of 1800, when he had just completed his sixteenth year, he writes to his younger brother, Arthur, as follows: "Do not be discomposed and disheartened by the difficulties of the Latin Grammar, for when you have learned this you cannot easily write false English; and, when you have got through it, you may consider every Latin word laid up in the storehouse of your memory as a treasure of great worth." In another to the same correspondent, written about a year after, he uses a little playful criticism: "Your short epistles are full of mistakes, improprieties of grammar, &c.:

only one half of these can be pardoned on account of your inexperience. 'I have some beautiful watermelons and muskmelons almost ripe.' I conclude that you left this sentence imperfect, and intended to have invited me to partake of them. Mixing English and Latin words together has always a disagreeable effect. 'We go about thirty-six miles *per* day.' This sounds too much like a sailor's speech, 'We run her about twelve knots an hour.' Exclusive of the ill-termed use of the Latin preposition '*per*,' what would you think of the gentleman who would write you in this manner: 'We walked 40 miles in that diem.' You have fairly stuffed into your letter nine great I's; but, in a letter of mine last week to a friend, not half that number was inserted. This egotism is a grievous fault: pray you avoid it."

To his elder brother, John, a clerk in a store in Barnstable, as decided a Democrat as his brother was a Federalist, he writes, under date of Feb. 4, 1801: "Your expectation that 'social order, republicanism, and liberty will soon pervade the world, and extend with them the arts and sciences,' though to me they appear delusive, yet I should be glad to find them verified. You further observe that 'the present year has opened on our country very auspiciously.' This our present happy state I hope will continue; but by many it is not expected, from the character of the men who are destined to the chair of government. I do not say this is my opinion, but I entertain fears which I could not have, if the 'Solon of New England' had been continued in office. But of politics enough."

To the same correspondent, he writes, under date of March 4, 1801: "This is the day so auspicious to you on account of the election of your republican friends, Jefferson and Burr; and I will join with you in wishing our country prosperity equal to what it has enjoyed under the republican administrations of Washington and Adams. But, however black clouds may threaten in our horizon, I hope and trust their destructive influence will never extend to New England, but that this fairest part of our Union may still continue as remarkable for its good order as it has ever been for its good sense. May the new administration never be led to abandon the interests of our country; and may the venerable Adams, the first and greatest legislator America has produced, enjoy the remainder of his life for the good of posterity." To the same correspondent, he writes, under date of April 9, 1801: "I received your last on Monday, and was pleased with your panegyric on Jefferson, and your allowance of eminent talents

and 'ardent patriotism' to Adams, notwithstanding his 'duplicity and ungovernable ambition.' You have formed a pleasing idea from considering the present state of the world, and I do not despond of our own country. If you expect that the maritime power of Britain will be restrained by the shackles which France has attempted to impose on her, in my opinion you will be deceived. I believe the claws of the lion are superior to the talons of the Prussian eagle, assisted by the united force of France, Holland, Russia, Spain, &c. I do not wish to see the power of Britain, the mistress of the ocean, reduced by any nation of Europe; for it is the general opinion that no nation will behave with greater regard to justice. But should our country equal even a secondary power, such as Spain or Holland, I presume we should not endure with patience the insults from France and Britain, which have been offered with impunity. But politics may rest."

To Mrs. Lincoln, to whom he felt all the love and gratitude of a son, he writes as follows: "Buonaparte, the man whom many abhor and many more admire, has, by the late restoration of the Catholic worship, strengthened his own power, and can now guide the curb as he will. The despotic nature of that religion is favorable to his views. As the Protestants have liberty to worship publicly, it is probable great benefit will result; at least, the return of the superstitious devotion of Rome is much preferable to their subjection to the divinity of Atheism, whose altars have so long been drenched with blood. The situation of the peasantry in that country will certainly be ameliorated by peace returning in triumph to religion."

To his friend and classmate, Lewis Strong, of Northampton, he gives an account of the Phi-Beta-Kappa exercises, under date of Aug. 29, 1802: "On Thursday, enjoyment was the expectation of all, and all were gratified. The poem was replete with wit, and the sentiments which will ever arise on the mention of the subject of New England. The story of Putnam's killing the monster who ravages the country round his habitation was told with much humor: the beast, however, that inhabited the poet's den was a mammoth, and not a wolf.* The language of McKean was simple and nervous. His subject was the origin, design, and tendency of secret societies, especially of the Phi-Beta-Kappa. The orator animadverted with severity on the societies whose object is carefully concealed, but whose tendency is to revolutionize the

* The poem on this occasion was delivered by William M. Richardson.

state or destroy religion. The force of his sentiment was much assisted by the fiery flashings of his eye. His politics were decided and open. He reprobated the system of proscription, and the introduction of foreigners to the honors of our government. With much simplicity, he paid an elegant compliment to New England. Her citizens have never preferred the 'Age of Reason' to the Bible, never thought 'Common Sense' equal to the 'Defence of the American Constitution,' never have mistaken the friend of Mazzei 'for a Washington.'

In a letter to the same correspondent, he gives an amusing account of one of his mathematical exercises: "My mathematical part was easily completed in two days, but I must inform every beholder what the objects represent. My church, for instance, Mr. Webber would mistake for an Indian wigwam, covered with a yellow blanket, which my paint very much resembles. My meeting-house steeple would be taken for a sedition pole; and I might be in great danger of an indictment, had not our all-wise legislators abrogated that frightful law. I have sometimes thought that the opposition to that law arose from the fear of some that, if liberty poles were forbidden, gallows would arise in their place, and the honest Demos are bitter enemies of such infernal machines. My Massachusetts Hall resembles a bloody flag. Strange that the habitation of the Muses should be so frightfully metamorphosed. I know you are tired of this rhapsody; and, if you are not, I am."

In a letter to Mrs. Lincoln, dated March 20, 1803, from the country residence of his uncle Judge Tudor, he writes as follows: "I have no noisy companions, some good silent companions, such as twenty volumes of Mavor's Travels, and but one or two other books. I am not in the state of the poet who wrote,

'The world forgetting, by the world forgot,'

for I neither know nor am known; but, for my few friends, I think I have more leisure to think on them than they can spare to me. Had I notched a stick every time I have thought of you, I should soon have ended my record, and have said with the aboriginal of Virginia, who undertook in such a manner to remember the people of England, and was compelled to cease, 'Count the stars in the sky, the leaves on the trees, and the sands on the seashore.' To be sure, this bears the mark of an hyperbole; but savages have always dealt in strong figures, and I have as good a right to use them, and more reason in this case, than my brother Powhatan."

To his sister, Mrs. Bruce, under date of May 2, 1803, he gives an account of his personal experiences: "On Tuesday last, we had an exhibition here, at which time the Government of the College was so partial as to hear me pronounce an English Oration. The company was numerous and splendid. The applause bestowed on me was (I say nothing of my desert) superior to my expectations and equal to my wishes. Thus, although I was so unfortunate as to be compelled to take a tour to the country about a year and a half ago, the Government have seen fit to change their opinion of me; and, although I shall not at Commencement have the first or second honorary part, I shall receive my degree with honor." He did, however, receive the first honors at Commencement, in spite of his fears to the contrary.

In a letter to Enoch S. Tappan, under date of June 20, 1803, he records a misadventure which befell Mrs. Lincoln, who was rash enough to trust herself to his guidance in driving from Hingham to Cambridge. He was at all periods of life a most unskilful charioteer, and very rarely took the reins in hand. "For more than one reason, you will regret my undertaking, but your feelings cannot equal mine on this sorrowful occasion. My Aunt Lincoln commands me to be her scribe, as she is unable to write. On our return from Hingham, partly by the inconvenience of the ground, but more owing to the obstinacy of the horse, and perhaps not a little to the carelessness of the driver, our chaise was overturned. Fortunately, the horse stopped soon, or we should both have suffered most severely. Aunt Lincoln's right arm was broken, and the wrist dislocated. We were near the Mall in Cambridge. Mr. Mellen was right: Aunt L. did not faint; and, although two of the trio of physicians were absent, Waterhouse was at home. Every thing was properly attended to in the space of twenty minutes. Madam commands me to make *this* apology for her conduct, that she found the people of Cambridge were not interested enough in her welfare, and she thought fit to commit some act which should render her more notorious. As the fracture of her arm has produced so good an effect, I do not think it probable she will condescend to break her neck. Her situation is more comfortable than could be expected, spirits good, and she wishes that her friends may not be alarmed by exaggerated intelligence. Even in this town, it was rumored that the horse was struck by lightning; and they have broken almost every bone in both our corporations, so as to stick out of our skins, 'like quills upon the fretful porcupine.' But most of

this is false ; and the poor charioteer, who should not, in honor or decency, have come off without a mark, is honored only with a port-hole through his lower lip, which will not, I fear, continue open more than one day longer."

To his classmate, William B. Sewall, he writes, under date of July 21, 1803: "We seem to coincide as much in our opinions of the modern poets as upon the orators. Bloomfield will find readers, because many people will perceive that every thing he says is perfectly natural and true, that there are hogs and poultry and turnip-yards; and, as they could not comprehend any such fine sentiments as cluster in the pastoral of Thomson, they must think that the farmer's poetry is perfect, for they discover no void in imagery or sentiment. Della Crusca, on the contrary, will hereafter be forgotten *in toto*. For nothing but the novelty could have given so great a currency to the unmeaning jargon of Merry and the others. Whatever is unintelligible I always disregard, even in philosophy; but poetry, which is the language of nature, should certainly never use any but a simple dialect. Bombast is as certain a criterion of dulness as frigidity." What an illustration of the changes in literary taste! At the present time, it is probable there is not a young man in Cambridge who has read Bloomfield, or perhaps even heard of the Della Cruscan school of poetry.

To his brother, Arthur, who had recently entered college, he gives some excellent advice, in a letter written from Portland, Oct. 8, 1803: "Be not drawn to the entertainments at any room which you cannot afford to equal. Allow no one to intrude on certain hours which you have a right to claim and enjoy in solitude. Follow not the vulgar in decrying the course of college studies. Especially reverence those authors dignified by the name of classics, those spiritual beings, whom only the eye of genius assisted by taste can discover and accompany in their lofty flight to the regions of heaven."

In a letter to his classmate, Strong, dated Oct. 11, 1803, he speaks of hearing a funeral sermon from Mr. Channing: "For the first time I heard Mr. Channing preach on the last Sabbath of my remaining in Boston. It was a funeral sermon on the death of Mrs. Higginson. Henceforth, let it not be said that we are destitute of eloquence, although it may not be so common in ours as in other countries. This single instance should raise our national character, could it have been heard by the critics of the Old World. The feeling of an audience is the scale by which excellence in the divine art must be measured; and, if my sentiments could express the

general voice, never, should they say, were we more affected by a tribute to friendship and virtue. Painful must be the emotions of those who rise from hearing such a sermon, when they reflect that the preacher, from external appearance, is not long intended by Heaven to be a blessing to this world." Happily these forebodings as to the preacher's early death were not realized. He lived nearly forty years after this sermon "to be a blessing to this world."

In a letter to Mrs. Lincoln, written from Portland, April 9, 1804, he indulges in a more sportive vein: "They have compelled me to dance several times within a few weeks! It was not necessary even to put hot irons under my feet, as is usually the mode of instructing that animal who, from his clumsy habits, appears least susceptible of acquiring that art. Cicero, I think, says, 'None but a mad man ever dances.' What excuse or palliation can be offered by me before such a cynical judge? It was compassion that induced me to move. The ladies are double the number of gentlemen at all parties, and to see one taking another of her own sex as a partner was too much even for philosophical frigidity and conscious deficiency."

There is also another early letter of Mr. Savage which is worthy of preservation. His classmate, the Rev. Edward Payson, then pursuing his theological studies, had written him concerning his spiritual state. His letter has not been preserved, but it was doubtless marked by great earnestness and a fervid zeal in enforcing the writer's peculiar religious views, which were of the strictest type of Calvinism. In after life, as is well known, Mr. Payson was an eloquent and powerful preacher of the gospel.

Dec. 15, 1806.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I read your last letter without being angry. How could I be, when every word in it was written in a spirit of the purest affection! Yet that it gave me great uneasiness must be confessed, and that it seemed impossible for me ever to reply to it. What then was I to do? Keep-silent, and leave you ignorant of the effect it produced, or inform you that it was too bitter to be palatable? It seemed like the constant repetition of the prophet's language to David, "Thou art the man."

Yet I cannot feel as the king did, for my conscience is not agitated by the remembrance of any aggravated crime. I know that men may be as criminal by omission as by actual transgression; and that they become satisfied with themselves, contrary to all reason and all Scripture; that a heart which never reproaches itself is found in the bosom of the thoughtless as well as of the pious man.

I fear that my conduct and feelings would not content you, though

they may satisfy myself. I pray for the blessing of Heaven on all my studies and on all my projects, and without it I know I can hardly live contented in mind for this life and have no hopes for another. But I am interested in whatever is taking place in the world, and you would think totally engrossed in its concerns. Yet I do not "halt between two opinions." I break intentionally no commandment, I do not wilfully neglect any duty. But I cannot often feel the raptures you enjoy, lifting above earth and its enjoyments. This will, I am fully confident, appear to you a confession of error dangerous in the extreme, of an indifference operating on the soul like a gangrene in the body. That it will raise as painful emotion in you as any letter you ever received has kept me from the task; but when I undertook it, I could not be a hypocrite. "The subject is disagreeable"; but be assured, as you can believe the operations of any tongue of man, my friendship for you is as great as ever; it is increased. You have inflicted castigation; but it was the most friendly, the most pious sensations that induced you to hope an effect it has not produced.

No person out of your own family more sincerely rejoices at your happiness than I do; and who is he that would do more to promote it! I cannot say more than I have on the subject above, however little satisfactory to the best friend on this earth; and on other topics of less interest I should write with heaviness, and you would look without pleasure.

Farewell. May God, the judge of all, have you and yours in his holy keeping, and may we meet with purer affections in a better world.

JAMES SAVAGE.

Immediately after his graduation, he began the study of law at Portland, in the office of the Hon. Isaac Parker, afterward Chief Justice of Massachusetts. In 1805, he returned to Boston, and read law for a few weeks in the office of the Hon. Samuel Dexter; but, his health failing, he made, for the sake of restoration, a journey to the springs of Saratoga and to Niagara, at that time a slow and toilsome undertaking. However, the rough experience he had was more conducive to his health than the smooth travel of the present day would have been. Upon his return, his cousin the late Frederic Tudor, well known as the founder of the ice trade, engaged him to accompany his elder brother, William Tudor, to visit the principal islands of the West Indies for the purpose of negotiating for the exclusive right of importing to their respective provinces cargoes of ice. In the month of November, they sailed for Martinique; and soon after arriving there Mr. Savage was violently attacked with yellow fever, and his cousin took leave of him with little expectation of ever seeing him again.

Fortunately, before his illness, they had gone to visit for

the Christmas holidays a gentleman whose youth had been passed in Boston, and while under his roof Mr. Savage was taken ill. It chanced that the governor of the island, who had come to visit the mother of the Empress Josephine, in a neighboring parish, was invited to dine at the house of Mr. Savage's friend, and he came accompanied by his physician. In the course of the dinner, the kind host stated that he had a young friend lying severely ill in the next room. The physician immediately became interested in the case, went to see the patient, and gave careful directions for his treatment, which were judicious, simple, and successful. Mr. Savage always considered that he owed his life to the timely prescriptions of this physician, aided by the excellent nursing of the mother of his friend. Upon his restoration, he embarked alone, and overtook his cousin at the Island of St. Domingo, visiting Dominica and St. Thomas on the way. At St. Domingo, they received the kindest treatment from the governor, and remained on the island for three weeks. They next went to Jamaica for some weeks. They were successful in negotiating for the import of ice from the United States, and returned home in May, 1806, "to undergo," to use Mr. Savage's own words, "the discipline of three days' preposterous quarantine, when three minutes would have been long enough."

Upon his return, he at once resumed the study of the law in the office of William Sullivan, Esq., and was admitted to the bar in 1807. He held a respectable rank in his profession, but never attained to eminence. This was owing rather to peculiarities of character than to intellectual defects. He had in large measure that quality of strong patience in labor which is most essential to professional success, but in his case it was necessary that this quality should be exerted in the direction prompted by some original taste or impulse. The law demands from its votaries an exclusive devotion, and this he was never prepared to give. He had a certain impatience of temperament, which did not attract the casual client. To the gift of eloquence which distinguishes the brilliant advocate, and without which striking success in jury trials cannot be attained, he made no pretensions. His love of truth, even at that time, was supreme; and he never would affect a zeal which he did not feel, nor conceal or suppress a genuine conviction of his mind. If he had had the power, he would not have borrowed the hues of rhetoric to enforce a position of the truth of which he was not himself thoroughly convinced.

His social nature, and the quickness and wide range of his sympathies, soon caused him to be largely associated with the civil, literary, and benevolent institutions of Boston. Early a member, he was for some time Secretary of the Anthology Society, of whose organ, "The Monthly Anthology," he was for five years an editor. Speaking on this point, he says: "At times, letters have engaged my attention, but not to withdraw me from the proper duties of my profession, or service of the community in active life. Most of what I have written may as well be permitted to pass by uninterrupted course to oblivion. Strangers could hardly express esteem for fugitive papers, when no fondness towards them is felt by the author. During four or five years, I was associated with the gentlemen who carried on the 'Boston Monthly Anthology'; and several of my reviews or other communications may have given to the readers momentary amusement, or contributed to facilitate their slumbers. More than two articles in the 'North American Review,' it is believed, are not chargeable to me. An oration on the 4th of July, 1811, delivered at the request of the municipal fathers of my native town, would not probably be remembered by anybody, but for the circumstance that it was on the hottest day of the century." In the year 1812, he delivered the oration before the Phi-Beta-Kappa Society of Cambridge; in the same year, was chosen a member of the House of Representatives, and was re-elected for the next year. He was a member of the Convention of 1820, for amending the Constitution of Massachusetts. He was again chosen representative in 1821, and subsequently was elected to the Senate. He was a member of the Council for two years during the administration of Governor Lincoln, and at a later period for the same length of time with Governor Davis. While Mr. Quincy was Mayor, he was a member of the City Government four years, two in the Common Council and two as Alderman. He sat in the School Committee for one year, and he was a member of the Senate for 1840.

All those public trusts were ably and faithfully discharged by Mr. Savage. Whatever work came in his way he did thoroughly and conscientiously; for industry with him was not merely a quality of temperament, but a virtue of character. In his motives, he was thoroughly fearless and thoroughly disinterested. He did not speak often or at great length; and he won the respect of those from whom he differed by his evident sincerity, and by the good sense, seasoned with a peculiar vein of humor, with which his views were enforced.

He revised for the press the volume of "Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay." To borrow his own language: "A greater task, assumed by request of my friend, Rev. J. S. Buckminster, might have yielded perhaps more credit; but no diligence of mine could adequately contend with the constant and unrivalled carelessness of the printer of the Boston edition of Paley's Works. Overseeing the press-work of the ten volumes of American State Papers selected by Hon. J. Q. Adams, under authority of Congress, afforded some gratification to my love of exact truth in History." He was the founder of the "Provident Institution for Savings in the town of Boston." While on a visit to his friend, the late Benjamin Vaughan of Hallowell, in 1816, he met with one of the reports of "The London Provident Institution of Savings." He read it with deep interest; and it occurred to him that a similar institution in Boston would be a great blessing to the community, by supplying to the industrious poor a place of safe deposit for their savings. In this way, habits of economy would be gradually formed and encouraged. Upon his return to Boston, he laid the subject before a number of prominent citizens. As is usually the case with new forms of charity, he met with warm support from some, and from others that worst kind of opposition,—the opposition of indifference. He persevered, however; and "The Provident Institution for Savings in the town of Boston" was duly chartered by the Legislature. Mr. Savage watched over the infant institution with something like paternal care from 1817 to 1862, a period of forty-five years. He was, successively, Secretary, Treasurer, Vice-President, and President; and these services were given much of this time without compensation. His bust in marble stands appropriately in the vestibule of the present building, as an enduring memorial of the founder of the institution. When this was established, there was but one other of the same nature in the whole country: now there are no less than twenty-one similar institutions in Boston alone, and they are found in most of the large towns in New England.

About the same time with the foundation of the Savings Bank, Mr. Savage became deeply interested in the establishment of Primary Schools for Boston. In this, he had the active co-operation and support of his friend, Mr. Elisha Ticknor, a man like himself of strong benevolent impulses under the control of a sound practical understanding. He had been for some years a principal in one of the Boston Grammar Schools, and his experience as a teacher made him anxious that some-

thing should be done for the children between four and seven years of age, whose opportunities for education were less in Boston than in some of the country towns in the Commonwealth. He conversed with many of his friends upon the subject, and interested them in it, and especially Mr. Savage, with whom he was intimate. The project at first encountered the opposition of the Selectmen and the School Committee. In 1807, a petition, signed by one hundred and sixty inhabitants, was read at a town meeting in Faneuil Hall. The last paragraph in this petition was as follows: "It appears to us also important that schools should be provided at the expense of the town for the instruction of children under the age of seven years. Therefore, we request that a meeting of the inhabitants of the town may be called, to take the above subject into consideration, and to adopt such measures thereon as the importance of the subject demands, and they may think most for the general good." A town meeting was called, and the subject referred by the town to the School Committee, with the addition of one person from each of the twelve wards, to be appointed by the Selectmen.

The committee was appointed on the 29th of May, 1817. On the 3d of November next, that committee made an elaborate report adverse to the petition, which was read to the School Committee, and by them accepted, but which was not submitted to the citizens at the town meeting, as the School Committee apparently regarded the votes of the town as placing the whole matter in their hands. It was, however, printed and distributed among the citizens, and was immediately the subject of discussion in the newspapers. We quote from an article in the "Daily Advertiser" of April 1, 1818, of which Mr. Savage was the author: "All should be taught to read: the poor and the rich should have an equal chance to understand the nature and principles of our Republican Government. . . . Many parents in this town send their children to private schools, kept by women; while those who are unable to pay for their tuition are obliged to leave them to traverse the streets, or shut them up at home. Of this class, there are hundreds among us already growing up to all kinds of iniquity. In the report of the School Committee of the 3d of November last, we are told that the number of children between the ages of four and fourteen is 526, '*who go to no school.*' What are those children doing? Who has charge of them? Where do they live? Why are they not at school? The committee have not informed us. Have *they* not a *right* to a good bringing up, and to a common school education?

and have they not a right to a common share of the friendship of the community? If their parents neglect to provide them a school, is it not the duty of the town to do it? and, if the town takes no interest in their welfare, is it not the duty of the Legislature to make laws for the purpose of saving these dependants, these sufferers?"

"All children have an equal right to the schools, we know, on the following conditions, viz.: 1st, The child must be seven years old; 2d, He must be able to read the Bible sufficiently well to keep his place in a class; 3d, He cannot be admitted after the age of fourteen, however well he can read, or however deficient he may be in writing or arithmetic. Take, then, the case of a parent (and there are hundreds of them in town) whose circumstances are such as to prevent him from qualifying his children for enjoying the benefit of our free schools under and after the age of seven. Can it be said that the doors of our schools are open to these children? We say that they are not; yet we are told, 'they *are* open, *freely* open to their reception,' but these children are as much deprived of the benefits of our schools as they would be of running after their legs were broken or their eyes put out."

The friends of the Primary Schools were not discouraged by their failure; and accordingly another petition was drawn up, and presented to the town, at a town meeting in Faneuil Hall, May 25, 1818. This petition was drawn up by Mr. Elisha Ticknor and Mr. Savage, and to their efforts was due the large number of eminent and influential men who signed it. The petition was referred by the town to a special committee, which made a favorable report on the 3d of June; and the further discussion of the subject was postponed to the 11th of the same month.

The Selectmen and School Committee were confident that their opposition to the scheme would triumph; and, to make assurance doubly sure, they retained the persuasive eloquence and great personal influence of Mr. Harrison Gray Otis against the acceptance of the report. But, to their great surprise, the report was adopted by a very large vote; and the Primary Schools were established, and it is needless to say have continued ever since. Mr. Savage acted for many years as Secretary of the Board, and gave much time and thought to ensure the successful working of the system.

In January, 1832, Mr. Savage delivered a lecture before the Massachusetts Lyceum, on the Constitution of Massachusetts, which was published in the March number of the "New England Magazine" of that year.

He was chosen an Overseer of Harvard College in 1838, and continued a member of the board till 1853. In 1841, that institution conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.

In 1819, as one of the executors of James Otis Lincoln, the son of his mother by adoption, Mrs. Mary Lincoln, he visited Demerara. Mr. Lincoln died seized of a valuable estate in that colony, which was claimed by the heirs-at-law of the original possessor, the wife of his brother. In 1823, he repeated his visit, accompanied by the widow and two children of Mr. Lincoln, their presence being deemed necessary to a confirmation of the title; the Orphans' Court having decided in their favor, after a litigation of some length.

As chairman of a committee of the Pilgrim Society, appointed in 1849, Mr. Savage in the following year made a report on the subject of the "Calendar for Old and New Style," showing that the Society had hitherto chosen the wrong day on which to celebrate the landing of the Pilgrims. The Pilgrims landed on the 11th of December, 1620. In 1769, when the celebration of this event was first instituted at Plymouth, eleven days was the true difference between Old and New Style, and this difference was erroneously assumed to represent the true day of the landing in 1620; whereas, but ten days were required, so that the landing should be celebrated on the 21st instead of the 22d of the month.

Mr. Savage was chosen a member of our Society on the 28th of January, 1813, at the early age of twenty-nine years. He had thus been at the time of his death a member for a little more than sixty years, a longer period than any on our records, except that of the late venerable Josiah Quincy, who had been a member for sixty-eight years at the time of his death in 1864, at ninety-two years of age. When Mr. Savage was elected, six of the ten original members were still living.

In connection with this Society, Mr. Savage found a field of labor eminently congenial to the peculiar traits of his mind and his tastes. He was from the first a punctual and assiduous attendant on its meetings, allowing no engagement to interfere with what was to him both pleasure and duty. He served the Society almost uninterruptedly from the beginning of his connection with it, having been Librarian from 1814 to 1818; a member of the Publishing Committee of five several volumes of our Collections, in 1815, 1816, 1819, 1823, and 1825; Treasurer from 1820 to 1839; a member of the Standing Committee from 1818 to 1820, and from 1835 to 1841;

and, lastly, President of the Society from 1841 to 1855. At that date, having completed the Psalmist's allotted portion of human life, he claimed the right to decline all further official duty. On his retirement from the chair, it was unanimously resolved, on motion of Mr. Ticknor, "that the members of this Society, mindful of the excellent services which for fourteen years the Hon. James Savage has rendered as its President, and of his peculiar fitness for that place, not only on all other grounds, but from his extraordinarily accurate knowledge of whatever relates to the early history of New England, do now express their great regret at his resignation, and offer him their thanks for his long-tried and uniform fidelity to their interests." His manner of presiding over our deliberations was peculiar and characteristic. It would not serve as a model for imitation; but in him it was so natural, so true an expression of the better part of his nature, that no one was ever disposed to criticise it, or to wish it any other than it was. He regarded the President's chair as giving him a large opportunity to discourse upon subjects of which his mind was full, and to communicate such information as all the Society were glad to listen to. His conversation was spontaneous and unstudied.

Whatever subject was started in the course of discussion called forth from him a ready contribution of the most accurate knowledge, conveyed in language quaint and original, and from its point and raciness commanding attention at the time and easily remembered. Such a manner of presiding would not have been fitting except in an assembly of moderate size, all interested in the same pursuits. Hardly any meeting of the Society occurred during his Presidency without something falling from his lips worthy of preservation, either from its substance or its form. His interest in our Society by no means ceased with his resignation of the office of President. For some years after, he was regular and punctual in his attendance. He was accustomed to enter the room with a quick step and with a contagious expression of cordial pleasure in his countenance, which had an instant effect on all present.

In the year 1816, there was discovered in the tower of the Old South Church, in Boston, a third volume of the History of New England, in the original manuscript of the author, John Winthrop, first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay. It was more probably *recovered* than *discovered*. The Rev. Thomas Prince, the annalist, the pastor of that church, who died in 1758, had kept his library in the tower, and doubtless

did most of his literary work there. Prince in 1754 had announced that he had lately received a most authentic and valuable *Journal* of events relating to said (Massachusetts) Colony. . . . viz.: "From Monday, March 29, 1630, to Jan. 11, 1648-49, . . . all wrote with . . . Gov. Winthrop's own Hand, who deceas'd in the very house I dwelt in on the 26th of March after." This was the entire History in three manuscript parts or volumes. He had undoubtedly borrowed them of the Winthrop family. The first and second volumes had been returned, and by consent of the proprietors were transcribed and published at Hartford in 1790. The third volume had been overlooked, and was therefore not included in the Hartford publication, and had never been published. "When this precious volume was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society," as Mr. Savage says, in his preface to the second edition, "at their next meeting, 25th of April, the difficulty of transcribing it for the press seemed to appal several of the most competent members, whose engagements in more important duties afforded also a sufficient excuse for leaving such labor to be undertaken by any one at any time, who could devote to it many weeks of leisure. The task appeared inviting to me. On the same evening, the manuscript was taken, and the study of its chirography was begun the next day, by the aid of one of the former manuscripts collated with the printed volume usually called Winthrop's *Journal*." Volumes I. and II. of the original manuscript had already been transferred to the Historical Society's Library. While engaged in copying and preparing the manuscript for the press, Mr. Savage carefully collated the first and second volumes with the edition printed in 1790 in Hartford, Conn.; and he soon saw the importance of preparing a new edition of those two volumes, to be published in connection with that newly discovered.

Quoting again from the preface: "Notes explanatory in some instances of the text, illustrating in some degree the biography of many persons named in it, and referring to better accounts of others than I could furnish, were thought necessary. Several hundred notes were prepared, and a careful collation of the whole printed volume for a second time with the original volume of manuscript was furnished on the 2d June, 1819. Being then required to visit a foreign country, all my preparations were suspended until I returned. Care, however, was taken to leave the corrected copy of the printed volume with my copy of the third part to be kept safely. Again called abroad in 1822, I so carefully disposed of my

copy of the third volume as to leave it in a forgotten place, which afforded me the gratification of making a new one, begun Dec. 8, 1823, and finished March 30, 1824.

"This circumstance admonished me of the propriety of adopting early measures for guarding against further accidents of that kind. Application was made at the next session of the General Court of this Commonwealth, by the Historical Society, for encouragement of the publication. In consequence of the liberal aid of the Legislature, the volume comes thus early before the public."

The second manuscript volume was unhappily destroyed by fire, with Mr. Savage's copy and notes, while the work was going through the press. In a note to page 13, Volume II. of the printed work, he records the misfortune as follows: "Here ends the perfect text of the venerable manuscript of the author, which began in my Vol. I. p. 197. On the morning of the 10th November, 1825, the original was destroyed by fire; and my copy, on which the labor of collation, equally faithful and pleasant, had been bestowed by me, three times in different years, was also lost. Another copy, designed for the printers, shared the same fate, except that the few pages foregoing, having been sent to the press, were preserved. From this place to the end of the second volume of the original manuscript, the boast of a pure text, with correction of the grosser errors denoted in the margin, and supplying of omissions in the former edition, must be abandoned. In some places, my memory preserves what the destructive element ravished from my possession; but I shall be cautious of trusting so frail a resource. Nearly all my notes are preserved for that part of the present volume which had been printed in 1790."

On coming to the end of the second manuscript volume and beginning his labors on the third, which had never been printed till his edition appeared, he records his feelings in a characteristic note: "My emotions on coming again to the true text of the original historian, where others may follow my footsteps in the original manuscript and scrutinize the faithfulness of the track, are very gratifying. The common reader, who feels the difference between the text from page 13 of this volume to the last preceding, wherein my memory and judgment only have contributed sometimes to its correctness, and that pure transcript extending from page 197 of the former volume to page 12 of this, *ad fidem codicis*, on which he may confidently rely, though the manuscript is destroyed by fire, will rejoice in the new field that he now enters on

without participating my exultation in the hope that future scrupulous antiquaries will the more diligently, on account of the loss of the second, recur to the first and third volumes of Winthrop's autograph."

This fire, it may be remarked, which consumed the whole of Mr. Savage's law library, broke the last link which bound him to his profession. Starting, as we have said, with but a moderate love for it, that qualified affection had not been increased by the lapse of time. Still, he attended at his office with punctual regularity, and did the business which fell in his way thoroughly and conscientiously. Until the date of his marriage in 1823, he had drawn from his profession an income sufficient for his moderate wants and frugal tastes. After this fire, he did not take another office, and his time was wholly given to other than professional pursuits. Winthrop's "History of New England" as edited by Mr. Savage is a weighty authority in the history of the country, of which, while very many persons know something, but few make themselves masters of its contents. The comments of the editor form a mine of curious and accurate learning, shrewd remark, and quaint illustration, conveyed in a style tinged with a certain grave pleasantry very characteristic of the writer. Indeed, they make by themselves a collection which may be read with pleasure and profit.

Their merits are the more conspicuous from their being in such marked contrast with the gravity of the text. But equally conspicuous is the fairness of his views and his wise charity in judgment. He loved the fathers of New England judiciously, but not extravagantly. He was very kind to their virtues, but not blind to their faults or the faults of the time in which their lot was cast. Himself of a strong and deep religious nature, he had nothing of the fanaticism and intolerance which unhappily were controlling forces in their motives and conduct.

A few quotations from these notes will give the reader an idea of their spirit and character. In relating the events of the year 1633, Winthrop gives the following account of some proceedings at Charlestown: "Satan bestirred himself to hinder the progress of the Gospel, as, among other practices, appeared by this: he stirred up a spirit of jealousy between Mr. James the pastor of Charlton [Charlestown] and many of his people, so as Mr. Nowell and some others who had been dismissed from Boston began to question their fact of breaking from Boston, and it grew to such a principle of conscience among them, as the advice of other ministers was taken in it, who, after two meetings, could not agree about their contin-

uance or return."—Vol. I. p. 127. Upon this Mr. Savage remarks in a note: "It is to be regretted that any jealousy arose in the infant church of Charlestown; yet, if Nowell and others doubted the propriety of their separation from the brethren of Boston, we may ascribe their dissatisfaction to finding their pastor to be a man of less useful talents or amiable temper than had been expected. Few in the present age would attribute such a misfortune to the agency of Satan, who has been, says Jortin, 'charged with many things which perhaps he never did.' But in our indictment for capital offences we retained, until very recently, the absurd allegation, 'being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil.'"

Under the year 1635, Winthrop, in narrating the proceedings of the General Court respecting Endicott's defacing the cross in the ensign, remarks: "For which they adjudged him worthy admonition, and to be disabled for one year from bearing any public office; declining any heavier sentence, because they were persuaded he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not of any evil intent." Mr. Savage's note is as follows: "Had his conscience been as enlightened as it was tender, he would have conformed to the harmless custom; but, next year, men of soberer judgment were found ready to refuse compliance with bearing the standard of their country, and almost willing to imitate the outrage of Endicott. A tract of nearly thirteen pages in defence of the cross, by the celebrated Hooker, is among the manuscripts of our Historical Society; but I have neither courage nor curiosity enough to study it. We may not imagine that our ancestors had carefully scrutinized the fable of the holy sign in Constantine's vision, or were sufficiently instructed to repudiate the consecrated Labarum of the first Christian Emperor; and perhaps an Englishman of our times may presume that there was as much policy as abhorrence of idolatry in the dread of the banner of St. George. Yet this presumption would be unfounded. Though there appears in September preceding something like prepared opposition to expected tyranny, I do not discover in these weak scruples about the ensign any affectation of independence, to which a few years later their circumstances offered very powerful inducements. In the flag of the United States are exhibited white stars in a blue field; but the most punctilious imitator of the severe simplicity of the fathers of New England has never compared our service under it to the heathenish abomination of worshipping the host of heaven. An anecdote of a politic use of these em-

blems by Barlow, when negotiating at Algiers, proves that a diseased conscience might entertain this scruple, because the imagination can thus apply the object. He said to the minister of the Dey, 'There ought to be friendship between our countries, since you worship the moon, and we the stars.'"—I. 159.

In narrating the events of 1636, Winthrop thus mentions the death of Captain Mason, well known as a conspicuous enemy of the Colony: "Last winter Captain Mason died. He was the chief mover in all the attempts against us, and was to have sent the general governor, and for this end was providing shipping; but the Lord in mercy taking him away, all the business fell on sleep, so as ships came and brought what and whom they would without any question or control."—Vol. I. p. 187. To which Mr. Savage appends this note: "We must always be careful to distinguish between the opinions and the principles of our fathers. The spirit of the age, in which religious controversy had borne or was bearing all its evil fruits, was not a spirit of charity; and the judgment of Heaven was, by each party, perpetually invoked against the other. In the wilderness, the error increased, but it increased faster at home; and, much as we regret the fanaticism of the first two ages of New England, the examples of its baleful influence are more numerous and more shocking, though for a shorter season, in the native land of our ancestors. The disaster of Mason will be mentioned hereafter in more detail. Perhaps his dying declaration of good-will to our country prevented a heavier condemnation at the tribunal of our author, as it has and will do in the judgment of later times."

In 1640, Winthrop writes: "About this time there fell out a thing worthy of observation. Mr. Winthrop the younger, one of the magistrates, having many books in a chamber where there was corn of divers sorts, had among them one wherein the Greek Testament, the Psalms, and the Common Prayer were bound together. He found the Common Prayer eaten with mice every leaf of it, and not any of the two other touched, nor any other of his books, though there were above a thousand. Quere, of the child at Cambridge killed by a cat." The following is Mr. Savage's note: "Such an anecdote looks too much like superstitious belief in the relater. It is apparently introduced as a pointing from Heaven against the services of the Episcopal Church, but is susceptible of an harmless explanation: the mice, not liking psalmody and not understanding Greek, took the food from another part of the volume. Our age will believe that the book, which alone

was injured among a thousand, was fortuitously attacked by these humble mischief-makers. The succeeding paragraph omitted by the former editor is surely of equal value, whether true or not. If the cat had been in Winthrop's library, she might have prevented the stigma on the Common Prayer."

Under the same year, we find the following entry: "Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, of whom mention is made before, being come to Virginia, took upon him to be a minister, but was given up of God to extreme pride and sensuality, being usually drunken, as the custom is there."—Vol. II. p. 22. Which calls forth this note: "Our neighbors of Virginia will not, I hope, be disconcerted at this report of customary drunkenness; or they must at least recollect that the materials of their infant colony were less select than those of New England. If the imputation be intended, as appears not improbable, to apply only to the ministers of religion, the author's gradually acquired prejudice against the Church of England will afford explanation of the phrase, and their charity must supply the deficiency of his."

The Appendix H, to the first volume [second edition], is a long and characteristic argument by Mr. Savage, to show that the deed of four Indian Sagamores to Rev. John Wheelwright and others, 17th May, 1629, of a certain tract of land in what is now New Hampshire, is not authentic,—an opinion which, as is well known, he maintained with great zeal and emphasis. We cite a paragraph from the close of this argument, as affording a good specimen of Mr. Savage's manner of dealing with a subject about which he had no doubt: "Degrees in confidence or disbelief ought to be marked by the amount of examination bestowed on the subject of inquiry; yet in the whole round of experience we see that the quality of the affections, or the state of the mind, does most materially affect and sometimes wholly pervert the judgment, after more or less of investigation. Whether my final opinion on the authenticity of the Wheelwright deed be the result of sober research or inveterate prejudice, its origin is truly stated in the opening sentence of this article; and that it received the concurrence of Mason, Smith, Webster, Atherton, Haven, Cutter, Kelley, and Farmer, men who could not, on such a subject at least, be clouded by interest or passion, was no ways unexpected, though not one nor all of them strengthened my belief. A single opponent appears, but without giving us the benefit of publishing his reasons. It seems to me that no childlike trust in authority leads him to repose confidence in the integrity of the document, but heroic hardi-

hood of struggle against argument, and manly resistance of conviction. Many people would derive benefit from a moderate dose of scepticism taken once a quarter; but how vainly may his physician prescribe that course to a hero, whose ostrich stomach can digest a New England gorgon, killed thirty years ago, and then two hundred years old, as was told by the *Journal of Portsmouth*, where the venomous monster was born and brought up. Still, the right of suspension of judgment is the more to be revered, as we find the power of such suspension to be rare; yet to differ from everybody else in opinion, on a matter of fact, is but a slender claim to distinction. One gains credit for it from a smaller number than that of those who doubt his sincerity.

"Even if sincere, such credulousness is not always ludicrous; much more when it is affected should it be thought pitiable. His intrepidity of belief will indeed excite a temporary surprise, still it must not aspire to be preserved in memory of the present or the next generation, with the same wonder as will ever attach to the impudence of the forgery."

For some years after the publication of Winthrop's *History of New England*, Mr. Savage was not occupied with any particular literary labor. The high reputation which he had gained as a New England Antiquary by that work led to an extensive correspondence with persons interested in similar pursuits. The letters he received often required a considerable degree of research before they could be answered satisfactorily to himself. All these demands upon his time were cheerfully met, for "the labor we delight in physics pain"; and the investigations which this correspondence entailed were a preparation for the crowning work of his life. In April, 1842, he sailed for England, in which country, and Scotland, he remained until October of that year. He had a distinct object in view, that of searching for materials to illustrate the early annals of this country. In the preface to his *Genealogical Dictionary*, he says: "The early history of John Harvard was certainly one of the chief inducements of my visit to England early in '42. I would have gladly given five hundred dollars to get five lines about him in any relation private or public. Favored as I was in this wish by the countenance of his Excellency E. Everett, then our minister at London, no trace could be found except in his signature to the rules on taking his degree at the University, where he is titled 'of Middlesex.'" His investigations were carried on chiefly at the British Museum, the State Paper Office, at the Rolls Court in Westminster Hall, and at Oxford and Cam-

bridge ; but they were not confined to these. He found in the Registry of the Prerogative Court at Canterbury the will of Isaac Johnson, Esq., husband of the lady Arbella, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln.

The results of his labors were published under the title of "Gleanings for New England History," in Volumes VIII. and X. of the 3d Series of the Collections of our Society. He kept a journal of more than forty closely written pages, but it is entirely confined to records of his success or failure in the object of his pursuit. He has very little to say of the general impressions made on him by the mother country, of its scenery, its architectural monuments, or the peculiar traits of English character as revealed in daily intercourse. There is no trace in this Journal of his having visited any of those places in Great Britain which are of most interest to the generality of cultivated Americans. No curiosity led him to Stratford-on-Avon or Abbotsford. He did not see Stonehenge, or Warwick Castle, or Kenilworth, or Windsor Castle, or Hampton Court. There is no record of his having ever attended a debate in Parliament or a trial in Westminster Hall. The only eminent men of letters that he saw were Wordsworth and Landor. We know from his private letters that his visit was a source of deep and lasting enjoyment : he was prepared beforehand to admire every thing in England, and either would not or did not see any thing which qualified that feeling. He did not visit Ireland or any portion of the Continent. He had no curiosity to see any part of Europe outside of the United Kingdom. The thought of travelling in any country whose language he could not speak seemed to him nothing less than absurdity. He made many valuable friends in England, among them the Rev. Joseph Hunter, one of the Record Commissioners, a man of a kindred spirit, an antiquary and something more ; Rev. Joseph Romilly, Registrar of the University of Cambridge ; and the Rev. Philip Bliss, Registrar of the University at Oxford.

In 1846, a change occurred in his way of life, which is worthy of being mentioned as illustrating his character. In that year, his family made their summer home in a country house in Lunenburg. He had reached the ripe age of sixty-two, when men are little disposed to forget the old ways or to learn new ones. He had always been a dweller in cities, and seemed to be more than content with his lot. He delighted like Charles Lamb "in the sweet security of streets." He had no rural tastes which were not satisfied by the Boston Common and Boston suburbs. He had no longings

for either the mountains or the sea. It seemed to his family that to take him away from his usual surroundings, at his time of life, was, to say the least, a doubtful experiment.

The house was accordingly built under the superintendence of his wife, and was never even seen by Mr. Savage till it was completed and occupied by the family. He was then formally invited by them to spend a week, and to their delight and surprise took most kindly to the change. He soon established himself there for the summer, and removed thither his books and papers. He soon came to take great pleasure in the tranquil life of the country. The common sights and sounds around him, the growth of his garden, the changing seasons, were enough to make him happy.

The house, set on a hill, commanded a rich and boundless New England landscape; and the shows of earth and sky fell upon his spirit like a benediction. This taste for the country was developed so late in life that it had the charm of ever fresh novelty. The large and hospitable house was often filled with young people, the friends of his children; and his delight in their society, and theirs in his, was pleasant to behold. Shakespeare says, "Crabbed age and youth cannot live together." But if the age is not "crabbed," but, on the contrary, genial and kindly, it has a peculiar charm for unspoiled youth. From this time, for many years, he passed a portion of each at Sunny Hill; and the ample leisure of such seasons he gladly gave to his great work, "The Genealogical Dictionary."

In 1853, Mr. Savage published a new edition of Winthrop's History of New England, with additions and corrections. From the preface, two paragraphs are cited, which will be recognized by all who knew the editor as very characteristic of his intellectual traits, and especially of his peculiar style:—

"Enlargement of the notes, both in number and substance, needs no specification. Some benefit has followed from one or another in the preceding impression. To have been the means of correcting no trifling error in such widely respected authors as honest Anthony Wood, the generous Tory, and honest Andrew Marvell, the uncompromising Republican, is some reason for rejoicing; but in charging, Vol. II. 241, the noble editor of Pepys's Memoirs with mistake in the affiliation of Downing, I am taught, by my own lapse, to rejoice with trembling. Emanuel is expressly called by Hutchinson, Vol. II. 2, 'father of Sir George Downing.' More than a quarter of a century has been enjoyed the satisfaction of uniting my name, in however humble degree, with that of the ever-honored first Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and I have not slighted the opportunities for enlarg-

ing our acquaintance with his early family relations, as they occurred in this country or in England.

"Want of knowledge about two of the Governor's sons was especially regretted by his readers. That Mather, our first resort, commonly, for instruction as to the founders of New England, should give no light upon 'Forth,' or the younger son of the Governor, is less observable than his errors about the eldest, whom he particularly desired to honor, in his biography of the first Governor of the United Colony of Connecticut. His blunder as to 'a liberal education of the University, first of Cambridge in England, then of Dublin in Ireland,' that misled Belknap, and others of our most assiduous inquirers, may have an apology, since he seldom touched any thing that he did not confound, in his melting into one the education of Forth and John. Never was the latter, probably, at Cambridge, unless for an hour or two to visit his younger brother; and he was only sixteen when he went to Dublin. By the Registrar of the University, who examined the records, at my request, in June, 1850, it was certified that Forth 'was matriculated a Pensioner of Emmanuel College on the 4th of July, 1626, having been admitted on the boards of that college in the preceding April'; and he added, 'I do not find that any other of the Winthrop family were ever members of this University in the seventeenth century.' How little reverence is by the *Magnalia* given to exact chronology, the best element of truth in history, appears a few lines later, in telling of this son's election as a magistrate, 'though not above twenty-three years of age,' whilst only four sentences back he had given the *true* date of his birth, and in the same line with his heedless assertion had proved that he was more than twenty-five years and eight months old on first landing in the country. In fact, when chosen, he wanted but three days of the age of twenty-six years and three months."

After his return from Europe in 1842, the next fifteen or sixteen years were almost exclusively devoted to his great work, the crown and consummation of the labor of his whole life, "*The Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England*," of which the first and second volumes were published in 1860, the third in 1861, and the fourth in 1862.

We subjoin an extract or two from the preface to the fourth volume, in which the reader will detect a touch of quiet pathos, such as an old man would naturally feel in taking leave of a work which had occupied him for many years. "The task that near twenty years since was assumed by me is now ended; and no regret is felt for the time devoted to it. Pleasure and duty have been equally combined . . . The prosecution of the work has continued without interruption, in this long course of years, except twice, in both cases from illness: first, short but severe, more than fourteen years ago; next, lighter and longer, less than four years since; yet

from the time printing of the volumes began, December, 1858, no day has passed without progress, except the legal holidays. By the majority who, in careless hours, may turn over these columns, the scrupulous diligence of the printer will justly be more observed than the research of the author, who should feel sufficient reward, if his countrymen acknowledge they have no farther claim to use of his pen after the owner's reaching so near the age of fourscore. Still, my rejoicing should be rather that my service is finished than that I have no more to do." The prominent qualities of this work are research and accuracy: such, indeed, should be the characteristics of all works of reference. The most superficial examination of its pages is enough to show the immense toil expended upon it, and the patient unwearied zeal with which its minutest inquiries have been conducted. It may well rank, in these respects, with the most laborious works which the annals of literature can produce, with Ducange's Glossary, Stephens's Thesaurus, and Bayle's Dictionary. But, unlike these great works, the Genealogical Dictionary possesses no element of general interest. Even Johnson's Dictionary is a book which, from the number and beauty of its quotations, can wile away a half-hour pleasantly. But no such attraction can be found in the pages of Mr. Savage's laborious work. To a reader in search of amusement, it is the driest of dry bones, duller than the muster roll of an army, or the catalogue of the ships and warriors in the second book of the Iliad. But this fact only increases our respect for the author's iron industry and faithfulness to his purpose.

In his preface, he says that one initial letter required a year and a quarter for its completion, and the progress of a page has often demanded a week. But these volumes, seemingly so unattractive, were to Mr. Savage a labor of love, which never degenerated into mere task work. A well-known feature in this Dictionary is the number of its abbreviations, which amount to about three hundred thousand in the four volumes. By these means, a very great saving of space is secured, so much so that, had every word been printed in full, the work would have extended to six volumes instead of four. But it must be confessed that thus the unattractiveness of the book is increased to the general reader. On the other hand, the general reader will rarely take up the Dictionary; and, to those who consult it only for the positive information to be got from it, the contractions will be found but a slight hinderance. But, occasionally, Mr. Savage's peculiarities of mind and temperament crop out refresh-

ingly amidst the inevitable monotony of his pages. His hatred of intolerance and bigotry is sometimes expressed with great plainness of speech, and the careless inaccuracies of former chronicles are mercilessly exposed. Thus, under the head of Richard Bellingham, the following occurs: "Of his weakness as chief magistrate, other strange instances are related by the early historian of New England; but the most to be regretted was his enmity, at a later day, to the foundation of the Old South or Third Church of Boston, that ceased only with his life. Gov. Coddington, of Rhode Island, who had been, in their day of small things, much associated with Bellingham in both Bostons, almost exults at his completion of the measure of his iniquity in distraction, closing his 'Demonstration of True Love' in this emphatic style: 'The hand of the Lord cuts him off, not giving him repentance to life, that other sons of Belial of his persecuting spirit might be warned not to put the evil day far from them.' Without sympathy in the triumph of Gov. Coddington, it is grateful to me to remark that the unbroken reign of dismal bigotry from 1649 to 1672 inclusive, under Dudley, Endicot, and Bellingham, hard, harder, hardest, between the mild wisdom of Winthrop and the tolerant dignity of Leverett, came to its end with that last of the triumvirs of Massachusetts."

Under the head of Burroughs, he has occasion to mention the melancholy fate of the Rev. George Burroughs, the most prominent victim of the unhappy witchcraft delusion. Cotton Mather, as is well known, was present at the execution, which prompts Mr. Savage to make these characteristic remarks: "Cotton Mather published for the entertainment of the reader, as he terms it, an account of this trial and execution, at which latter he assisted. In the *Annals of Salem*, Felt relates: 'After he was hung, Cotton Mather believed him to have been justly dealt with, and, perceiving the impression which his last words and appearance had made to the contrary, endeavored to convince the people that no wrong had been done.' One month from that day, Giles Cory suffered punishment on the same preposterous charge as Burroughs; but, by the monstrous old common-law requirement, was pressed to death for standing mute under the indictment. This was the last as well as the first instance of such barbarous infliction. Mather was not, I think, present to witness this triumph over the devil in the enforced silence of his victim by the ministers of the law. Had the sheriff invited his aid, perhaps he would have declined the advantage; and we can hardly doubt that the fact of the other sufferer being a

minister, and son of the college in which the father of Mather then sat as President, excluded all undue feeling of tenderness, in many of the spectators, especially in him who, Calef tells us, 'rode on a horse to instruct the witnesses at the solemn scene.' "

Speaking of President Leverett, under the heading of that name, Mr. Savage again puts on the black cap, and passes stern judgment on Cotton Mather: "Great was the reputation of the College during his presidential care; but he expended his private fortune for its good, and, from an inadequate salary irregularly paid, left his children in poverty. Cotton Mather, who ought to have been chosen (as he confidently deemed the will of Heaven) instead of Leverett, yet expressed gratitude for his attention to his son, the graduate of 1723; but in a letter to Hollis, soon after the President died next year, stigmatized him as 'an infamous drone.' For the effect of the preposterous falsehood on the London friends of the College, see Hollis's note in the invaluable History of the University, I. 343; and we know that the number of students was more than double in the last seven or ten years of the rule of Leverett to what the same period of Increase Mather exhibits. Allowance should be made, however, for such failing in Cotton Mather's expression of his pious malignity, because the next President of Harvard after Increase Mather, and the six years of Willard's substitution, was this same Leverett, who stood two years younger in the College Catalogue than the ambitious and ambiguous author of the *Magnalia*. Tenderness was shown by the Rev. Dr. Coleman, the correspondent of Hollis, who preached a funeral sermon two days after the death of Mather; for he kindly kept back the knowledge of the posthumous attack on his friend Leverett. Indeed, the charge was so absurd, and the reputation of its inventor for studied looseness of language had so long been established, that Coleman would on such an occasion have been thought blameworthy for pointing out the darkness of the ingratitude, and the equally loathsome and ludicrous cowardice of the calumny."

Under the head of Osgood occurs another earnest expression of opinion upon the witchcraft delusion: "He died 21st of August, 1693, no doubt in some degree from the torment inflicted on his wife by accusation of witchcraft in the damnable delusion of 1692, though she saved her life by confession of impossible guilt. See Abbot, Calef, and Hutchinson, II. 31. Charming page is that in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll. VII. 241, which gives her indictment, the gist of it being that she 'a cove-

nant with the devil did make, and signed the devil's book, and took the devil to be her God, and consented to serve and worship him, and was baptized by the devil, and renounced her former Christian baptism, and promised to be the devil's both body and soul forever, and to serve him.' I rejoice that, after the evaporation of the infernal spirit, she had energy enough to acknowledge, 19th October, 1692, before the venerable Increase Mather (not Cotton Mather, as in *Geneal. Reg.* XIII. 118, told), the falsehood of her confession; for surely most of the charges in that indictment would be better laid against the Judges in the Oyer and Terminer. They served, if they did not worship, the devil, and took him to be their God, whether they signed his book or not. Had that book been brought into court, as it ought to have been, or the Government called on to show at least what means they had used to get the precious record to the open view of the jury, the name of William Stoughton, and more than one of his associate judges, I doubt not, as clear as that of Mary Osgood, would have flared in the sapphire blaze. Hard is it to decide whether prisoners or judges were under stronger delusion."

Under the head of Pratt, he thus exposes the credulity of President Dwight: "Of one Ephraim, either this man or his son, is told the marvellous tale of longevity in Dwight's *Travels*, II. 358, that he was born in November, 1687, and died May, 1804, could count fifteen hundred descendants, ate no animal food for forty years, and 'was able to mow a good swath one hundred and one years in succession.' Improbabilities crowd up against both of these Ephraims: the senior must have been some years earlier than 1687, called by the man of second childhood his year of birth, as it is not probable that his first child was born in wedlock before the father was twelve and a half years old. Dr. Dwight should therefore have better called him one hundred and twenty-six than one hundred and sixteen years old; but, as part of the same chapter in apocrypha is that this veteran Ephraim had a Michael, who died 1826, aged one hundred and three years, we may adjudge the honor of the myth to have been designed for the junior. This younger Ephraim was not ninety-nine years old, when the credulity of President Dwight was instructed by the wonder-working old man that he had mowed grass one hundred and one years in succession, and only invalidated the year past. Dr. Dwight, though not sceptically inclined, as a juryman on a question of this man's will, had he made it on the day of his visit,

must have decided that it was not good, I presume for want of disposing mind and *memory* in the testator. So easily does the false story of great age obtain belief even from men of sagacity like President Dwight or Mr. Ward."

There is a touch of humor in the anecdote of Sir Thomas Temple, related under that title: "A pleasant anecdote is related by Hutchinson of Temple's persuading the King that the pine-tree on the coin struck in Boston was the royal oak that saved his Majesty. I doubt not this is as near the truth as tradition often reaches: perhaps it was uttered by the traveller to our friend the Earl of Manchester, or even to the Earl of Clarendon, whose well-tried loyalty quarrelled not with discretion; and, in the way of trifling not uncommon in that court, may possibly, though I think not, have got up to the throne. If the merry monarch had been ill-natured enough to ask what the date 1652 meant, Sir Thomas must have had awkward sensations."

Under the title of Wilson, he comments with no more than deserved severity upon an instance of the harshness, and even want of decency, of the otherwise well-deserving Rev. John Wilson, first minister of Boston: "Of the good desert of the first minister of Boston, abundant proof is found in the 'Magnalia,' III. chap. 3d, with some few lamentable characteristics of the author, perhaps little to be regarded in derogation from the character of Wilson. Yet of one trait in him, the zeal for the glory of God, as exhibited in 'Ill News from New England,' where the testimony of Obadiah Holmes, the Baptist confessor, is fully given, we must regret that it surpassed the limits of self-respect as well as common decency. Holmes tells, after his sentence to imprisonment and cruel scourging, 'As I went from the bar, I expressed myself in these words: I bless God I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus; whereupon John Wilson (their pastor as they call him) strook me before the judgment seat, and cursed me, saying, "The curse of God or Jesus go with thee."' For the imprecation upon the heretic, lenity may be extended, as we hope, by the final Judge, when he cometh in the clouds of heaven; but, at the tribunal of gentlemen, the assault on a defenceless prisoner, even though convicted by his own confession of the crime of preaching what he thought truth, meets no indulgence." The reader will find under the titles Rogers, Scroop, Sherman, Weld, Williams, and Winthrop, other passages illustrative of Mr. Savage's peculiarities of mind and eccentricities of style.

When the last volume of the Genealogical Dictionary had

been published, Mr. Savage had reached the age of seventy-eight years. Though his eye was not dimmed nor his natural force abated, he felt that he had earned the right to rest from his labors. His days, indeed, were not idle. Much time was given to a voluminous correspondence on the subjects of New England History and Genealogy. His stores of knowledge were freely given to all who sought them. He made frequent additions to, and correction in, his great work, the Genealogical Dictionary, and, to some extent, in Winthrop's Journal. His annotated edition of both works he bequeathed to our Society, and they are now carefully preserved in the library. As the infirmities of age increased upon him, he naturally retired more and more to the quiet seclusion of his own home. He retained to the last his sweetness of nature and winning courtesy of manners. Gradually and almost imperceptibly, the end was reached; and he was released by a painless death on the eighth day of March, 1873.

Mr. Savage's character was very easily read, even by those who did not know him well. No man ever lived who had less of what is called secretiveness than he. He never concealed what he really thought and felt, still less did he affect what he did not think or feel. His prominent traits were courage, truth, self-reliance, and independence. His opinions, both upon men and things, were expressed with great openness, and sometimes with a vehemence which startled those unfamiliar with his ways. He did not always take counsel of prudence in what he said, and paid less heed than most men to those conventional rules which govern social intercourse. He was impatient of contradiction, and sometimes manifested this characteristic with a warmth wholly disproportioned to the importance of the matter in controversy. But this trait never lost for him the good-will and esteem of any candid mind. There is great satisfaction in dealing with a man who sometimes carries his frankness to excess, but, on the other hand, never leaves any doubt as to his real sentiments. But all this does not suffice to give a true picture of what manner of man Mr. Savage was. The elder members of our Society, who remember him in the years during which he presided over us, will feel there is something wanting in this sketch. The commanding qualities of truth and courage are not those which he showed most in his familiar intercourse with his friends, and by which he was most distinctly remembered. He had many of those peculiarities which enter into the composition of the humorist, as that word is used by the earlier English writers, of which we have well-known exam-

ples in Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley and Scott's Jonathan Oldbuck. Mr. Savage had a vein of quaint and original humor which was perpetually cropping out, both in what he wrote and what he said. A person could hardly be with him half an hour without hearing something odd, pointed, or aphoristic. Though strongly social in his tastes, though he had always lived in a busy community, and taken an active part in the movements of society, he gave one the impression of a man whose peculiarities had been formed and strengthened by solitude. He respected public opinion, but he did not fear it. His growth was like that of a tree in the field, and not that of a tree in the forest.

There was also a certain affinity between his moral and his intellectual nature. He was no less remarkable for his love of accuracy than for his love of truth. This quality in him hardly stopped short of fanaticism. A wrong date, a false statement, a careless narrative, he resented as if it were a personal grievance; and it made no difference whether the offender had been sleeping in his grave a hundred years or more, nor was the energy of his feeling at all proportioned to the importance of the subject. And he felt a corresponding elation whenever he had succeeded in detecting an error in date or in correcting an erroneous statement, though in a forgotten pamphlet or carved upon an obscure tombstone.

Mr. Savage was commonly said to be a man of strong prejudices: it is more proper to say that he was a man of strong convictions. A prejudice, strictly speaking, is an opinion formed without sufficient reflection. In this sense, Mr. Savage could not be said to be a man of prejudices. He could give a reason for every article of faith that was in him. But, in his case, all his opinions partook of the warmth and vehemence of his temperament. He could believe nothing coldly or tamely. His mind had no neutral tints: whatever he believed, he believed with a sort of heat and passion. Many of his opinions were formed early in life, and he clung to them to the end with great tenacity. In his political creed, he was by the constitution of his mind a conservative, — averse to violent changes and to revolutionary measures. Like most of the educated men of Massachusetts, he was a strong Federalist as long as that party had an existence. His admiration of Washington hardly stopped short of idolatry, and he had a corresponding distrust of the creed and policy of Jefferson. The French Revolution broke out in his childhood, and his impressions of the French people were formed too exclusively from the horrors and excesses of that tremendous

convulsion. Respecting Napoleon Bonaparte, the child and representative of that revolution, his sentiments reached the high-water mark of old-fashioned English Toryism.

These opinions or prejudices, as some may call them, were shared by many of the best men of the community in which he lived, but some were peculiar to himself. Especially there were two men, in his own State, one living in the seventeenth and one in the eighteenth century, toward whom his feelings were akin to personal antipathy: these were Cotton Mather and John Hancock. In the case of Cotton Mather, his grounds of offence were his credulity, his rashness of statement, and, above all, his habits of carelessness and inaccuracy. Mr. Savage's researches led him over the same ground which had been trodden by Cotton Mather, and he had frequent occasion to detect his want of trustworthiness. We have before mentioned his own inevitable accuracy; and the want of it in Cotton Mather consequently awakened in him not merely a temporary irritation, but a feeling of settled moral reprobation. This feeling toward Cotton Mather was very characteristic. It was not a prejudice, strictly speaking, because he had reason for it; but, in the common acceptance of the word, it was a prejudice, for it was excessive in degree. In Mr. Savage's view, a writer who was guilty of carelessness or falsehood, when he had the means of getting at the truth, was little better than a pickpocket.*

His objections to John Hancock were of a different kind, though they may be traced back to his consistent and invincible love of truth. He felt keenly the difference between what he deemed Hancock's real character and that conceded to him by public estimation. He considered him as enjoying a reputation founded upon accidental circumstances, and to which he had no substantial claim. He did not think that his patriotic services in trying times gave him any title to have his weaknesses or his foibles ignored. Among these weaknesses, Mr. Savage regarded his vanity and his love of popularity, — infirmities to which the sturdy independence of his own character made him, perhaps, uncharitable. John Hancock, in his eyes, was a brilliant specimen of dust o'er-gilded. He retained in his memory many traditionary anec-

* At the preliminary hearing in the case of the Attorney-General against the Federal Street Church, Mr. Savage was a witness on behalf of the respondents. When the examination was concluded, Mr. Choate, who was on the other side, was asked if he had any questions to put in cross-examination. He replied that he had not, and added in a stage-whisper, "Now I have him under oath, I have a great mind to ask him why he hates Cotton Mather so."

dotes which were at variance with the received impressions concerning him; and he took the more pleasure in recounting them, because he held that strict justice required they should be known. Mankind is generally disposed to forget the infirmities and weaknesses of eminent patriots who prove true to their country in the day of trial, whatever may have been the motives upon which they acted. That John Hancock's name was first set to the Declaration of Independence has given him a sure title to immortality. It is, as Mr. Webster says, as if "he had written his name between Orion and the Pleiades."

Mr. Savage married, April, 1823, Elizabeth Otis, daughter of George Stillman of Machias, and widow of James Otis Lincoln of Hingham. Mr. Lincoln was the son of Mrs. Mary Lincoln, the faithful friend of his boyhood and youth. The fruit of this marriage was three daughters and one son. His domestic life was very happy, though darkened by many sorrows. Marrying rather late in life, he had the misfortune to survive his wife and three of his children. These heavy losses he felt keenly, but he submitted to them with the patience and resignation which religion only can give. His youngest child and only son, Lieutenant-Colonel James Savage, Jr., a young man of great purity and nobleness of character and sweetness of disposition, was an officer in the 2d Massachusetts Volunteers, in the late civil war, and died at Charlottesville, Va., of wounds received at the battle of Cedar Mountain. Mr. Savage's last years were passed in the family of his eldest daughter and sole surviving child, the wife of Professor William B. Rogers, first President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in Boston, where he was the object of the tenderest ministering care.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1878.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 10th of April (Thursday, the stated time, being Fast Day), at 11 o'clock A.M. The President, Mr. WINTHROP, on taking the chair, addressed the meeting as follows:—

We come to our eighty-eighth Annual Meeting, gentlemen, under cheering auspices, and with fresh cause for gratitude to God and man. Our ranks are full. Our finances were never in a more hopeful condition. And we have to-day a more than usual manifestation of the interest and industry of our committees in the work with which they have been intrusted. Two new volumes, just from the press, are on our table this morning,—one of Proceedings, and one of Collections; and with them is the first half of another volume, containing a large portion of "The Sewall Diary."

I will not say that there is nothing wanting to our prosperity. These very publications have made a large draft upon at least one of our publishing funds. We greatly need an addition to our means for printing our Collections, in order to enable us to accomplish, from year to year, all that we might accomplish with the rich materials in which our archives abound. If one more George Peabody, or one more Samuel Appleton, could come to our aid, our publishing work would never require to be suspended for want of money.

Meantime, we may rejoice in the renewed activity and prosperity of other Societies as well as our own. The Magazines which have recently been established by our sister Societies of New York and Pennsylvania are most notable additions to historical literature, and give promise of valuable fruits. Indeed, there has hardly ever before been a moment when so great an interest was manifested, in all parts of the country, in those historical pursuits and publications to which the establishment of this Society, under the auspices of Dr. Belknap, gave the earliest example and impulse in 1790. Our Centennial Anniversary is not very far distant; and though some of us may not be here to participate in its celebration, we may all hope that the promise of to-day may be fulfilled, and that, when the record of a hundred years shall be made up, it will be a record worthy of this oldest American Historical Society, and redound to the honor of all who have been associated with it.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the March meeting, which was approved.

The Librarian presented his usual monthly list of donations to the Library.

The Cabinet-keeper announced the gift, by Mrs. Mary C. Wheeler, of the lock from the study door of the house of Jonathan Edwards, in Northampton. It was taken from the door by the Rev. John Wheeler, D.D., President of the University of Vermont, when the building was torn down, about the year 1825.

MR. SAMUEL F. HAVEN, of Worcester, exhibited a fragment of manuscript purporting to be an extract from the diary of the Rev. David McClure, D.D., late of East Windsor, Conn., relating to the battle of Lexington, and said:—

Dr. McClure was a native of Brookfield, Mass., and graduated at Yale College in 1769. After leaving college, he was employed as a missionary in the western country, and wrote an account of the appearance of Braddock's field at the time of his visit. "It was a melancholy spectacle," he says, "to see the bones of men strewed over the ground, left to this day without the solemn rite of sepulture. . . . Many hundreds of skulls lay on the ground. I examined several, and found the mark of the scalping-knife on all." The exact date of this visit does not appear; but it was many years after the battle, which took place in 1755.

From Nov. 13th, 1776, to Aug. 30th, 1785, Dr. McClure was minister of North Hampton, N. H. In 1786, he was installed at East Windsor, Conn., where he died, June 25th, 1820, aged seventy-one. He was a trustee of Dartmouth College, and a respected and useful minister. In 1776, he declined an invitation to settle in Portsmouth, N. H., from the church over which Dr. Buckminster was ordained in 1779. He was a Corresponding Member of our Society, and communications from him will be found among our Collections; one of them being an account of the settlement and antiquities of Windsor.

From the specimen herewith produced, it will be seen that his diary probably contains many facts and observations of great interest, and of historical importance; and it is a matter of much regret that no knowledge of its present existence has been obtained.

After all the research that has been expended upon the minor incidents connected with the battles of Lexington and Concord, it is remarkable that the fall of the first British officer who lost his life in the war of the Revolution is so

imperfectly and incorrectly recorded. In Shattuck's "History of Concord," p. 116, it is stated that "Lieutenant Edward Hall, of the British 43d Regiment, was wounded at North Bridge, and taken prisoner on the retreat. He died the next day, and his remains were delivered up to General Gage."

This account appears to have been accepted as correct, and sufficiently complete, by all later writers. We find by the fragment from Dr. McClure's diary that the name of the officer was not Hall, but *Hull*; and that he survived a good many days. The interview of the American divine with him and others of the wounded is described in a graphic manner; and some of the facts related in that connection are new and of historical significance.

The true date of the death of Lieutenant Hull may be derived from the following authorities:—

The Diary of a British Officer in Boston, in 1775, contributed to the "Atlantic Monthly" (April and May, 1877), by Hon. Richard H. Dana, Jr., and edited by his daughter, Miss Elizabeth E. Dana, has this entry, under date of May 4th, 1775: "The late Lieut. Hull, of the 43d, was buried to-day. He was wounded and taken prisoner on the 19th [of April], and the day before yesterday died of his wounds. They yesterday brought him to town, as he had requested it."

And the Orderly Book of John Fenno, secretary to the American Commander-in-chief, which is in possession of this Society, and is cited in the Society's publication of Colonel William Henshaw's Orderly Book, has the following order: "May 3, 1775.—Ordered, That Lieuts. Farnum, Johnson, and Walker, Adjutants Febiger, Warner, and Fox, escort the corpse of Lieut. Hull to Charlestown."

It is probable that the interment took place at the burial-ground on Copp's Hill.

There is nothing to be added, at present, respecting Lieutenant Hull, except that among the papers of Colonel Henshaw preserved by his grand-daughter, Miss H. E. Henshaw, is a letter to the unfortunate officer from a younger brother at home, which probably arrived after his death. It is dated at Hillsborough, in Ireland, April 12th, 1775, and contains many details of local and domestic information. It appears from this that the family were of good standing in the community, residing at Hillsborough, where lived Lord Hillsborough, the celebrated Secretary of State for the Colonies, and one of the leaders of the Administration which had to bear the unpopularity of the American war.

In this letter to "Dear Ned," the youthful writer says:

"I have often heard you say that when you went abroad you would keep a journal of your life and actions. It is now one year since you left England. I suppose the reason you did not write was to wait until the year was expired, and then you would send us the whole year's journal, which my father, mother, and sisters beg you will do. It must be a large one; and send it in different letters directed to different persons in the family, paging it, and that will afford you subjects enough to write one to every person here, which will please them, and which is so much longed for. As there is a dispute between England and America, and you are in the only place where the greatest dispute is, you must surely know every occurrence that happens there, being one of the persons under pay to prevent any further disputes with the Americans. The above journal is sincerely wished for here; and, if sent, would cure all past neglects, and also inform us that you are alive, which some persons think you are not, as you never write."

If a journal was actually kept by Lieutenant Hull, we trust it ultimately reached the anxious circle of relatives and friends at home. Should it have remained in this country, it may be a desirable document to discover among the private papers of the period.

The fragment of Dr. McClure's diary is as follows:—

... "that it was flattened on one side by the ribs as if it had been beaten with a hammer. He was a plain, honest man, to appearance, who had voluntarily turned out with his musket at the alarm of danger, as did also some thousands besides, on that memorable day. In the same room lay mortally wounded a British officer, Lieutenant Hull, of a youthful, fair, and delicate countenance. He was of a respectable family of fortune in Scotland. Sitting on one feather-bed, he leaned on another, and was attempting to suck the juice of an orange which some neighbor had brought. The physician of the place had been to dress his wounds, and a woman was appointed to attend him. His breeches were bloody, lying on the bed. I observed that he had no shirt on, and was wrapped in a coating great coat, with a fur cap on his head. I inquired of the woman why he was thus destitute of clothing. He answered: 'When I fell, our people (the British) stripped me of my coat, vest, and shirt, and your people of my shoes and buckles.'* How inhuman!—his own men! I asked him if he was dangerously wounded. He replied, 'Yes, mortally'; that he had received three balls in his body. His countenance expressed great bodily anguish. I con-

* "The person who took these articles is now living in the vicinity of Boston."—*Dr. McClure's note.*

versed with him a short time on the prospect of death, and a preparation for that solemn scene; to which he appeared to pay serious attention. He lived about a week, and the people conveyed his body in a coffin to Charlestown ferry, where I happened to be present, and a barge from the *Somerset* took it to Boston. Not far from this house lay four fine British horses; the people were taking off their shoes. One informed me that a wagon loaded with provisions was sent from Boston for the refreshment of the retreating army, under an escort of six grenadiers. They had got as far as this place, when a number of men (ten or twelve) collected, and ordered them to surrender. They marched on, and our men fired, killed the driver and the horses; when the rest fled a little way, and surrendered. Another wagon sent on the same business was also taken that day. It was strange that General Gage should send them through a country in which he had just kindled the flames of war, in so defenceless a condition. Saw three regulars in beds in a house in Cambridge; one of them mortally wounded. Conversated with them on their melancholy situation. One of them refused to answer, and cast upon me a revengeful look. Perhaps he was a papist, and his priest had pardoned his sins. The houses on the road of the march of the British were all perforated with balls, and the windows broken. Horses, cattle, and swine lay dead around. Such were the dreadful trophies of war for about twenty miles. I hovered around Boston several days. Very few of the inhabitants were permitted to come out. Having some things in Boston which I wished to have sent round to Marblehead, I wrote to my brother-in-law, Captain Henry Hunter, who with my sister Hunter were there, to send them. And having obtained a permit from the colonel commanding our militia at Roxbury, to go to the British guards on the Neck, I went within call, and waved my hat for permission to enter, when Davis,* a Boston Tory, and inspector of those who came out, came towards me, but refused to take the letters which I reached towards him. He said General Gage had given orders that there should be no communication between town and country. I got my letter in, however, the same day."

The President read a portion of the following letter, put into his hands by Professor Norton, who had received it from an English source, written in 1779, by an aged Bostonian, to his English correspondent, a clergyman, relating to American affairs. As was often the case in those troublesome times, the letter is unsigned, nor is its address preserved. Conjecture only can furnish a clue to the writer or his correspondent.

* "Davis had greatly provoked many of the inhabitants who were permitted to leave the town, by his meanness in searching the pockets, it was said, of women and men, to see that they carried out no more money than Gage allowed. To show the amity of the American character, Davis was permitted to return and live in peace in Boston, where I saw him in 1805, hobbling on his staff, when he told me he was allowed but a guinea per day for his and his sons' services in that unworthy office." — *Dr. Mc Clure's note.*

Mr. Winthrop suggested the names of Drs. Priestley and Price as possible recipients of the letter, and remarked that Dr. Chauncy was perhaps the only Boston patriot whose age corresponded with a statement made by the writer. He also said that this was not the original letter, but a copy:*

Boston, May 20, 1779.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—As the honorable Mr. Temple† is going to Holland, and may have it in his power to convey a letter to you with safety, I could not excuse myself from writing by so favorable an opportunity. What I have in view is to assure you that the situation of our public affairs is not as has been represented by Governor Johnstone and the Commissioners sent with him to America. They were confined to Philadelphia and New York the whole time of their continuance here, and had (nor could have had) no other information respecting the Congress or the circumstances of these States than what they received from British officers and refugees who had taken part with them. The ministers could, therefore, by their accounts have no true knowledge of the state of things in this part of the world; and so far as they might be disposed to act upon principles, grounded upon these accounts, they must act upon the foot of misrepresentation, not to say direct falsehood.

Governor Johnstone, by his conduct while here, has proved himself to be nothing better than a ministerial tool, and is universally held in contempt. By his speeches in Parliament relative to America, he appears to have known nothing of its real state, or to have given a notoriously wrong representation of it. A very great part of what he delivers there, as we have had it in the newspapers, is wholly beside the truth, and indisputably so. We pity the man, but much more the ministry in giving so much credit to his account as in any measure to govern their conduct by it.

It is, indeed, acknowledged our paper currency has sunk in its value to a great degree, which has occasioned the price of the necessaries of life to rise to an enormous height; but this has not been disadvantageous to us, *collectively considered*. None have suffered on this account but *salary men*,—those who depended on the value and interest of their money for subsistence,—and *the poor* among us. As to the rest, whether merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and day-laborers, the rise of their demands has all along been in proportion to the depreciation of the currency, and the rise of the necessaries of life thereupon. It may seem strange, but it is certain fact, that the American States, notwithstanding the vast depreciation of currency, and the excessive high price of provisions of all kinds, are *richer* now in reality, and not in name only, than they were in any former period of time;

* Professor Norton has, since the above was written, learned from his English friend that there is some reason to think that this letter was addressed to Dr. Priestley.—Eds.

† Afterward Sir John Temple, son-in-law of Governor Bowdoin.—Eds.

and they are much better able to carry on the war now than when they began it. One great fault they are justly chargeable with. It is this: they have almost continually been too attentive to the getting of gain, as there have been peculiar temptations hereto since the commencement of the present contest. They would otherwise, I have no doubt, have cleared the land of British Troops long before this time; and nothing is now wanting, under the smiles of Providence, to effect this but such exertions of the king's forces as would generally alarm the country. There would then appear a sufficiency of strength to do by them as was done by Burgoyne and his army. While they suffer themselves to be, as it were, imprisoned in New York and Rhode Island, and go not forth unless to steal sheep and oxen, and plunder and burn the houses of poor innocent people by surprise, it makes no great noise here, whatever by pompous aggravation it may do in London.

Our people want only to be roused. It would then be seen what they could do. I may add here, our freeholders and farmers, by the plenty of paper money, have cleared themselves of debts, and got their farms enlarged and stocked beyond what they could otherwise have done; and rather than give up their independency, or lose their liberties, would go forth to a man in defence of their country, and would do it like so many lions.

The British administration hurt themselves more than they do us, as a people, by continuing the war; and they must bring it to a conclusion, or they will ruin themselves instead of us. The longer they protract the war, the more difficult it will be to obtain such terms of peace as they might have had, and, perhaps, may still have. These States will soon lose that little confidence they may now place in the British Ministers. None of the minority in Parliament have a worse opinion of them than is generally entertained here.

A valuation of the Massachusetts State has lately been made, in order to its being properly taxed; and it is found, notwithstanding the vast number of cattle that have been slain for the army, as well as [for the] inhabitants, that they are more numerous now than in any period of time since the settlement of the country. In the county of Worcester only, which, within my remembrance, had but a very few inhabitants, there appears to be more than *forty thousand* head of cattle, and sheep in proportion. No longer ago than the year 1721, I rode through Worcester, — now as well and as largely inhabited a town as almost any in the State, — and it was in as perfectly wilderness a condition as any spot between Boston and Canada; not a house or inhabitant to be seen there. I have mentioned this only to point out to you the internal sources of provision we have, though the war be continued ever so long. But I may not enlarge. Your good friend, Mr. Wainthorp,* died about twelve days ago. I also am grown infirm as well as old, and very unable to write; for which reason you will excuse the blots as well as almost illegible writing of the present letter, for I could not transcribe

* Professor John Winthrop died May 3d, 1779. — Eds.

it to send it to you. If I should live to see a settled state of things, I will, if I should have strength, write you very largely upon our affairs. I am, with due respect, &c.

P. S. — Congress are as firmly united as ever in their attachment to the liberties and independence of America, and the people place an entire confidence in them as from the beginning, notwithstanding all that Johnstone and the other Commissioners, ridiculously to us, endeavour to make people believe on your side of the water; and, notwithstanding the depreciation of our paper currency and the high prices of provision, the people are more averse than ever to a submission to Great Britain, and would rather die than come in to it. Mr. Temple has been from New York to Boston, and from Boston to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia back again to Boston. He went through most of the more populous towns between these places; and, as he had an opportunity of seeing and conversing with the first and best gentlemen we have in these States, he can, should he go to England, give you a more just and true account of our political affairs than you have yet had; and I believe you may depend upon his giving you an honest account of things among us.

N. B. — Mr. Temple has amply confirmed the above, and added more particulars to the same purport.

Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, of Grantville, was elected a Resident Member.

The proceedings of the Annual Meeting were now entered upon. The Rev. Henry W. Foote, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council; Dr. Samuel A. Green, the Librarian; Mr. William S. Appleton, the Cabinet-keeper; and Mr. Charles C. Smith, the Treasurer, — presented their several annual reports, which were accepted, and referred to the Committee on the Proceedings. Mr. AMOS A. LAWRENCE, from the Committee appointed to examine the Treasurer's accounts, certified to their correctness, and to the satisfactory investment of the funds.

The annual reports here follow: —

Report of the Council.

The same occasion which caused our Annual Meeting, a year ago, to be held on the day previous to the stated time, — the appointment of the annual Fast Day, by the Governor and Council, for the second Thursday in April, — has this year again induced your Council to anticipate, by one day, the usual time for holding our anniversary meeting.

The volume of Proceedings published, and on the table to-day, contains the full record of our monthly meetings, and the communications presented at them, and renders unneces-

sary any detailed account of the history of the Society during the past twelve months. It will show that our meetings have been enriched with as much valuable material, and have been as well attended, as in any previous year, and will indicate the continued prosperity of the Society. The Report of the Librarian will show the steady growth of the Library, which has been increased from the 24,315 volumes and 46,000 pamphlets of last year to 25,000 volumes and 48,760 pamphlets, besides the maps, newspapers, &c., which have been added during the year. A necessity which has been felt by those who have had occasion to consult the extensive manuscript collections in the Library will be met by the complete catalogue of our manuscripts, which the Council has directed to be prepared as soon as practicable. At present, a considerable part of them not being catalogued, a laborious search is sometimes entailed upon students consulting them. Another need of the Library is a shelf catalogue; and the Council hope that at no distant day the funds and clerical force at their disposal will enable them to make this valuable addition to the facilities of the Library.

In addition to the volume of Proceedings just published, the Society has published a centennial volume of Collections, which is to-day in the hands of members. This volume, made up from the important letters of Washington to Major-General William Heath, and from papers furnished by Mr. Adams, Mr. Winthrop, and Mr. Warren, contains a rich store of materials illustrating the history of the Revolutionary War. The first part of the "Sewall Papers," comprising 300 pages, is also to-day in the hands of members, and will be received with special interest, as the first instalment of a contribution to the later colonial and earlier provincial period of our history, whose publication has been long anticipated, and which is probably the most important unpublished authority on the period from 1671 to 1728 in existence. These papers will be contained in three volumes, of about 550 pages each; and the committee propose to print a fourth volume, made up from Judge Sewall's letter-book.

A considerable number of members of the Society have published books during the year, of which the larger portion illustrate the historical studies to which the Society is dedicated. Our first Vice-President, Mr. Adams, has completed, with the twelfth volume, the Memoir and Diary of his father, President J. Q. Adams, — a work of the first value, not only as a unique contribution to the history of an important period, but as illustrating the character of that eminent statesman. Mr.

Francis Parkman has added to the six volumes of his historical narrations a seventh, entitled "Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.," in which that typical figure from the French court is the central personage, and the attempt to plant the customs and principles of the Court of the "Grand Monarque" on Canadian soil is vividly described.

Mr. H. C. Lodge has made a valuable contribution to the history of the administration of Washington, and to that of the Federalist party, in his "Life and Letters of George Cabot." Messrs. W. H. Whitmore and W. S. Appleton have edited the important "Book of Possessions," published by the City of Boston, and containing the earliest records of real estate on this peninsula. Mr. Charles Deane has edited "A Discourse on Western Planting, by Richard Hakluyt," being volume second of the Documentary History of Maine; and has also elucidated an important passage in our Revolutionary history by his discussion of the surrender of Burgoyne, in the "Report of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society." Mr. T. C. Amory has published a monograph, entitled "Blackstone, Boston's First Inhabitant"; Mr. E. B. Bigelow, a contribution to Political Economy, "The Tariff Policy of England and of the United States Contrasted"; Mr. Winsor, a sumptuous work on the editions of Shakespeare, a "Bibliography of the original Quartos and Folios of Shakespeare"; and Mr. C. C. Perkins, a "Study of Raphael and Michael Angelo." Professor Francis Bowen, who has retired from the Society, to our regret, since the publication of the work, has given to the world an important work on philosophy, "History of Modern Philosophy, from Descartes to Kant."

The Society has lost by death, during the year, four of its Resident Members,—the Hon. John Lothrop Motley, the Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, Edmund Quincy, Esq., and George Bemis, Esq., whose distinguished characters and varied services and diverse careers were fitly commemorated at our meetings. Mr. Sabine, whose work on the American Loyalists no other could have written, and perhaps not even he at a later time, died at a ripe old age, in April, 1877. Our meeting in June of that year became a memorial service, in which worthy tributes were paid to the memory of Mr. Quincy and Mr. Motley. The death of Mr. Quincy took from the Society its Recording Secretary, after he had held the position but a single month; and there was added, to the sense of our personal sorrow for the loss of a courteous and high-minded gentleman, the deprivation of services in which the accomplished

biographer of President Quincy would have found a congenial occupation. Mr. Motley's long residence in Europe, in distinguished diplomatic service and in a private station, had for years prevented him from being present at our meetings; but his brilliant histories had added lustre, during his absence, to the literary fame of our country and of this Society.

The sorrow of his personal friends, whose affection distance and time did not diminish, testified to his rare and attractive endowments. Mr. Bemis had also been prevented, by occupation while in Boston, and by years of foreign residence, from participating in our meetings; but his important writings as a publicist testified to his special qualifications for membership here, and his liberal bequest to the Society will cause him to be gratefully remembered among its benefactors.

The Society has also lost, by death, one Honorary and two Corresponding Members. M. Thiers was the first citizen of France, and his varied career was a succession of illustrious triumphs. His brilliant Histories of the Consulate and Empire did much to bring about that Second Empire which he so strongly opposed. He did more than armies to save France, in her peril, from destruction. He was the first President of the Third Republic, and the man to whom, in his retirement, notwithstanding his fourscore years, his country was looking for further service. The decease of Mr. Thomas Donaldson, of Baltimore, has taken from our roll of Corresponding Members the name of an eminent lawyer and a gentleman of high character. By the death of the Hon. George T. Davis, the Society loses one who had been transferred from our list of Resident to that of Corresponding Members, in consequence of his removal to another State, but whose interest in our objects, and whose rare wit and genial presence, always made him peculiarly welcome among us.

To fill the vacancies thus created in the Society, five new Resident Members have been elected, — Messrs. Justin Winsor, J. Elliot Cabot, George Dexter, G.V. Fox, and Henry Lee. The choice of a sixth, to-day, Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, completes the full hundred of our roll.

The Memoirs of George Bemis, Esq., by Judge Hoar, of the Hon. Benjamin R. Curtis, by Dr. Chandler Robbins, and of the Hon. James Savage, by the Hon. George S. Hillard, are now in the hands of the Committee on Publication, and will appear in the forthcoming volume of Proceedings. It is greatly to be desired that the memoirs of other deceased members, undertaken by various members of the Society, shall be completed and published as soon as possible; and also that,

by a reassignment of the memoirs, yet unwritten, of earlier members of the Society, the much-needed volumes of early Proceedings may be brought to completion. From an interesting report by Mr. Joseph Willard, in January, 1853, on our files, it appears that, while in our Collections up to that time the memoirs of thirty-nine Resident Members had appeared, "the tribute of respect remains due to thirty-eight of our number, according to the obligation of our Society, expressed at the earliest instance of the death of a Resident Member, and renewed and confirmed by the vote of April, 1836." Since 1855, over thirty memoirs have been assigned, which have not yet been put into the hands of the Publishing Committee. Among them are the names of some of the most eminent men who have ever adorned our roll of membership. It cannot be necessary to urge on this Society the duty which we owe not only to these honored names, but to the honorable record of the Society itself.

On the resignation of Francis Parkman, Esq., as a member of the Executive Committee, the Hon. Richard Frothingham was elected in his stead. The Council has also been deprived of the attendance of Professor James Russell Lowell, at most of its meetings, by his appointment as United States Minister to Spain, and consequent residence at Madrid.

The services of Mr. George Arnold having been brought to a close, Mr. J. H. Tuttle has been engaged as an assistant in the Library. On the decease of Mr. Quincy, Mr. Charles Deane was requested to assume the position of Recording Secretary *pro tempore*, and has discharged the responsible duties of that office in addition to those of Corresponding Secretary, since June last; thus yet further increasing the obligations of the Society to him for his many important services during fourteen years, in which he has edited nine volumes of the Proceedings.

All which is respectfully submitted for the Council.

HENRY W. FOOTE,

Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

The Cabinet-keeper has only to report that the articles in his charge are in good condition and order. Of the additions during the past year, it seems necessary to mention but one, — the gorget of Washington, presented by Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, in anticipation of her death, at which event it was to have come to this Society by the terms of the will of her father, President Josiah Quincy. The Society has also

accepted on deposit an exact model of the old Brattle Street Meeting-house, placed here by the Standing Committee of that Society. Nothing has yet been done in the matter of a better arrangement of the most valuable and interesting objects in the Cabinet; but the subject has lately been taken again into serious consideration.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM S. APPLETON, *Cabinet-keeper.*

BOSTON, April 10, 1878.

Report of the Librarian.

The Librarian has the honor to submit his Annual Report. There have been added to the Library:—

Books	685
Pamphlets	2,761
Bound volume of newspapers	1
Unbound volumes of newspapers	94
Maps	43
Broadsides	90
Volumes of manuscripts	2
Manuscripts	8

Making in all 3,684

Of the books added, 434 have been given, and 251 have been bought. Of the pamphlets added, 2,632 have been given, 64 have been received by exchange, and 65 by purchase.

There are now in the Library, it is estimated, 25,000 volumes; including files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse collection.

The number of pamphlets is now about 48,760.

Mr. Lawrence has added this year 53 volumes, 5 pamphlets, and 1 newspaper, all relating to the Great Rebellion.

There have been bought with the income of the Savage Fund 250 volumes and 65 pamphlets.

During the year, 195 books and 11 pamphlets have been taken from the Library, and all have been returned.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

APRIL 10, 1878.

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 30, 1878. The last Annual Report was dated April 5, 1877;

but, in order to insure ample time for auditing and printing the Report, it has been thought best to adopt an earlier and uniform date for the Report, and in future the Treasurer's books will be closed on the last secular day in March. In consequence of this change, only three items are excluded from the accounts now presented which were in the Report of last year: namely, one quarter's rent of the premises leased to the City of Boston, due April 1st, and amounting to \$2,250, which will be credited to the General Account, when collected; six months' interest, due April 1st, and amounting to \$150, on a part of the investments held for the Savage Fund; and six months' interest on the mortgage note of the Society, which has heretofore been paid on the 1st of April, but which in future will be paid on the 17th of April, the date of the mortgage. This payment will amount to \$1,411.11, and will be chargeable to the General Account. With this explanation, an exact comparison can be made between the financial condition of the Society at the present time and its condition a year ago.

The funds held by the Treasurer are the following:—

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by the gift to the Society, from the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of the sum of ten thousand dollars, and which at the present time amounts to \$12,203, chargeable on the real estate of the Society. The income is computed at six per cent on the capital, and is applicable "to the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which owes its origin to a gift of two thousand dollars from the Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855, increased on the 26th of December, 1866, by a further gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears and a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. By a vote of the Society passed June 14, 1877, the Treasurer was instructed to add the interest to the principal until the fund shall reach the sum of ten thousand dollars. The objects for which the income will then be available, and the manner in which it must be appropriated, are set forth in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855. The principal and accrued interest, as well as the annual interest on both sums at the rate of six per cent per annum, are a charge on the real estate of the Society. The principal and accrued interest amount at the present time to \$7,590.56.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was presented to the Society April 9, 1857, by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse. This fund amounts to ten thousand dollars, and is also chargeable on the real estate of the Society. The income computed at the rate of six per cent is applicable to the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented to the Society by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and which amounts at the present time to \$22,123, invested in seven per cent bonds of the Boston and Albany Railroad Co., and a deposit in the Suffolk Savings Bank. The income of this fund is available for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, bequeathed by the late Hon. James Savage, and received by the Society in June, 1873. This fund stands on the books at \$5,023.25, invested in stock and bonds of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Co.; and the income is to be expended for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE GENERAL FUND. This is not a trust-fund, but represents a legacy of the late Henry Harris, received in July, 1867, which is invested in a bond of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Co., for one thousand dollars, and a bond of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad Co., also for one thousand dollars. The income is credited to the General Account. In the judgment of the Treasurer, it will be most for the interest of the Society to keep this sum of \$2,000, and any reinvestment of it, as a permanent fund, to be enlarged by any similar gifts or bequests.

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

		DEBITS.	
1877.			
April 2.	To balance on hand		\$6,295.71
1878.			
March 30.	To receipts as follows:—		
	Sinking Fund	2,282.04	
	General Account	8,788.96	
	Income of Peabody Fund	1,470.00	
	Income of Savage Fund	190.00	
			<u>\$19,021.71</u>
March 30.	To balance brought down		\$1,220.85

1878.]

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

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CREDITS.

1878.

March 30.	By payments as follows:—	
	Reduction of mortgage	\$10,000.00
	Sinking Fund	1,000.00
	Income of Peabody Fund	960.88
	Income of Savage Fund	740.29
	Income of Appleton Fund	537.13
	General Account	4,572.61
	By balance on hand	1,220.85
		<u>\$19,021.71</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

1878.

March 30.	To sundry payments:—	
	J. A. Henshaw, salary	\$1,159.22
	G. Arnold, salary	750.00
	allowance	160.00
	J. H. Tuttle, salary	70.00
	Interest on mortgage (six months)	1,416.67
	Fuel and light	132.89
	Copying for Sewall Papers	176.00
	Printing, stationery, postage, and advertising	110.97
	Binding	66.77
	Repairs	104.87
	Care of fire	188.60
	Miscellaneous expenses	287.12
	Income of Appleton Fund	732.18
	Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	429.65
	Income of Dowse Fund	600.00
	Sinking Fund	2,000.00
	Reduction of mortgage debt	717.96
	To balance to new account	2,880.89
		<u>\$11,933.29</u>

CREDITS.

1877.

April 2.	By balance on hand	\$2,549.88
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1878.

March 30.	By sundry receipts:—	
	Rent of Building (nine months)	6,750.00
	Income of General Fund	159.30
	Interest	62.62
	Income of Dowse Fund	600.00
	Admission Fees	100.00
	Assessments	1,330.00
	Sales of publications	382.04
		<u>\$11,933.29</u>

March 30.	By balance brought down	\$2,880.89
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Income of Appleton Fund.

DEBITS.

1877.

April 2.	To balance against the account	\$2,492.07
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1878.

March 30.	To amount paid for printing	537.13
		<u>\$3,029.20</u>

March 30.	To balance brought down	\$2,297.02
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CREDITS.

1878.			
March 30.	By one year's interest on \$12,203 principal	\$732.13	
	" balance carried forward	2,297.02	
			<u>\$3,029.20</u>

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

DEBITS.

1878.			
March 30.	To amount carried to new account	\$4,590.56	

CREDITS.

1877.			
April 2.	By amount brought forward	\$4,160.91	
Sept. 1.	" one year's interest on \$3,000 principal	180.00	
	" one year's interest on accrued interest	240.65	

			<u>\$4,590.56</u>
1878.			
March 30.	By amount brought down	\$4,590.56	

Income of Douse Fund.

DEBITS.

1878.			
March 30.	To amount placed to credit of General Account	\$600.00	

CREDITS.

1878.			
March 30.	By one year's interest on \$10,000 principal	\$600.00	

Income of Peabody Fund.

DEBITS.

1878.			
March 30.	To amount paid for printing Proceedings	\$813.89	
	" " " heliotypes	96.50	
	" " " miscellaneous expenses	40.44	
	" balance to new account	2,028.76	
			<u>\$2,979.59</u>

CREDITS.

1877.			
April 2.	By balance brought forward	\$1,509.59	
1878.			
March 30.	By one year's interest on railroad bonds	1,470.00	

			<u>\$2,979.59</u>
March 30.	By balance brought down	\$2,028.76	

Income of Savage Fund.

DEBITS.

1878.			
March 30.	To amount paid for books	\$608.36	
	" amount paid for binding	41.93	
	" balance to new account	17.66	
			<u>\$757.95</u>

CREDITS.

1877.		
April 2.	By balance brought forward	\$567.95
1878.		
March 30.	By two semi-annual dividends on railroad shares	40.00
	„ interest on railroad bonds (six months)	150.00
		<u>\$757.95</u>
March 30.	By balance brought down	\$17.66

Sinking Fund.

DEBITS.

1878.		
January 1.	To amount applied to reduction of mortgage	<u>\$3,282.04</u>

CREDITS.

1877.		
April 2.	By amount on hand	\$1,200.00
July 8.	„ amount transferred from the General Account	1,000.00
1878.		
Jan. 1.	By amount transferred from the General Account	1,000.00
	„ interest on investments	82.04
		<u>\$3,282.04</u>

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash	\$1,220.85
Real estate	108,280.19
Investments	85,146.25
Income of Appleton Fund	2,297.02
	<u>\$141,944.31</u>

CREDITS.

Notes payable	\$50,000.00
Building account	28,077.19
Appleton Fund	12,208.00
Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	8,000.00
Peabody Fund	22,123.00
Savage Fund	6,023.25
General Fund	2,000.00
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	4,590.56
Income of Peabody Fund	2,028.76
Income of Savage Fund	17.66
General Account	2,880.89
	<u>\$141,944.31</u>

In accordance with arrangements made by the late Treasurer, the mortgage-debt of the Society has been reduced \$10,000 within the year. Of this sum, \$6,000 were taken from the unexpended income of previous years, \$3,282.04 from the sinking fund, and \$717.96 from the income of

the current year. Provision has been made for a further reduction of the debt; but the means available for this purpose are small, and the reduction must proceed very slowly.

The income of the Dowse, Peabody, and Savage Funds is, in each case, sufficient for the purpose for which the fund was created; and the generous intentions of their donors are fully carried out. But the income of the Appleton Fund is entirely inadequate to defray the cost of printing the Collections as rapidly as the interests of historical investigation demand. Already the income for the next three or four years has been anticipated; and, after the completion of the volume of Revolutionary Papers now in the press, no further sums should be charged to this account until the accumulated income shall amount to a sufficient sum to extinguish the debt with which the income of the fund is now charged. The chief want of the Society at the present time is an addition to the permanent fund for the publication of its Collections, or the creation of a new fund for the same purpose.

After paying for binding the volume of Proceedings which will probably be on the table at the annual meeting, the balance to the credit of the income of the Peabody Fund will be sufficient to defray the cost of printing another volume, beginning with the meeting held in January last, and to justify the immediate commencement of a volume of selections from the early Proceedings of the Society. For the preparation of that volume there are abundant materials in the Society's archives.

No change has been made in any of the investments during the year; and, in making this statement, the Treasurer desires to add his testimony to the good judgment and ability with which his predecessor administered the financial affairs of the Society during his long term of service, — a period much longer than that in which any one else has held the office.

CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer.*

Boston, March 30, 1878.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 30, 1878, have attended to their duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by him for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual

Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

AMOS A. LAWRENCE, } Committee*
GEORGE B. CHASE, }

Boston, April 8, 1878.

Mr. FOOTE, from the Committee to nominate officers, reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year, which was unanimously adopted:—

President.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

HON. CHARLES F. ADAMS, LL.D. BOSTON.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

GEORGE DEXTER, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

Corresponding Secretary.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq. BOSTON.

Librarian.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

WILLIAM S. APPLETON, A.M. BOSTON.

Executive Committee of the Council.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, LL.D. BOSTON.

CHARLES C. PERKINS, A.M. BOSTON.

WINSLOW WARREN, LL.B. DEDHAM.

CHARLES W. TUTTLE, A.M. BOSTON.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, A.M. NEWTON.

The Treasurer stated that, since his annual report was made up, he had set aside one thousand dollars toward the sinking fund, and also that he had succeeded in reinsuring the Society's building at a considerably reduced rate.

The following votes were unanimously adopted:—

Voted, That the thanks of the Society are extended to Mr. Charles Deane for his valuable services as Recording Secretary for the past year.

Also, That the thanks of the Society are presented to

* Mr. W. Amory, chairman, was unavoidably detained from the meeting of the Committee, and was not able to make a personal examination of the accounts. — Eds.

Messrs. Henry W. Foote and James Russell Lowell, for their services as members of the Executive Committee of the Council.

The President again called attention to the new volume of Proceedings, beginning with the monthly meeting in October, 1876, and ending with the monthly meeting in December, 1877, as ready for distribution; also, to the new volume (a centennial volume) of Collections, from a committee of which the Hon. Charles Francis Adams was chairman. This latter comprised a large number of letters from Washington to General Heath, which were furnished from the "Heath Papers"; also, a correspondence between John Adams and Professor John Winthrop; the volume concluding with a spicy correspondence between John Adams and Mrs. Mercy Warren of Plymouth. There was also a serial, of about three hundred pages, of the Diary of Judge Sewall, issued from a committee of which the Rev. Dr. Ellis was chairman. This Diary, which will also include the letters of Judge Sewall, will comprise, when completed in print, about four volumes of some five hundred pages each.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the several committees whose volumes were presented at this meeting.

A Committee, consisting of Mr. Charles Deane and Mr. Charles C. Smith, was appointed to prepare from the Society's records and contemporaneous documents one or more volumes of Proceedings, from the formation of the Society down to the year 1855, when the printed Proceedings begin. This will embrace a full history of the Society, including many Memoirs of its earlier members.

After the formal meeting was dissolved, the members adjourned to No. 90 Marlborough Street, where they partook of the sumptuous hospitality of the President.

MAY MEETING, 1878.

A stated meeting was held at the Society's rooms in Tremont Street, Boston, on Thursday, the 9th instant. In the absence of the President, the senior Vice-President, Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, took the chair.

The records of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The Librarian read the usual monthly list of donors to the Library. He also presented an application from the government of Nova Scotia for permission to copy the manuscript Journal of Colonel John Winslow, kept while he was engaged in removing the Acadian French from that country in 1755, now in the Society's archives; and leave was granted under the rules.

The Vice-President then announced the death of Judge George T. Bigelow: —

In the absence of our worthy President, who presents so accomplished an example to us, in his easy and graceful manner of disposing of all business at our meetings, the duty of presiding on this occasion devolves upon a much less accomplished substitute, — myself. I can only trust to your indulgence now as I have enjoyed its benefits heretofore.

The first subject to which it becomes my duty to call your attention is the loss we have met with of a distinguished member of our body. Since our last meeting, the country has lost a citizen and the Society a member who has acted a conspicuous and honorable part in the juridical department of our State. Educated at Harvard University, and passing steadily through the customary preparation for the legal profession, George T. Bigelow had not advanced far before he was selected by the appointing authority as a suitable person to fill a vacancy in the Common Pleas Court. I well recollect the sense of surprise which pervaded many of the profession at what appeared to them a selection of favoritism rather than an appointment due to special merits. But time went on, and the young judge steadily gained reputation in the community until, a vacancy in the presidency of the court occurring, he was designated for promotion. Again perhaps some surprise was awakened, to be repeated not long afterward by his advancement to a seat on the bench

of the Supreme Judicial Court. And, lastly, on the resignation of the Chief Justice, he had the honor of being called—but now with the general assent of the community—to fill that highest and most responsible place. No suspicion of favoritism can be admitted in the face of such a continuous success as this before a profession full of intellectual and critical rivals. There is a passage in Tacitus, doubtless remembered by most of you, which describes just such a career; and I by no means refer to it as derogating from the success of this experiment. Poppæus Sabinus is pictured as having had no adventitious opportunities of advancement, and no extraordinary internal force; and yet he filled a career of honor and responsibility for more than twenty years, “nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis, neque supra erat.” The description is honorable to both. Happy is the man who is always equal to every emergency. I present, in behalf of the Council, the following resolutions:—

Voted, That this Society desire to place on record their sense of the loss which the community has experienced in the death of the Hon. George Tyler Bigelow, a member of the Society since 1859, and their appreciation of his eminent services as Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, his sound judgment and practical wisdom, and his genial and courteous manners.

Voted, That the President be authorized to appoint one of our members to prepare a Memoir of Judge Bigelow for the Proceedings.

MR. RICHARD H. DANA, Jr., paid a graceful and eloquent tribute to Judge Bigelow's great abilities. He was followed by Messrs. ELLIS AMES and ROBERT C. WATERSTON, who spoke briefly of the learning and accomplishments of the deceased jurist. The Corresponding Secretary read an extract from a letter written by Mr. Winthrop from Washington, expressing his regret that absence from home would prevent his joining in the tribute to Judge Bigelow's memory. The resolutions were then adopted, and Mr. George B. Chase was appointed to prepare a Memoir for the Society's Proceedings.

The Vice-President read a letter from Professor Theophilus Parsons, of Cambridge, resigning his place as a Resident Member on account of growing years and infirmities, which resignation was reluctantly accepted.

The following letter of Governor Pownall to the Rev. Dr.

Cooper, communicated by Mr. J. L. Sibley some years ago,* and withdrawn for comparison with the original, was again presented by the Recording Secretary, who said :—

Governor Pownall, always a warm advocate of the Colonies in their struggle for independence, wrote to his friend James Bowdoin, so early as April, 1778, that he had continually cherished the wish to return to America ; that his marriage had fixed him in England, but that the death of his wife (which took place in March, 1777) had broken the last tie that bound him to that country. In the same letter, printed with other correspondence between these friends in our Proceedings for October, 1861, he announces his intention of giving his Pownalborough lands to Harvard College, and of remembering its library by the bequest of his books. The letter to Governor Bowdoin of even date with the one now printed seems not to have been preserved ; but Mr. Bowdoin's answer, and another letter from him on the same subject, are already in the Proceedings (*ut supra*). And Mr. Sparks, in his "Works of Franklin" (vol. ix. p. 491), has printed Governor Pownall's letter to Franklin, in which this and the one to Bowdoin were enclosed.

Governor Pownall's generosity to the College was ineffective. The lands in Maine had been sold for non-payment of taxes, and the limit of time for their redemption had passed. The Corporation petitioned the General Court for a special act of relief. Pending its consideration, the matter was arranged with the new owner, one Joseph Christopher, who, having bought the lands for £70 paper, in 1780, now received £67 10s. sterling for them, and the College took possession. But President Quincy says (Hist. of Harv. Univ., vol. ii. p. 407) that the College derived but little more than three hundred dollars from their subsequent sale. There is no record that the Library ever received Governor Pownall's books. Perhaps after events caused a change in his will ; perhaps lapse of years (for he lived until Feb. 25th, 1805) brought about forgetfulness of the matter. His proposed visit and possible removal to this country were doubtless prevented by his second marriage, which took place Aug. 2d, 1784, when he was united to Mrs. Hannah, widow of Richard Astell, of Everton House, Huntingdonshire, who survived him.

* See Proceedings for May, 1874, p. 306. — Eds.

RICHMOND, Surrey, Feb. 28, '83.

DEAR SIR,—Since the restoration of peace and the establishment of the sovereignty of America permits me, without the imputation of a crime against the government under whose protection and in whose allegiance I am, to correspond with my old friends, I seize the first opportunity, my friend, of congratulating you on the establishment of the State [of] Massachusetts Bay in political freedom;—*sit perpetua*.

I, who was nearly related to it when it was a Province, who never wished to have any other command over it but to command its love, in which I was not disappointed, who was invariably its friend while it was permitted to me, and now it is again permitted am so with redoubled ardor, do avowedly rejoice in this acknowledged revolution. I view it as an event arising by the visible hand of God interposing beyond the ordinary course of human affairs. I view it not only as a blessing to the citizens of America, but as one prepared for them of all countries who are worthy of freedom and willing to seek and partake of it. I look upon it as a dispensation of Providence under which the world for [the] future shall, in its polity, be established on and governed by a *new system*, according to the laws of nature and the rights of man. Under this sense of this wonderful event, my mind is wrought to wish to see instituted (and I mean to make a beginning) a Lecturer or Professor who shall read on the science of Polity and Law-giving, as derived from God and nature, and the nature of man, so to form the minds of the students that [they] may become useful and efficient members of a free state. My view is to give a right turn to the science, in order to mend the practice, of Law and Politics. I do not wish to have taught the art of wrangling, the forensic tricks, "*illud jus civile quod non tam justitiæ quam litigandi tradit vias*." I do not mean to have taught that false wisdom, the intrigues, the tricks, the snares of kings and ministers,—experience alone will apprise a good man of them, and a bad one will learn them fast enough in his course,—but that science which is founded in right, truth, and freedom. I wish to see the study of this science in a free state, founded in sound original principles: "*quæ sit conjunctio hominum, quæ naturalis societas inter eos, his enim explicatis fons legum et juris inveniri potest. Ut cum se ad civilem societatem natum esse senserit, non solum illa subtili disputatione sibi utendum putabit, sed etiam [fusa] latius [perpetua oratione] qua regat populos, qua stabiliat leges, qua castiget improbos, qua tueatur bonos, qua laudet claros viros; qua præcepta salutis et laudes apte ad persuadendum edat suis civibus; qua hortari ad decus, revocare a flagitio, consolari possit afflictos; factaque et consulta fortium et sapientum, cum improborum ignominia, sempiternis monumentis prodere*." These Cicero (de Legibus, lib. i. § 24) states as the essential lines of the character of a real patriot. This is sufficient [to] mark my intention. If this suggestion is approved, and what I offer and intend further accepted, I will then form in detail the plan of the institution, and in general the rules of applying it in the course of the lectures. Besides that, I mean to leave at my death my books to the College.

To the above purpose, as making a beginning, I have sent to Mr. Bowdoin a letter or power of attorney, empowering him and yourself jointly or either severally to make a deed of gift, and to give and grant for me to Harvard College the five hundred acres of land which I have in Pownalborough, and which were granted to me by the Kennebec Company. And, if that power be not sufficient and in sufficient form, I will confirm the grant by any proper one which you will send me.

I have determined to see my old Province, now a SOVEREIGN STATE, once more (if God so pleases) before I die. I have health and energy of spirit, and I have nothing here that attaches me to this country, or can detain me. I mean to come to Boston to make the tour of the Continent, to contemplate the commencement of the power and polity of a great empire at its foundations, and in the way to look for some lands and settlement, of which I may say, —

Vos eritis nostræ portus, requiesque senectæ,
Si juris fuerint otia nostra sui.

The propriety or impropriety of this must depend upon the experience I shall make and the advice I may receive in the travel and the trial. I wish to hear from you, and by your faithful and sincere opinion to learn in the first place how far my coming to America and travelling through it may be feasible or not; how far I may expect to find my coming agreeable and clear of all suspicions and jealousies. Having done with all my former views in *this* world, and being too old to form the plan of new ones, having been injured by the government of *this* my native land beyond all reparation, I can have no views but in serving that which adopts me, and gives me peace and settlement in which to live and die in honor.

I have taken the liberty of enclosing this to our old friend Dr. Franklin, and have desired him to forward it to you. I beg my respects to all who remember [me], for I feel conscious that they remember me with respect. I beg you to believe me to be, dear sir, unalterably, your affectionate friend and servant,

T. POWNALL.

To the Rev. Dr. COOPER.

Mr. DEANE communicated the following letter from the Hon. George Thacher to the Hon. John Holmes. George Thacher, the writer of the letter, was a Representative in Congress from Massachusetts (residing in the district of Maine) from 1789 to 1801, and subsequently a judge of the Supreme Judicial Court of the State. He was a member of the Convention in 1819, which framed the Constitution of Maine. The letter was written soon after the adjournment of the second session of the Convention, and while the question of the admission of Maine and Missouri was agitating in Congress. John Holmes, to whom the letter was addressed, was a member of the Convention, and also a member of the lower house in Congress; and he took a prominent part in the discussions which there arose relative to the Missouri

"Restriction" and the Missouri "Compromise." The Society is indebted to Cyrus Woodman, Esq., of Cambridge, for the use of this interesting letter:—

BIDDEFORD, Maine, Jan. 16, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 6th January is this moment put into my hand, and I hasten to say: During the sitting of the Convention on adjournment, we heard there was like to be some difficulty in the Senate of the United States against the admission of Maine, by an attempt to make her a mere *pack-horse* to transport the odious, anti-republican principle of slavery into the new State of Missouri, against reason and the fundamental grounds of the great fabric of American liberty. My friend, this vile and abominable conduct on [the] part of the Senate, excites universal execration, and I think ought to be met by the House with a resolution to suffer martyrdom in the cause of liberty rather than yield an inch in favor of slavery. Every man I heard speak on this subject in the Convention seemed willing our own admission should be postponed for a season rather than be made accessory to the planting of slavery in a new star in the American constellation.

Obsta principiis: resist the devil, and he will certainly flee before the cool, fixed face of Liberty. The United States has every thing to fear from an extension of the principle of slavery, and every good to hope for by defending the cause of liberty.

Suffer me, my friend, to add, I have heard your friends lament at reading in the papers that you had joined the slaveholders in the case of Missouri; while not a few who would not grieve at your loss of reputation with the people show some pleasure at the part you took, presuming you will thereby become unpopular. I mention this simply as a fact. I may add, not only every man, but every woman in Maine, I believe, will join in the voice of opposing slavery.

I read no newspapers, nor trouble myself much about the manner the general affairs are conducted in Congress. I leave these subjects with great confidence to our Senators and Representatives; speaking freely my sentiments on public men and public measures as they come to my knowledge, but always without any personal feelings.

I don't see why the Commonwealth might not consent for Maine to be a State, for all purposes of internal State legislation, whether Congress sees fit to admit us or not. Till we are admitted, though we cannot have Senators or Representatives for the State of Maine, yet Maine will be considered simply by the laws of the United States as a district as heretofore, and we shall not be deprived of sending Representatives; and I cannot bring my mind to believe the Senate will long stand out against the admission of Maine, when they see a fixed, determined resolution in the House and by the Representatives from Maine never to buy freedom by establishing slavery.

Yours with sentiments of affection and friendship,

GEORGE THACHER.

Ten o'clock. Hon. J. HOLMES, Esq.

(Addressed) Honorable JOHN HOLMES, Esq., City of Washington.

A Serial of the Proceedings, containing the records of the meetings from January to March, 1878, inclusive, and a Memoir of the Hon. B. R. Curtis, by Dr. Chandler Robbins, and one of the Hon. James Savage, by Mr. George S. Hillard, was announced as ready for distribution among the members.

JUNE MEETING, 1878.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the preceding meeting, and it was approved.

The Librarian reported the gifts to the Library during the past month. He also reported, for Mr. W. S. Appleton, Chairman of the Committee on the Somerby Papers, that twenty-six volumes of the manuscripts of the late H. G. Somerby were now ready for use under the usual rules of the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from Miss E. E. Dana, communicating the following letter from Dr. Eliot to his son:—

CHARLES DEANE, Esq.

DEAR SIR,— Among the letters of John Adams to his wife is one (Vol. I., Letter 19), dated Hartford, 2 May, 1775, which begins thus: "Mr. Eliot, of Fairfield, is this moment arrived, on his way to Boston. He read us a letter from the Doctor, his father, dated yesterday sennight, being Sunday. The Doctor's description of the melancholy of the town is enough to melt a stone."

I have this letter from the Rev. Dr. Eliot to his son, and I enclose an exact copy of it to you for the use of the Historical Society, if they should care to print it. If you think they would take an interest in seeing the original, I shall be happy to lend it in season for the next meeting. It has been lying in the secretary of my mother's grandfather, the Rev. Dr. John Marsh, of Wethersfield, Conn., probably ever since the time it was read to Mr. Adams. The Rev. Andrew Eliot, of Fairfield, was an intimate friend of Dr. Marsh, and no doubt saw him, when passing through Hartford, and gave him the letter.

Very truly yours,

ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA.

361 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, 27 May, 1878.

Boston, April 23, 1775, 10 o'clock [Sunday].

MY DEAR SON,—What you feared is come upon us. We are moving out of Boston. We have been shut up for some days. The way is like to be open in a short time. I know not what to do, nor where to go. At present, I think to tarry in Boston. Whether ever I shall have the pleasure of seeing you, God only knows. I must intreat you to set out immediately for your mother and Nancy. I will endeavor to get them to Weston or further, if possible. I am unhappy until they are away, but cannot possibly bring them. If Captain Thorp comes, I shall endeavor to send in him Polly, Sally, and Eph., and Sukey.* I should be glad there were any other way of conveying them. I hope your people will have pity upon them, and take them in. Whether ever I shall be able to remunerate you or them is uncertain. All property is precarious, or rather annihilated. If it is in my power, I shall be willing to make a suitable allowance. Be kind to your mother, who is the best of women. Your sisters must get their living as well as they can. I know I put you to difficulties, but you are the only asylum I have.

Poor Boston! May God sanctify our distresses, which are greater than you can conceive. Such a Sabbath of melancholy and darkness I never knew. Most of the meeting-houses shut up, the ministers gone, our congregation crowded with strangers. A town meeting in the forenoon agreed to give up their arms, in order to get leave to depart. A provincial army in Roxbury, Dorchester, and Cambridge. College dispersed, &c. This town a garrison; every face gathering paleness; all hurry and confusion; one going this way, and another that; others not knowing where to go. What to do with our poor maid I cannot tell. In short, after the melancholy exercises of the day, I am unable to write any thing with propriety or connection. Deacon Barrett and his family are coming to Mr. Burr's. My dear son, I wish you may see good days. I scarce expect to see any myself. My hope is in God, who doeth all things well! My best regards to Judge and Colonel Silliman, Mr. Burr, Ruthy, and all friends, in which your distressed mother heartily joins. I leave off at present. If any thing occurs in the morning, will add it then.

Monday morning. Every thing distressing. If I could get any place to preach in among you, where I could keep my family from starving, I would come directly. But whether the post will be permitted to go out, or this letter will ever come to you, I know not.

* Dr. John F. Eliot, of Boston, grandson of the writer of this letter, and son of Ephraim Eliot, one of the children mentioned in it, says that these children all embarked from Boston in a vessel which took them to Fairfield, Conn., where they remained during the siege of Boston in the care of their oldest brother, the Rev. Andrew Eliot, minister of that place. Mrs. Eliot went by land, probably in company with her son Andrew, who came for her, in consequence of the request made in the letter.

It may be mentioned here that one of Dr. Eliot's children, Josiah, the second son, remained in Boston with his father during the siege, and rendered him much assistance. — C. D.

I have seen happy days. My heavenly Father now writes bitter things.* Blessed be his name! Possibly you may prevail on some friend, as you come along, that will be willing to come and carry some of your sisters. If any could come, it would be an unspeakable relief to your affectionate but distressed parent,

ANDREW ELIOT.

Mr. Deane was requested to return the thanks of the Society to Miss Dana for this interesting communication.

The President presented a copy of the proceedings of the second "Congrès international des Américanistes," held at Luxembourg, in September, 1877. He also presented at the request and in the name of the author, Mr. J. F. Loubat, of New York, a copy of his magnificent "Medallie History of the United States of America, 1776-1876." The thanks of the Society were ordered for these gifts.

The President read an invitation from the "Centennial Association of Valley Forge" to this Society to attend the celebration of the centenary of the occupation of Valley Forge by the Continental Army, to be celebrated on the 19th of June. He also read a portion of a private letter from Mr. George H. Moore, calling attention to the collection of the works of John Eliot, the Apostle, in the Lenox Library, New York. Mr. Moore suggested that an autograph letter of the Apostle alone was wanted to make the collection perfect.

An application was received from Messrs. Houghton, Osgood, & Co., asking, if consistent with the Society's plans, the privilege of publishing in a separate volume the Memoir of Mr. John L. Motley, which Dr. O. W. Holmes was appointed to prepare for the Society's Proceedings. This matter was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Deane and Dr. Holmes, with full powers to arrange, if possible.

A letter from Captain Patterson, Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey, addressed to the President, was read, asking the co-operation of this Society in the recovery and preservation of the correct names of places on the coast of Massachusetts. The President appointed as a Committee, to consider and act upon this communication, Captain G. V. Fox, Dr. S. A. Green, Mr. Charles W. Tuttle, and Mr. W. H. Whitmore.

The President then spoke of the death of an Honorary Member, Mr. Bryant, as follows:—

The death of the venerable William Cullen Bryant has been announced in the public papers at too late a moment

* Job xiii. 26. — C. D.

before our meeting this morning to allow any of us to speak of it, or to speak of him, as we should desire to speak. But, as we are not likely to hold another meeting for several months, I am unwilling to postpone all notice of so impressive an event. A native of our own State, and long an Honorary Member of our own Society, his death may well find its earliest mention here, even though our tribute be brief and inadequate. As a poet, as a journalist, as a patriot, as a pure and upright man, living to an almost patriarchal age, yet never losing his interest or relaxing his efforts in whatever might advance the honor or welfare of his fellow-men, he has won for himself an imperishable remembrance on the page of history.

No one, certainly, as long as our language shall be read or spoken, will forget the author of "Thanatopsis," "The Water-Fowl," and the "Land of Dreams"; or ever cease to be grateful for those inspiring and exquisite strains.

His loss is, indeed, primarily and peculiarly, that of our great sister city and State, with whose interests and renown he has been for so many years identified. But his name and fame have long ceased to be local, and his death is nothing less than a national bereavement.

I forbear from attempting any sketch of his life or labors, lest I should fail at such short notice to do justice to his memory. But, as there has been no opportunity for a meeting of our Council, from whom such a notice should come, I venture, on my own responsibility, to offer the following resolutions:—

Resolved, By the Massachusetts Historical Society, that in the death of our distinguished Honorary Member, William Cullen Bryant, our country has lost a patriotic and noble citizen, the press an accomplished and powerful journalist, and American literature one of its earliest, purest, and most enduring ornaments.

Resolved, That while we remember with pride that he was born in Massachusetts, and educated at one of our own colleges, our warmest sympathies in this bereavement are due, and are hereby offered, to the scholars and to the whole people of New York, with whom he has been so long and so eminently associated, and to whom his genius and his fame have been ever so justly dear.

Resolved, That these resolutions be communicated to the New York Historical Society, with the assurance that our hearts are with them in lamenting the loss, and in doing

honor to the memory, of their illustrious associate and vice-president.

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed by the chair to represent this Society at the funeral of Mr. Bryant.

The Rev. ROBERT C. WATERSTON seconded the resolutions, saying:—

It is difficult to express the sense of loss which comes to us in the death of William Cullen Bryant. He has so long been the object of our veneration and love, that he seemed to have become an essential part of our life. Few of us can remember when his name did not stand pre-eminent in our literature. It is now more than sixty years since his "Thanatopsis" was published, which at once gained a reputation that has never since been questioned. From that time, his active public career has kept his name constantly before the community, and always on the side of patriotism, justice, and humanity. With an inflexible purpose, he has vindicated what he felt to be right. Whatever seemed to him connected with the best interests of humanity was dear to his heart. There was hardly an enterprise associated with human progress with which his name had not become identified. Venerable in age, he still had the fresh energy of youth; and, though he had arrived at a period of life when most men feel that they may retire from active service, he sought no relaxation from duty, he asked no exemption from the weight of personal responsibility. With breadth of thought and profoundness of conviction, he could adapt himself to the immediate wants of the time, bringing to each occasion what was most needed. Thus, when from the midst of such activity he has been suddenly taken away, it is as if a guiding star had been stricken from the firmament.

Mr. Bryant was a scholar, yet his life was not passed either in studious retirement, or even, in a scholastic way, among books. He was familiar with various languages, ancient and modern, retaining with critical exactness his classical knowledge, yet his hours were habitually occupied with the practical business of the time, political economy, finance, and the changing aspects of national affairs. He was an ardent lover of Nature, yet his days were, for the most part, associated with the crowded thoroughfares of a populous city. His poetry was generally calm and contemplative, yet he was in daily contact with the most exciting controversies of the period, the contentions of conflicting parties, and the agitating

questions that threatened to disturb communities, and even to divide the Nation. It was not so much what he was in any one phase of his character, as in the perfect balance of all his powers, the manner in which every faculty was brought into harmonious action, and the noble spirit with which they were uniformly and persistently devoted to the public good.

We may have had elsewhere as faithful citizens; as industrious journalists; as ripe scholars;—and poets, it may be, equally gifted and inspired, but where have we had another who has combined in his own person all these? In him a rare combination of extraordinary qualities was united;—strength and gentleness; elevation of thought and childlike simplicity; genius, common-sense, and practical wisdom. Where there were controverted questions, whether men agreed with him or not, they never for an instant doubted his nobleness of purpose. It was universally acknowledged that his integrity was as immovable as a mountain of adamant; and that, in all his efforts, he had no motive less elevated than the public good.

Bryant, the acknowledged pioneer, lived to become also the patriarch, in our world of letters; while those who have entered the field at a later day, and have since risen to a world-wide reputation, have never been reluctant to do him homage. Familiar as he has been with the literature of other countries, no one could mistake the nationality of his writings. As there are fruits which take their flavor from the soil in which they grow, so what he has written, by its bloom and aroma, testifies to the land of its birth. Not only the legends and traditions of his country, but its scenery and spirit, through him have become familiar. He has identified himself with our fields and forests. The sky, the stream, and the prairie, speak of him. The winds whisper his name, and in the crowded street he is remembered. The gentian and the violet ever blend the thought of him with their fragrance. Seed-time and harvest, summer and winter, sing his praises. The very freshness of Nature comes to us in all he wrote. The breath of the woods, the atmosphere of the hills, the light of the sun and the stars, are interwoven with his spirit. His love, his hope, his faith, his exalted thought, his rapt devotion, are identified with them all.

While I speak, I am carried back in thought to pleasant days enjoyed with Mr. Bryant at Heidelberg. As we walked together under the shadow of the "Rent Tower;" in the famous garden of "Elizabeth," wife of the Count Palatine; and along the "Terrace," which commands one of the most

magnificent views in Europe, I felt that, admirable as were the choicest of Mr. Bryant's productions, he was himself far more than the best that had proceeded from his pen. In him there was robust nobleness, with quiet repose; variety and completeness; intuitive insight, and affluence of knowledge. Not under any circumstance was there the faintest approach to ostentation or display, but as occasion required, all needed information was at hand, and always in the most agreeable manner. Whatever else there was, you were sure of substantial reality. Mr. Bryant was a man of close observation and exactness. With regard to trees and plants, he had the accuracy of a naturalist. The history and character of every shrub were familiar to him, while with these was a sense of beauty and harmony that quivered through his whole being, an emotion all the deeper because of its calmness. Outward objects were reflected from his mind like images in a tranquil lake, but not like those destined to pass away. He absorbed them, and they became his own. His eye embraced every thing;—the stupendous ruin, the winding river, the encircling mountains, the motion of birds, their varied songs, the clouds sailing through the heavens, and each floating shadow on the landscape. Nothing escaped him.

Both at Heidelberg and along the Neckar, we climbed the hills, wandering among ancient castles and picturesque ruins, and bringing away memories never to be forgotten. I felt then, as I do now, that no man living could be more keenly alive to the most delicate aspects of external nature; or could interpret, with truer wisdom, her hidden meaning.

I had the privilege also of being with Mr. Bryant at Naples. He first showed me the grave of Virgil. We looked from that beautiful city out over its world-renowned Bay. I listened to his inspiring words upon Italy, for whose progressive future he cherished an unfailling hope. But there were other thoughts which pressed upon his mind. Mrs. Bryant, who was journeying with him, had become suddenly prostrated by serious illness. He had watched over her through many anxious weeks. This cloud, which had thrown its ominous shadow over his pathway, seemed now lifting, and bursts of sunshine filled his heart with joy. At this time, April 23, 1858, I received from him a note, stating that there was a subject of interest upon which he would like to converse with me. On the following day, the weather being delightful, we walked in the "Villa Reale," the royal park or garden overlooking the Bay of Naples. Never can I forget the beautiful spirit that breathed through every word he uttered, the reverent love, the confiding trust, the aspiring hope, the deep-

rooted faith. Every thought, every view, was generous and comprehensive. Anxiously watching, as he had been doing, in that twilight boundary between this world and another, over one more precious to him than life itself, the divine truths and promises had come home to his mind with new power. He stated that he had never united himself with the Church, which with his present feelings he would most gladly do. He then asked if it would be agreeable to me to come to his room on the morrow and administer the Communion, adding that, as he had not been baptized, he desired that ordinance at the same time. The day following was the Sabbath, and a most heavenly day. In fulfilment of his wishes, in his own quiet room, a company of seven persons celebrated together the Lord's Supper. With hymns, selection from the Scripture, and devotional exercises, we went back in thought to the "large upper room," where Christ first instituted the Holy Supper in the midst of his Disciples. Previous to the breaking of bread, William Cullen Bryant was baptized. With snow-white head and flowing beard, he stood like one of the ancient Prophets, and perhaps never since the days of the Apostles has a truer disciple professed allegiance to the Divine Master.

Had he not this very hour of the Holy Communion in his thought, when, in his later published Poems (embracing in spiritual sympathy the whole Christian Church), he speaks of —

"The consecrated bread, —
The mystic loaf that crowns the board,
When, round the table of their Lord,
Within a thousand temples set,
In memory of the bitter death
Of Him who taught at Nazareth,
His followers are met,
And thoughtful eyes with tears are wet,
As of the Holy One they think,
The glory of whose rising, yet
Makes bright the grave's mysterious brink."

After the service, while standing at the window, looking out with Mr. Bryant over the Bay, smooth as glass, (the same water over which the Apostle Paul sailed, in the ship from Alexandria, when he brought Christianity into Italy), the graceful outline of the Island of Capri relieved against the sky, — with that glorious scene reposing before us, Mr. Bryant repeated the lines of John Leyden, the Oriental scholar and poet; lines which, he said, had always been special favorites of his, and of which he was often reminded by that holy tranquillity which seems, as with conscious recognition, to characterize the Lord's Day.

"With silent awe, I hail the sacred morn,
That scarcely wakes while all the fields are still;
A soothing calm on every breeze is borne,
A graver murmur echoes from the hill,
And softer sings the linnet from the thorn.
Hail, light serene! Hail, sacred Sabbath morn!"

Never did poet have a truer companion, a sincerer spiritual helpmate than did Mr. Bryant in his wife. Refined in taste, and elevated in thought, she was characterized alike by goodness and gentleness. Modest in herself, she lived wholly for him. His welfare, his happiness, his fame, were the chief objects of her ambition. To smooth his pathway, to cheer his spirit, to harmonize every discordant element of life, were purposes for the accomplishment of which no sacrifice on her part could be too great. And nothing could surpass the devotion which he extended to her, as marked to the very close of her life, as in the first year of their union. Never did Dante or Petrarch love more profoundly, or pay more immortal homage to the object of their love.

In the early freshness of her youthful bloom, Mr. Bryant had sung:—

"Thy sports, thy wanderings, when a child,
Were ever in the sylvan wild;
And all the beauty of the place
Is in thy heart and on thy face.

The forest depths, by foot unpressed,
Are not more sinless than thy breast;
The holy peace, that fills the air
Of those calm solitudes, is there."

Where in the whole history of literature can be found a more exquisite tribute than that paid to her in his lines on the "Future Life"?

"How shall I know thee in the sphere which keeps
The disembodied spirits of the dead?

For I shall feel the sting of ceaseless pain
If there I meet thy gentle presence not;
Nor hear the voice I love, nor read again
In thy serenest eyes the tender thought."

On her recovery from illness at Naples, Mr. Bryant wrote the touching lines on "The Life that is."

Thou, who so long hast pressed the couch of pain,
Oh welcome, welcome back to life's free breath;—
To life's free breath and day's sweet light again,
From the chill shadows of the gate of death!

Twice wert thou given me; once in thy fair prime,
Fresh from the fields of youth, when first we met,
And all the blossoms of that hopeful time
Clustered and glowed where'er thy steps were set ;

And now, in thy ripe autumn, once again
Given back to fervent prayers and yearnings strong,
From the drear realm of sickness and of pain
When we had watched, and feared, and trembled long.

Now may we keep thee from the balmy air
And radiant walks of heaven a little space,
Where He, who went before thee to prepare
For His meek followers, shall assign thy place.

Since Mr. Bryant's return to this country, now twenty years ago, I have had pleasant intercourse with him, both at Roslyn and Cummington, seeing him in the quiet enjoyment of home, surrounded by his family and amid the delightful companionship of books. Nowhere did Mr. Bryant appear more attractive; his hearty cordiality and genial manners making every one feel at ease, while his conversation, both natural and playful, sparkled with brilliancy; serious and weighty when occasion required, and overflowing with merriment when that was in season. Never was he more charming than when, throwing aside formal reserve, he would relate with a glow of humor pleasant incidents, bringing, with graphic power, each scene depicted vividly before his hearers. On such occasions he would at times reproduce the voice and manner of others with an ability absolutely startling; Wordsworth, Rogers, Combe, Webster, seemed to be in your presence; so individual were the accents, you could hardly believe it was not themselves speaking.

One day at Roslyn he appeared in the full dress obtained at Damascus, slippers, turban, and flowing robes; when, seating himself after the manner of the East, he gave an interesting account of his experience in Syria and Palestine. Fortunate would have been the artist who could have transferred the scene to canvas! At different times he repeated poems of which he was the author, in a low melodious voice, revealing often, with gentle emphasis, unexpected depths of meaning. In such recitations there seemed no effort of memory. The thought was not something apart from himself, but a living portion of his nature, through which his life throbbled. Perhaps no one, who has not thus heard them, can fully comprehend their true vitality.

At Cummington, the place of his birth, it was deeply interesting to go with him over scenes associated with his early

days. He showed me the spot where the school-house stood, in which he learned his first lessons; and the grassy bank over whose green slope he remembered to have romped and rolled when a child. We visited together the "Rivulet"

"whose waters drew
His little feet when life was new."

Here also were felt his earliest poetic impulses,

"Duly I sought thy banks, and tried
My first rude numbers by thy side."

We wandered about, over those beautiful regions, day after day; and, as memories of the past thronged upon Mr. Bryant's mind, it was a rare pleasure to listen to such reminiscences. We sought out the lonely spot associated with the "Two Graves," while he related the strange tradition connected with the place. We walked also into the "Entrance to a Wood,"

"where the thick roof
Of green and stirring branches was alive
And musical with birds."

We were at "the old homestead," where Mr. Bryant was born, and where he passed all his younger days, remaining into early manhood. His father was well known here as the "Beloved Physician." The place for some years had been out of the family, and Mr. Bryant was very happy in the thought that he had come into possession of it again. He had rebuilt the mansion, and made various improvements, saving whatever could be saved, and especially preserving all the old landmarks. His own words describe precisely the general aspect of the country:—

"I stood upon the upland slope, and cast
Mine eye upon a broad and beauteous scene,
Where the vast plain lay girt by mountains vast,
And hills o'er hills lifted their heads of green,
With pleasant vales scooped out, and villages between."

He mentioned that while studying law with Judge Howe, the Judge was greatly concerned when he found him reading a volume of Wordsworth, fearing it would injure his style. Serious warnings were more than once extended against the influence of that poet. The Judge might have felt still more deeply, had he known the powerful impression that writer had made upon Bryant's mind. "I shall never forget," says Richard H. Dana, "with what feeling my friend Bryant described to me the effect produced upon him by Wordsworth's Ballads." "A thousand springs," he said, "seemed to gush

up at once in my heart, — and the face of nature, of a sudden, to change into a strange freshness and life."

Mr. Bryant, in speaking of the "Thanatopsis," stated that, at a time when he was about to leave home, he placed the original copy of that poem, together with some other manuscript poems, in a drawer in his father's office. During his absence, his father met with the papers, and was so much pleased with the "Thanatopsis" that he sent it, without his son's knowledge, to the editors of the "North American Review," that periodical having been recently established. This was in 1817, and thus it was published. At that time only forty-nine of the eighty-one lines existed, and four verses in rhyme prefaced them, which were never intended for such a position. The first sixteen and a half lines and the last fifteen and a half, as they now stand, were afterwards added, and several important alterations also introduced.

Mr. Bryant's brother John was on a visit to the homestead. He was a man of marked ability, and had resided for many years in Illinois. He had much to say of his brother's boyhood; his precociousness, his individuality, and the manner in which all the young people of that period looked up to him. When he was yet quite a child, his father would offer him a dollar to write verses upon a given subject. John repeated to me some verses which he yet remembered, written in this way. "We all looked up to my brother," he said, "as something wonderful! Oh," he continued, "we thought everything of William."

The father also was very proud of his boy. Mr. Bryant himself says: —

"he taught my youth
The art of verse, and in the bud of life
Offered me to the Muses."

Mrs. Bryant lived eight years after her return from Italy, and in 1866 passed peacefully away, "sustained and soothed by an unflinching trust." It was a serious blow, but Mr. Bryant met it with that unshaken Christian fortitude, which alone could give support. Instead of becoming crushed, he braced himself for redoubled activity. With extraordinary intellectual vigor, at the age of seventy-one, he commenced, in earnest, the translation of the Iliad. He was at work upon this while I was at Cummington. It occupied regularly a portion of the day, but did not interfere with any domestic enjoyment. He told me he translated from the Greek on an average forty lines a day, and at times double that amount. I was every day in his study, and saw no English translation among his

many books. He had a German translation to which he might occasionally refer. He stated that he had always been fond of Greek, and that, when he first acquired the knowledge of that language, a fellow-student, who has since risen to eminence in the law, wept because he could not keep up with him. I took to Mr. Bryant a copy of Felton's *Lectures on Greek Literature*, which he had not seen, and which interested him. His translation of the *Iliad* was completed in 1869, after which he at once commenced the *Odyssey*, which he completed in 1871, making six years in which he was engaged upon the work. Had he executed nothing else, it would have been a monument to his ability; an achievement, at his period of life, which under the circumstances may be considered unsurpassed.

Thus did Mr. Bryant continue in intellectual vigor to the last; with every faculty in full strength; and even his poetic genius and artistic skill unimpaired. At length, on a beautiful day, June 12th, — the very month in which he had most desired to go, — he was suddenly taken from us. His last word was a tribute to the cause of Liberty; and his closing effort a final demonstration of the exertion he was ever ready to make in behalf of others.

I know of nothing more applicable to the present occasion than Mr. Bryant's hitherto unpublished words in a note which I received from him, on the death of President Quincy, July, 1864. As I read the page, seemingly fresh from his pen, it is as if he were himself speaking: —

"I was about," he writes, "to call it a sad event, but it is so only in a limited sense; — sad to those who survive, and who shall see his venerable form, and hear his wise and kindly words no more; but otherwise, no more sad than the close of a well-spent day, or the satisfactory completion of any task which has long occupied our attention. Mr. Quincy, in laying aside the dull weeds of mortality, has with them put off old age with its infirmities, and (passing to a nobler stage of existence) enters again upon the activity of youth, with more exalted powers and more perfect organs. Instead of lamenting his departure at a time of life considerably beyond the common age of man, the generation which now inhabits the earth should give thanks that he has lived so long, and should speak of the blessing of being allowed for so many years to have before them so illustrious an example."

What words could be found more appropriate to himself? I will only add his own eloquent utterance on the death of

his friend Washington Irving: "Farewell, thou hast entered into the rest prepared, from the foundation of the world, for serene and gentle spirits like thine. Farewell, happy in thy life, happy in thy death, happier in the reward to which that death was the assured passage. The brightness of that enduring fame, which thou hast won on earth, is but a shadowy symbol of the glory to which thou art admitted in the world beyond the grave."

The resolutions were adopted; and the President appointed as the Committee to attend Mr. Bryant's funeral Professor Henry W. Longfellow, Professor Oliver Wendell Holmes, Rev. Robert C. Waterston, Hon. Richard Frothingham, and Mr. Delano A. Goddard.

Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Jr., read the following communication on the "Old Planters," so called, about Boston Harbor:—

In his notes to Winthrop's History, Mr. Savage remarks that the "planting in Boston Harbour deserves and will reward inquiry";* and, again, in another connection, he observes that "a careful history of Weymouth is much wanted."† Later investigations tend to show that in each of these subjects the other is included,—that a careful history of Weymouth would necessarily include an account of the earlier planting in Boston Harbor. The matter is not one of very great importance; but it has, nevertheless, excited no little curiosity, and there are some quite interesting points involved in it. It has, also, been always a puzzle and a mystery.

When Governor Winthrop went from Salem "to Massachusetts to find out a place for our sitting down," on the 7th of June, 1630, there were already a number of persons living in the adjacent region, at the house of one of whom he passed the night. These persons had then been living for several years where Winthrop found them. There were also some very noticeable things about them. They were not fishermen, or frontier tradesmen, or refugees, or outcasts. Two at least of them were educated men of very considerable refinement; a third was an English mechanic; yet another was the widow of a Scotch planter. They lived quite remotely from each other, and apparently felt no great apprehension of the savages. Whence these people came, what brought them to the shores of Boston Bay and when they set themselves down there, have been enigmas which the antiquaries, after exhausting conjecture, have generally dismissed with the remark that they will probably never be solved. Whenever that careful history of Weymouth, which Savage felt to be so much needed, is written, the solution will, I think, be reached.

* Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. *43.

† *Ib.* p. *163. See also the note on *Wessaguscus*, *ib.* p. *93.

From the standpoint of that yet unwritten history, I propose to give a brief account of what may be called the pre-historic settlement of Boston and its immediate vicinity. A party from Plymouth, under Miles Standish, had, during the last days of September, 1621, visited several of these localities, where, nine years later, the straggling settlers were found. A few scattered savages only were then there. Eight months afterwards, about the middle of May, 1622, an open boat, in which were ten men, put into the bay and passed some four or five days exploring it. They were the pioneers of the larger party which Thomas Weston was then organizing in London, with the purpose of establishing a trading-post somewhere on the New England coast. As the result of their explorations, they fixed upon a site for their proposed settlement on Weymouth Fore-river, as the little estuary at the mouth of the Monatoquit is now called, giving a preference to that locality for the reason that there were but few Indians thereabouts.* The main body of Weston's party followed these pioneers, and reached Plymouth towards the end of June. Thence, some time in August, they went to Wessagusset, as the settlement on Weymouth Fore-river was called, and there established themselves. The subsequent history of Weston's wretched experiment is of no further importance here, and has been elsewhere told in detail.† It is quite clear that it was so wholly broken up in the succeeding month of March, 1623, that no vestige of its existence remained, except a deserted block-house. Even the three unfortunate stragglers left behind by the others in their precipitate departure were put to death by the savages.‡ No permanent settlement on Boston Harbor had, therefore, yet been effected. It was effected, however, six months later, when, in September, 1623, Captain Robert Gorges landed on the deserted site at Wessagusset. The Robert Gorges grant is well known, and I do not propose to encumber this memorandum by any detailed reference to it. It is sufficient to say that it emanated directly from the Council of New England, and purported to cover a tract of land vaguely described as being on the north-east side of Massachusetts [Boston] Bay, and covering ten miles of sea-front, while stretching thirty miles into the interior. The grantee, under this patent, was a younger son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had recently seen some service in the Venetian wars, and was now ambitious of planting and ruling over a sort of principality in the New World. He was formally commissioned by the Council of New England as their Lieutenant-General.§ or, as Bradford expresses it, as "generall Gove^r of y^e countrie"; || his jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil and criminal, was of the widest nature. He was provided with a council, of which the governor of the Plymouth Colony for the time being was *ex officio* a member, as was also Francis West, who had already been

* Phineas Pratt's Narrative, 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 478.

† Adams's Address on the 250th Anniversary of the Permanent Settlement of Weymouth, pp. 18-20.

‡ New English Canaan, Book III. chap. 5. (Force's Tracts, vol. ii.)

§ Gorges's Briefe Narration, chap. 23. 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vi. p. 74.

|| Bradford, p. 149.

commissioned as Admiral of New England; he also brought with him a sort of vicarious primate in the person of the Rev. William Morell, who had, as Bradford expresses it, "I know not what power and authority of superintendencie over other churches granted him, and sundrie instructions for that end." Indeed, it is a somewhat important fact to bear in mind that the company which came with Robert Gorges was not only organized on a very grandiose scale, but it was so organized from design. Not only did it represent the whole dignity of the Council of New England, but it went out as the advance-guard merely of a much larger movement which was speedily to follow.* It was composed of a material very different from that of the Weston party. It included families † as well as individuals; and the presence of the Rev. William Morell is sufficient in itself to show that, in organizing it, Sir Ferdinando Gorges's favorite scheme of establishing episcopacy in New England had been pre-eminently borne in mind. After a few months of shifting and aimless residence in the country, Captain Gorges, discouraged, disgusted, and not improbably beginning already to sicken in body, returned home, "not finding the state of things hear to answer his qualittie & condition." This took place not earlier than the spring of 1624,‡ when he finally ascertained that the friends who had agreed to follow him had withdrawn themselves from his enterprise.§ He carried back with him a portion of his company; while others proceeded to more congenial Virginia. Some few, however, he left in New England; the Rev. Mr. Morell apparently remaining in charge of them. This gentleman, it would seem, passed about eighteen months at Wessagusset,|| and then returned to England in the spring of 1625, taking ship from Plymouth; when he first informed the authorities there of the ecclesiastical power with which he was clothed. During his residence in New England, he seems to have passed his time in a quiet and unobtrusive way, giving evidence of a gentle and observant nature by composing a Latin poem on the country, in which he showed scholarly acquirements of a very good order. He also showed excellent temper and judgment in making no attempt to use the authority his ecclesiastical commission conferred upon him, or otherwise to meddle in the political affairs of the neighboring colony.

It has generally been assumed that the Gorges settlement came to as complete an end as that of Weston.¶ A more careful investiga-

* Gorges's Briefe Narration, chap. 23.

† Bradford, p. 149.

‡ Bradford (p. 153) says that "towards the spring" Gorges came to an agreement with Weston.

§ Gorges's Briefe Narration, chap. 23.

|| Under the preconceived idea that the settlement at Wessagusset came to a complete end in 1623, it has been assumed that Morell lived at Plymouth after Gorges's departure. (1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 125.) There is no authority for this. Bradford simply says that he "tooke shipping from hence." (p. 154.) As he also says, a few lines before, that some few of the Gorges party remained at Wessagusset, "and were helped with supplies from hence," the natural inference would be that their clergyman remained with them until he took ship from Plymouth.

¶ Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. *98, n. Young's Chron. of Mass., p. 21. But see Palfrey, vol. i. p. 209.

tion, however, shows conclusively that this was not the case, and also furnishes, I think, a key to the mysterious presence, seven years later, of Blackstone, Maverick, and Walford. The evidence, when carefully brought together, is decisive on some of these points, and establishes a sufficiently strong historical presumption on all of them. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the Gorges company landed at Wessagusset in September, 1623.* The winter of 1623-24 was, consequently, its first in this country. In February, 1631, Governor Winthrop notes in his journal that "it hath been observed ever since this bay was planted by Englishmen, viz., seven years, that at this day the frost hath broken up every year."† This chance memorandum of Winthrop's has a very great significance as respects two of the points under discussion. It will be observed that it is definite and absolute, fixing a certain day in February as that upon which it had been observed through a specified number of years that the winter in the vicinity of Boston Bay broke up. The seven years of that continuous record must have begun, therefore, with the 10th of February, 1624, the very February which succeeded the arrival of the Gorges company. This is one point. The next is, — By whom was that continuous weather record kept? — This can better be considered presently. It is sufficient now to say that Winthrop could have derived his information only from one of those old planters, the date of whose coming into the country is thus fixed.

Meanwhile, Bradford distinctly says in his History that, when the bulk of Gorges's followers dispersed, "some few remained, and were helped by supplies from hence."‡ Between the years 1625 and 1628, we again get glimpses of Wessagusset and that remnant of Captain Gorges's following, in spite of Savage's remark that "the exquisite diligence of the Annalist [Prince] found no opportunity even to name the spot again before the year 1628."§ These glimpses come to us through the rambling, incoherent narrative of Thomas Morton. He lived at Mt. Wollaston between 1625 and 1628; and he refers, in his vague way, to certain neighbors as living at Wessagusset, about two miles from him, where they carried on a profitable trade in furs with the savages; and to them, he tells us, he himself resorted in the dead winter season, "to have the benefit of company."|| Indeed, it was during a temporary sojourn with his Wessagusset neighbors that Morton was arrested by Miles Standish, in June, 1628.¶ These neighbors must have been the remnants of Gorges's people, and the arrest of Morton furnishes us also the names of two, at least, of the old planters at Wessagusset; for among those who defrayed a portion of the expense of the Miles Standish Merrymount expedition were Jeffrey and Burslem, — names over which the antiquaries have puzzled greatly, and the owners of which have been located by one authority and another all

* Bradford, p. 148.

† Bradford, p. 154.

‡ New English Canaan, Book I. chap. 14, and Book III. chap. 11.

¶ New English Canaan, Book III. chap. 15.

§ Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. *43.

|| Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. *93, n.

along the coast from Weymouth* to Ipswich† and the Isle of Shoals.‡ There can, however, no longer be any doubt about them. They, at least, were remnants of the Gorges company, and Morton's neighbors at Wessagusset. Burslem, or Bursley, as the name then appears, was a deputy from Weymouth to the General Court, in 1636; while, two years before that, Wessagusset was summoned, by order of the Court, to assume charge of one of its inhabitants, "late servant of John Burslyn," who had fallen ill at Dorchester.§ William Jeffrey, on the other hand, is named among the proprietors of Weymouth, in 1642;|| and it was to him that Morton, in 1634, wrote the unlucky letter in which, addressing his quondam neighbor and correspondent as "My very good Gossip," he goes on to describe how his other gossip, Ratcliffe, "was comforted by their lordships with the cropping of Mr. Winthrop's ears." This letter Jeffrey, as soon as he received it, carried to Governor Winthrop, who speaks of him both as an "old planter," and as an "old acquaintance and intimate friend"¶ of Morton's, which makes it very probable that it was to his house that Morton had been in the custom of resorting in winter "for the benefit of company." As if to perfect the evidence, however, it appears from the Records of the Council of New England that, when Captain Robert Gorges returned home, he left his plantation in charge of "his servants, and certain other Undertakers and Tenants."** Robert Gorges shortly after died, and his grant passed to his brother John. Subsequently, this John Gorges undertook to convey a portion of the territory covered by the grant to John Oldham; thus asserting a title prior and adverse to that of the Massachusetts colony, and which occasioned its magistrates some anxiety.†† The significant point in connection with the conveyance to Oldham is, however, that the two persons authorized by Gorges as his agents or attorneys on the spot to put his grantee in possession were "William Blaxton, clerk, and William Jeffrey, gentleman."‡‡ There cannot, therefore, well be any doubt as to where Jeffrey and Burslem lived, and how they came there. They lived at Weymouth, and came there with Robert Gorges in 1623.

"William Blaxton, clerk," was, however, a man of apparently very different description from "William Jeffrey, gentleman"; and, at the time the conveyance to Oldham was made, he was living, not at Weymouth, but on the very edge of the Gorges grant, if not actually within its limits, at Shawmut. The evidence of Blackstone's connection with the Weymouth settlement of 1623 is not less conclusive than that connecting Jeffrey and Burslem with it. In the first place, he was, in no respect, an ordinary man. His presence in the peninsula of Shaw-

* Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. *43, n.

† Young's Chron. of Mass., p. 171.

‡ Drake's Boston, p. 50.

§ Records of Mass., vol. i. p. 121.

|| Young's Chron. of Mass., p. 171.

¶ Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. *138; vol. ii. p. *190.

** Am. Antiq. Soc. Proc. April, 1867, p. 124.

†† Young's Chron. of Mass., pp. 149, 169. Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 7.

‡‡ Young's Chron. of Mass., p. 169.

mut, in 1630, was made additionally inexplicable from the fact that he was about the last person one would ever have expected to find there. He was not a fisherman, nor a trader, nor a refugee: he was a student, an observer, and a recluse. A graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge, he had received episcopal ordination in England. In 1630, he was in his thirty-fifth year. All this is extremely suggestive, for it goes to make of him exactly the description of man who would naturally be found in company with the scholarly and unobtrusive Morell. Further, the probabilities would strongly point to him as Winthrop's authority for the weather record already referred to. It could apparently have come only from him or from Maverick; and what we know of his place of residence, studious habits, and attention to fruit-raising must lead us to conclude that such a record would have been kept most naturally by him. If such was the case, that alone fixes his arrival with Robert Gorges. His connection with the Gorges company is subsequently indicated by the authority given him to put Oldham in possession as John Gorges's grantee. It would seem, therefore, that Blackstone came over with Morell and the rest, and settled at Weymouth in September, 1628; and, after living there some time, removed to the peninsula of Boston. The date of this removal can also be approximately fixed; for Lechford says he "went from Boston, having lived there nine or ten yeares."* His removal from Boston to Rhode Island took place in the spring of 1635,† and consequently he must have gone there from Weymouth in 1625 or 1626.

The clues thus obtained in regard to Blackstone are not without value in connection with Maverick and Walford. Like Morell and Blackstone, Maverick was a man of education and refinement, and at the time Gorges came over he was exactly twenty-one years of age. He was, also, a man of substance; for, in addition to his house at East Boston, which was both fortified and armed, subsequently in 1638 Josselyn describes him as "the only hospitable man in all the countrey, giving entertainment to all Comers gratis."‡ Not only, also, was he an Episcopalian, and always remained one; but he had a direct connection with the Gorges family, and was one of the grantees in a patent of December, 1631, from the Council for New England and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, which covered a tract of land in Maine.§ In that deed, moreover, Maverick is associated with William Jeffrey, of Weymouth, whom we have already seen named, together with Blackstone, in 1629, as an attorney of John Gorges, to perfect the transfer to Oldham. Thus, all these men are found not only living on the site of the Gorges plantation, or within the limits or immediate vicinity of the Gorges grant, but associated in the Gorges deeds. Though the evidence in the case of Maverick is, therefore, presumptive only, it

* Lechford's Plain Dealing, p. 42. (3 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 97.)

† 2 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. x. p. 171. Young's Chron. of Mass., 170, n. Savage's Winthrop, p. *48, n. Bliss's Hist. of Rehoboth, p. 2.

‡ Josselyn's Account, p. 12. (3 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 220.)

§ Sumner's Hist. of East Boston, p. 719.

points strongly to his having come to America in the Gorges following, in company with Blackstone, Jeffrey, and Morell. If he did so, the date at which he "pitched his tent," as Savage expresses it, on Noddle's Island, having removed there from Weymouth, can be very nearly fixed from other dates in our possession. Johnson says that he there "built a small Fort with the helpe of Mr. David Thompson, placing therein foure Murtherers to protect him from the Indians." * Now, Thomson, as we shall presently see, came to Boston Harbor in 1626, and must have died before June, 1628, when his wife contributed to the charges incurred in effecting Morton's arrest. Maverick's house, therefore, could hardly have been built earlier than 1627, for Thomson, on his first arrival, must have been busy providing shelter for his own family; and it certainly was built before the spring of 1628. The autumn — the leisure season — of 1627 is probably the correct date. From the fact that Maverick was not mentioned by Bradford as among those who contributed to the cost of Morton's arrest, it has been inferred that he did not come over until the following year.† This inference is clearly at variance with Johnson's statement, that Thomson helped him build his house; and the fact that his name does not appear in Bradford's list of those assessed was sufficiently explained by Savage, who pointed out that he and Walford were probably included in the "Winisimett" plantation, mentioned by Bradford,‡ and contributed through Blackstone.§ If, therefore, Blackstone moved over from Weymouth to Boston in 1625 or 1626, and Maverick's stronghold at East Boston was built in the autumn of 1627, the two events are brought very close together: the stronghold, such as Johnson describes it, would hardly have been built at once, on Maverick's removing into that region. If he went there with Blackstone in 1625 or 1626, it would naturally have been built in 1627.

Passing on to Thomas Walford, we have but few facts upon which to base inferences. Those which we have, however, are significant. When, in 1629, the Spragues found him at Charlestown, he was living there with his wife and children in "an English palisadoed and thatched house."|| It seems, therefore, that he had a family. That he was a good Episcopalian we know, for subsequently he was one of the church wardens at Portsmouth.¶ His connection with Gorges nowhere directly appears; but it may be inferred from the extreme disfavor, not to say harshness, with which he was treated by the Massachusetts authorities, and from the fact that, immediately upon his banishment, he removed to Piscataqua, which was a distinctively Gorges settle-

* Wonder-Working Providence, chap. 17. (2 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. ii. p. 86.)

† Chron. of Mass., p. 322, n.

‡ History, p. 241.

§ Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. *43, n.

|| The wife was banished with him in 1631. Mass. Record, vol. i. p. 71. The names of his descendants subsequently appear in the annals of New Hampshire. Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. *63, n.

¶ 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. v. p. 220.

ment.* By trade, Walford was a blacksmith. When the Robert Gorges company was gotten together, care must, of course, have been taken to include some mechanics in it. Among these, a blacksmith would have been even more important than a carpenter. The natural explanation of the Episcopalian blacksmith with his family being found at Charlestown, in 1630, dwelling in a some-time built house, is, therefore, that he had come over with the Episcopalian company, as one of their mechanics, in 1623, and had been of those who remained when most of the others went away.

Summing up, therefore, the evidence in regard to these three old planters, Blackstone, Maverick, and Walford, — and these are the only three about whom we are without definite information, — we find that (1) in September, 1623, an (2) Episcopalian settlement, composed of (3) men of means and education, and of (4) some families, was attempted a few miles from Boston, under (5) the patronage of the Gorges family. We also know that this settlement was never wholly broken up. We have here five distinct and peculiar tests of a connection with this settlement, — date, religion, education, family, and association with Gorges. Now, turning to the evidence and applying the tests, we find that (1) the old planters found by Winthrop possessed an annual weather record, going back to the arrival of the Gorges company, and no further; (2) all of the three under discussion were Episcopalians; (3) two of them were men of means and education; (4) one of them had a family; and, finally (5), they were all in some way connected with Gorges or his plantation, or were named as his attorneys or grantees; in other words, no test fails when applied. Circumstantial evidence of this sort could hardly be stronger. It would suffice to convict of crime. But it does not end here. Supposing these old planters to have been the straggling remnants of Gorges's settlement at Weymouth, we have a perfectly natural explanation of the otherwise inexplicable allusions found scattered through the books of the time. We have, for instance, the names of at least five of those described by Bradford as "some few" persons who remained behind at Wessagusset, "and were helped with supplies" from Plymouth. These, also, were those "neighbors" of Morton's, of whose dealings in furs he speaks, and who, as Bradford tells us, "lived straglingly, and were of no strenght in any place." † The discovery by the future historian of Weymouth of a single document, which is possibly somewhere in existence, would settle the question one way or the other. Sir Ferdinando Gorges tells us that his son arrived at his seat of government "about the beginning of August," 1623; ‡ but Bradford fixes the time at "about y^e middle of September." § Bradford on such a point is the better authority, and the date given by Gorges is probably that of departure. There can, therefore, be little doubt that Robert Gorges sailed from Plymouth, of which place his father was or had been governor, and from

* Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. *53, n. Palfrey, vol. i. p. 522.

† Bradford, pp. 154, 240.

‡ Gorges's Briefe Narration, p. 33.

§ Bradford, p. 148.

whence the earlier expeditions had gone* early in August, 1623. In the records of that port, there probably may yet exist a list of those who accompanied him. The matter is at least worthy of investigation.

To return, however, to the old planters. If they were, indeed, the remnants of Gorges's settlement, they had remained chiefly with a view to trading with the Indians.† Long before 1623, Boston Harbor was well known as an advantageous place for this purpose. A fleet of no less than fifty vessels was then annually trading along the coast;‡ and the Indians were so familiar with them that they excited no surprise; and, indeed, there remained scarcely a lingering tradition of their first coming. Even before the great plague of 1616-17, a French vessel, while lying at anchor off Pettuck's Island, in Boston Harbor, for the purpose of buying furs, had been captured by the Indians, and burned.§ Wessagusset had been selected by Weston's people for their settlement, solely for the reason that there were but few savages in the vicinity. Under these circumstances, it would seem natural enough that, after they had lived there a year or two and concluded to remain in the country, a portion of the Wessagusset people decided to move across to the north side of the bay, which afforded so much better facilities in every respect for carrying on an active trade in furs. It was both nearer the Indians and far more accessible to vessels. Wessagusset, indeed, in these respects was most inconveniently placed;|| for the only possible communication with the interior was by water. The Indians, who lived mostly to the north and west, had no means of bringing down their furs except by canoes. But Wessagusset was neither at the mouth of any considerable stream, nor was it easily accessible to vessels. Indeed, as will presently be seen, Hull was evidently its sea-port. The Charles, the Mystic, and the Neponset commanded the interior. This the old planters speedily realized; and so, while Thomson placed himself at the mouth of the Neponset, Blackstone occupied the shore opposite that of the Charles, and Walford set himself down by the Mystic. Maverick, meanwhile, at Noddle's Island, overlooked the anchorage ground of the inner harbor; and his fortified dwelling, which Thomson helped build, was probably at

* Belknap's Am. Biog., vol. i. p. 350.

† Eliot's Biog. Dict., p. 316. Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ii. p. 65.

‡ Prince, p. 144.

§ Pratt's Narrative, 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 479, 480. New English Canaan, Book I. chap. 3. See, also, Johnson, as above.

|| The following extract from the "Postscript" of Morell to his poem, not included in the reprint in the Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc., has a plain reference to the inconvenience of Wessagusset, and confirms the view taken in the text as to the cause of Blackstone and Maverick removing to Boston. "For when men are landed upon an unknown shore, peradventure weak in number and natural powers, for want of boats and carriages; are compelled to stay where they are first landed, having no means to remove themselves or their goods, be the place never so fruitlesse or inconvenient for planting, building houses, boats, or stages, or the harbors never so unfit for fishing, fowling, or mooring their boats."

once the common stronghold in case of danger and a frontier depot for furs, well known to traders along the coast.*

It would also appear that this settlement had a distinct sectarian character. Morton's insinuations to the contrary notwithstanding,† it was an offshoot, though a feeble and short-lived one, of the Church of England. Neither were the last traces of the original theological complexion thus given by the Gorges family wholly obliterated until the death of Maverick in 1664. They cropped out distinctly in the Weymouth church troubles, connected with the ministry there of the Rev. Mr. Lenthall in 1638,‡ and again in the Dr. Robert Child's petition of 1646.§ This point, assuredly, is not without interest in the early history of a Puritan commonwealth. The original settlement on the "Bay of Massechewset," as Sir Ferdinando Gorges calls it, was distinctly Episcopalian; and William Morell, the first church of England clergyman who ever exercised his office in New England, probably held a wider commission of superintendence than any ordained bishop who has since followed him. The great non-conformist wave, which subsequently obliterated this earlier impression, did not wholly complete the work of obliteration in more than forty years.

In addition, however, to those who have been named, and who may be designated as the Weymouth old planters, the Massachusetts

* The view here taken of the connection of these old planters with the Robert Gorges settlement is by no means new. It was surmised as "not improbable," by Frothingham, in his *History of Charlestown* (p. 9), and elaborated with much ingenuity by Haven, in his preface to the *Records of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay*. (*Archæologia Americana*, vol. iii. pp. xxxvii, xliii.) It is mentioned by Drake, in his *History of Boston* (pp. 50, n. 92), and by Sumner, in his *History of East Boston* (p. 72). These investigators, however, rested with the conjecture; and the authorities, it is believed, have not until now been carefully examined with a view to bringing together all the evidence bearing on the point.

† *New English Canaan*, Book III. chap. 15.

‡ The Lenthall persecution, described by Winthrop in his *History* (vol. i. p. * 288), will furnish the future historian of Weymouth with an interesting matter of inquiry. Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull writes to me in a private letter on the subject, as follows: "When editing Lechford's '*Plain Dealing*,' in 1867, I became interested in the story of Mr. Lenthall's troubles in Weymouth, and I tried to piece out the history of the Weymouth church. Since then, I have seen Robert Keayne's notes of Lenthall's examination before the ministers at Dorchester, in 1638, which throw some light on his relations to the people at Weymouth. Some of these — and, I suspect, a majority of the principal settlers — had been members of Lenthall's parish in England, and he came over to resume, by their invitation, his place as their minister. His orthodoxy was questioned, — he inclined to the 'parish way,' as opposed to 'church covenanting,' — and maintained the dangerous error of the indelibility of ordination. The General Court and the Elders contrived to get rid of him, and favored the movement for gathering a 'covenanted' church, under Mr. Hull, and afterwards under Mr. Jenner, neither of whom could hold his ground long against Lenthall's friends, or, rather, against the party inclined to the 'parish way.' I mention this, because the fact (which appears in Lenthall's examination) that some of the Weymouth planters who came over before him were from his parish in England may throw light upon the origin of the name of the town." See, also, Mather's *Magnalia* (Ed. 1702), p. 7.

§ *Savage's Winthrop*, vol. ii. p. * 291.

Colony, in 1630, found at least three other distinct groups of settlers on the shores of Boston Bay. One of these was at Thompson's Island and Squantum; another, at Mt. Wollaston; while the third was at Hull, or Natasco, as it was then called. Of these we have sufficient information to remove all doubt as to their origin and character. Morton speaks of David Thomson, the first occupant of the Farm-school Island, as a Scottish gentleman, both a traveller and a scholar, who had been quite observant of the habits of the Indians.* He had in London been an agent or attorney of the Council for New England, and seems to have represented it before the Privy Council.† In November, 1622, a patent covering a considerable grant of land in New England was issued to him; and, early in the next year, he seems to have come over to take possession of it, bringing with him his wife and a few servants. He first established himself at Piscataqua, and thence removed in 1626 to Boston Harbor. He died early in 1628. Like Blackstone and Maverick, he was an Episcopalian, and closely associated with Gorges.‡ He left a wife, who was one of those who contributed to the expense of the arrest of Morton, and an infant son, to whom the island occupied by his father was subsequently granted by the General Court.§ South of this island, and only a mile or two away, was Mt. Wollaston, the home of Thomas Morton. The story of that settlement has been told in detail, and there is little relating to it which is now involved in mystery. It was a nest of contraband traders, who had, without law or warrant, fixed themselves there during the summer of 1625, and who were routed out by a combined movement against them of all the other settlers along the coast, in June, 1628. In the autumn of 1629, Morton, returning from his arrest, had wandered back to Mt. Wollaston, and was living there at the time of the arrival of the Massachusetts colony, the next year. In October succeeding that arrival, he was again arrested, and banished. His house was now burned to the ground, and the plantation utterly destroyed.||

Immediately south of Mt. Wollaston, and separated from it only by the marshes and little estuaries which indent the shore, was the Wessagusset settlement, the origin of which has been sufficiently described. At the time of Winthrop's arrival, it was closing its seventh year of existence, and must have been a place containing well-to-do people; for when in August, 1632, the Governor, in company with the Rev. Mr. Wilson and other notables, made an overland journey to Plymouth, they started from Wessagusset. On this occasion they passed the night there, both going and returning, and appear to have been

* New English Canaan, Book I. chap. 2.

† Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., 1875-1876, p. 360.

‡ Drake's Boston, p. 50, n.; Gorges's Briefe Narration, chap. 23.

§ Every thing known about Thomson has been collected by Mr. Deane, and will be found in his "Notes to an Indenture of David Thomson and Others," in the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc. for May, 1876.

|| The Maypole of Merrymount. Atlantic Monthly Magazine, May and June, 1877.

very hospitably entertained.* In 1630, however, the place had not received any considerable accession to the number of its original inhabitants. A vague statement to the contrary effect has crept into some of the historical works, on the supposed authority of Prince. It had, however, no better foundation than a mere "oldest inhabitant" tradition; and Prince himself discredits it even while noting it down.†

The only remaining plantation was that at Hull, referred to in Governor Bradford's apportionment of the expense of the Merrymount campaign as "Natastcot." Hubbard says that "something like an habitation was set up" at this place, for the purpose of trading with the Indians, in consequence of Miles Standish's visit to Boston Harbor in September, 1621.‡ This would seem to imply the establishment there of a mere station, such as the fishermen temporarily occupied every year at certain seasons, on the coast of Maine and elsewhere. Drake, on the authority of an unpublished deposition, asserts that, in 1622, three men named Thomas and John Gray and Walter Knight purchased "Nantasket" of Chicatabut, and there settled themselves.§ The next addition to their numbers, if these persons did indeed sit down at Hull in the way and at the time stated, came in a very questionable and far from heroic or triumphant way. In the spring of 1625, at just about the time of Wollaston's arrival, John Oldham had got into trouble with the Plymouth magistrates, in the manner stated by Bradford, who arrested and put him in confinement.|| Morton thus describes what followed: "A lane of Muskietiers was made, and hee compelled in scorne to passe along betweene, & to receave a bob upon the bumme by every musketier, and then a board a shallop, and so conveyed to Wessagusset shoare, & staid at Massachussets, to whome John Layford and some few more did resort, where Master Layford freely executed his office and preached every Lords day, and yet maintained his wife & children foure or five, upon his industry there, with the blessing of God, and the plenty of the Land, without the helpe of his auditory, in an honest and laudable manner, till hee was wearied and made to leave the Country."¶ The next year, Lyford and Oldham moved across to Cape Ann; but, in 1628, the Greys, or whoever remained at Hull, were able to contribute £1 10s. to the expense of Morton's arrest, which amount, considering that Plymouth contributed but £2 10s., would seem to indicate that they were not unprosperous. Even then, probably, Hull was a favorite harbor of refuge and refreshment. It was certainly convenient for trading purposes; but as for that "plenty of the Land," to which Morton refers, it was not to be found there in 1629, any more than now, if we may credit the experience of Mr. Ralph Smith, who came over with Higginson. This

* Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. *92.

† Adams's 250th Anniversary Address, p. 28, n.

‡ Hubbard, p. 102.

§ History of Boston, p. 41.

|| Bradford, p. 190.

¶ New English Canaan, Book III. chap. 8.

individual, with his wife and family, sojourned for a time at "Natascoe"; but, a "boat of this place [Plymouth] putting in ther on some occasion, he earnestly desired that they would give him & his passage for Plimoth, and some such things as they could well carrie; . . . till he should resolve to settle ther, if he might, or els-where as God should dispos; for he was werie of being in y^t uncoth place, & in a poore house y^t would neither keep him nor his goods drie. . . . He was here accordingly kindly entertained & housed, & had y^e rest of his goods & servants sent for."* This was the year before Winthrop's arrival, and establishes the character of Hull at that time as an "uncoth place" with "some stragling people."

The order of succession of the several earlier settlements about Boston Harbor would, in conclusion, seem to be somewhat as follows:—

Wessagusset (Weymouth),	temporary settlement,	August, 1622
	permanent settlement,	September, 1623
Nantasket (Hull),		1623-25
Shawmut (Boston),		1625-26
Pasonagessit (Quincy),	temporary settlement,	1625
Mishawum (Charlestown), and Noddle's Island (East Boston),		1625-27
Thompson's Island		1626
Boston		September, 1630

Prior to the arrival of Winthrop's colony, we have the exact date of but three events connected with the history of Boston Bay or of these plantations: the first is Miles Standish's earliest expedition to the Bay on the 20th and 21st of September, 1621; the next is Standish's affair with the Indians at Wessagusset, on March 27 (April 6), 1623, which resulted in the death of Wittuwamat and Pecksuot; the third, of a strangely different character, was Morton's May-day celebration, which took place at Mt. Wollaston, four years later, upon what is now the 11th of that month.

Professor Edward J. Young, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

Captain G. V. Fox presented, for the Cabinet, a silver dollar of Gustavus Vasa, given him by the head of the Admiralty of Sweden at the time of his visit to that country.

Mr. TUTTLE called attention to a manuscript history of New Hampshire, by the Rev. Jabez Fitch, among the Belknap papers; and, on his suggestion, it was referred to the Committee on the Publication of the Early Proceedings.

The President then communicated for publication the correspondence of several of the Founders of the Royal Society in England with Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut, between 1661 and 1672, introducing it as follows:—

While I was in London, as long ago as 1860, I obtained

* Bradford, p. 263.

from the Royal Society, through the kind intervention of my friend, the late Sir Henry Holland, copies of all the letters of Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, commonly known as John Winthrop, Jr., which had been preserved in their archives. There were nine of them in all, some of them of considerable length, and most of them addressed to Henry Oldenburg, the first Secretary of that Society. It seems that I more than half promised at the time to furnish copies, in return, of any letters from officers or members of the Society which might be found among my family papers; and I was reminded of that promise the last time I was in London, at a social meeting of the Society, which I was privileged to attend.

It has but recently fallen in my way to turn over my papers of that period, and I have found a number of letters, which are certainly not a little curious and interesting.

Here are two letters from Samuel Hartlib, — the same "Master Hartlib" to whom Milton addresses his noble essay on Education, and of whom he speaks, in that essay, as "a person sent hither by some good Providence from a far country to be the occasion and incitement of great good to this island." Winthrop calls him "the Great Intelligencer of Europe."

Here are two letters from Theodore Haak, another of Milton's friends, — a German, like Hartlib, but, like him, long resident in England, and who is said to have been "the founder of the London Club, or Invisible College of Natural Philosophers," from which the Royal Society originated.

Here are seven letters from Oldenburg, still another of Milton's friends and coadjutors, to whom Milton writes, in a familiar letter, "You have learnt to speak our language more accurately and happily than any other foreigner of our acquaintance." Our Honorary Member, Professor Masson, in his most comprehensive and interesting *Life of Milton*, has much to say of Hartlib, Haak, and Oldenburg, of whom Milton made great use while he was Cromwell's Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Two of them, if not all three of them, were among the earliest members of the Royal Society, and Oldenburg was long its Secretary and factotum.

Here, again, is one brief letter from William Brereton, afterwards Lord Brereton, whose name stands fourth in the first Charter of the Society, after those only of Lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Moray, and Robert Boyle.

And, finally, here are six letters from Sir Robert Moray, who was the first and only President of the Society during

the two years of its existence before it was chartered by the King, and who was styled by Bishop Burnet, in his History, "the life and soul of that body."

These letters are thus not only interesting in themselves, but they were written by men who were engaged at the time in founding and building up a Society which is second to no other in any part of the world for its importance and celebrity. They cast no little light on the condition of Science at that early day; and, written to one then resident in New England, during the period between 1661 and 1672, they show what were the subjects in New England on which information was most eagerly sought in Old England.

Science was still in its infancy, but, under the inspiration of Bacon's *Novum Organum*, was beginning to make Herculean struggles with old delusions. Alchemy, however, had not quite yet been strangled, and the Elixir of Life and the Philosopher's Stone were still occasional subjects of speculation and search. Galileo, no long time before, had established the motion of the earth to the satisfaction of everybody but the Inquisition, and had opened the heavens with his telescope. But comets, and meteors, and "blazing starres," as they were called, occasioned alarm and consternation, whenever they were seen. Avalanches, or land-slides, were looked upon as leaping or skipping hills, and were associated with Divine judgments, according to the well-remembered imagery of the Bible.* The ocean, with its contents and currents, its strange fishes and its violent water-spouts, was a wholly unfathomed mystery. Wonders were descried everywhere, in earth, sea, and sky, and were waiting to be stripped of all marvellous or anomalous attributes, and to be reduced and classified under the domain of natural laws. Newton was a young student of Trinity College, Cambridge, when the first of these letters was written, and his great analysis of Light was not promulgated until many years after the date of the last. Electricity and Lightning were still to wait three-quarters of a century for Franklin, and Heat a full century for Rumford.

In the mean time, Mines and Minerals—gold and silver, lead, iron, and copper—were the subjects of greatest practical interest to those who turned their thoughts to new lands across the sea, and the eagerness and extravagance of their expectations were only matched by the credulity and crudeness of their experiments. These letters afford abundant indications of this sort. Governor Winthrop well remarks, in one of them, "It may be God reserves such of his bounties to

* Psalm cxlv.

future generations." It will not be unobserved, that, in another of his letters, he refers incidentally to having been personally present when New Netherland was surrendered to the British fleet and forces ("August 28, 1664"),* and when the names NEW YORK and ALBANY were first given to towns on this continent. The population of New York, at that time, is estimated to have been about 1,500 souls! The day for discovering and working Mines had certainly not arrived.

I happened to mention the existence of these letters in a very recent visit to the late Professor Henry, at Washington, and he begged me not to postpone their publication longer. But he had died, to the sorrow of all the friends of science, before I reached home, and within ten days after the conversation.

In fulfilling my long-deferred promise, I am glad of an opportunity to correct a misapprehension into which our venerable friend, Dr. Palfrey, seems to have been betrayed in a foot-note on Winthrop of Connecticut, in the second volume of his admirable History of New England, p. 539. That foot-note begins as follows: "It has been inferred, from some language in Mortimer's Dedication of the fortieth volume of the Royal Society's Transactions, that Winthrop was one of the original associates. But such was not the fact. See a list of them in the charter (which passed the seals, July 15, 1663), in Weld's excellent History of the Royal Society, II. 484."

Now it is perfectly true that the name of Winthrop is not in the charter of 1663, and it might seem to be a sufficient reason for the omission that he was not then in England, and that, after spending a year or more there in the service of Connecticut, he had returned to his New England home, and was henceforth to be only a foreign associate. But, as a matter of fact, neither of the royal charters of the Society — for there were three of them successively: the first bearing date July 25, 1662; the second, April 22, 1663; and the third, April 8, 1669 — contains the names of the Fellows, but only those of the Officers and Council of the Society. The names of the Fellows are found in the earlier Histories of the Society. The first of these Histories was published by Bishop Sprat in 1667, and was written, as Weld says, when "the institution had only just been organized." In the list of members contained in that volume, Winthrop's name is found in its alphabetical order. The second of these Histories was published

* The date is given elsewhere August 27th. But Winthrop, rightly or wrongly, says Monday, the 28th.

by Dr. Thomas Birch in 1756. In the four volumes of this work are found the earliest records of the Society. By those records it appears that on the 18th of December, 1661, "John Winthrop, Esq., was proposed as a candidate by Mr. Brereton," and that, on the 1st of January following, "Mr. Winthrop was admitted into the Society."

Winthrop of Connecticut had then recently arrived in England to procure a Charter for the colony of which he was Governor. He had previously been known to more than one of the members of the Society, and had corresponded with at least two of them, — Robert Boyle and Sir Kenelm Digby. The letters of Hartlib and Brereton, here given, refer, also, to a previous correspondence. He was somewhat of a voyager in his early years, and must have fallen in with some of these men of science during his travels. Educated at the Free Grammar School of Bury St. Edmunds, and afterwards at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1622–24, he had been admitted to the Inner Temple, as a lawyer, in 1624–25. But in 1627 we find him serving as Secretary of Captain Best, of H. M. ship "Due Repulse," in the expedition of the Duke of Buckingham for the relief of the Protestants at Rochelle; and, after that expedition had failed, he set off on an extended European and Oriental tour, which occupied him for fourteen or fifteen months. Having followed his father, the Governor of Massachusetts, to New England in 1631, he had twice visited Old England again before 1660; — once in 1634, returning in 1635 as Governor of the Connecticut River Colony at Saybrook, with a commission from Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brooke; and again in 1641, when he also visited Holland and other places on the Continent.* His acquaintance with some of his scientific correspondents plainly dates back to these early experiences. In 1639, we find a Latin letter of his, addressed "Clarissimo Doctissimoque Viro, Domino Doctori Golio, Professori Mathematicæ Linguæque Arabicæ in Celeberrimâ Academiâ Lugduni Batavorum" (Leyden), in which he refers to having known the Professor at Venice ten years before. In 1649–50, we find him corresponding in Latin with Dr. John Tanemar and Professor Slegel, of Hamburg, and a few years later with Jacob Gabri (?), of Amsterdam. His later correspondence embraced many names more distinguished.

The early records of the Royal Society, as contained in Birch's History, afford ample evidence of Winthrop's partici-

* For a brief but brilliant account of Winthrop of Connecticut, see Bancroft's History of the United States (Centennial edition), vol. i. p. 420. See, also, Life and Letters of John Winthrop (his father), vol. i. ch. ix.

pation in their sayings and doings during the year which he spent in England after his election as a member. He was called on to give an account of strange Tides; of the making of Tar and Pitch in New England; and of the making of Potashes. He was on a committee with Evelyn and Dr. Goddard and Dr. Merret to consider the improvement and planting of timber for the Navy. He read a paper on "The Conveniency of building Ships in some of the Northern Parts of America."* He exhibited varieties of Indian corn, and presented some bottles of beer, which, at the request of the Society, he had caused to be brewed of maize.

On the 14th of January, 1662-63, he called attention to the fact that a ship built in New England was lately arrived there, and was requested to bring in an account of the size and shape of it. And, finally, on the 18th of March, 1662-63, having acquainted the Society with his intention of returning soon to New England, he was desired to take with him the "Royal Society's Directions for Seamen," and to make as many of the observations and experiments contained therein as he could. He was accordingly furnished with "a dozen sounding leads, and three or four balls, and with the cylindrical vessel with valves to fetch up water from the bottom of the sea." Winthrop of Connecticut seems thus to have been called on by the Royal Society to dredge the sea, very much as Franklin and Agassiz did in more recent days.

In 1664, his name is on the list of two of the Standing Committees of the Society, — one of them, "To consider and improve all Mechanical Inventions"; the other, "For Histories of Trade." And when a conjunction of Mercury with the Sun was to occur in that year, he was called on to take part in the observations.

These records might be multiplied, if it were desirable, but quite enough of them have been given to show that Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, the Secretary of the Royal Society in 1741, in his somewhat florid and extravagant Dedication of the fortieth volume of "The Philosophical Transactions" to Winthrop's grandson,† then a member, was not altogether mistaken in associating the Governor of Connecticut with the earliest members of the Society. Let me proceed, however, without farther preamble, to the Letters, which will suffi-

* This Paper and that on the making of Tar are printed at length in Birch's History.

† It was this John Winthrop, and not, as Weld says (vol. i. p. 471), the "Hollisian Professor" of Harvard University, of the same name and family, who made the valuable presents to the Royal Society in 1734.

ciently tell their own story. They will be given in the order of their date, together with Winthrop's replies, as far as I have been able to procure them either from the files of the Royal Society, or from rough drafts found among his own papers.

I have forborne from presenting several of the papers procured from the Royal Society's Archives, as they had already been printed, either among their Transactions or in our own Collections. The letter of Winthrop to Lord Brereton, 11 October, 1670, on "the overturned hill" in Maine, may be found in both; and his letters to Oldenburg about "the Basket Fish," now known by the scientific name of "Astrophyton Agassizii," have recently been reproduced from "The Philosophical Transactions" for 1670 and 1671, by our associate, Colonel Theodore Lyman, in No. 1 of the Illustrated Catalogue of "The Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Harvard College." *

AXE-YARD IN WESTM., Sept. 3, 1661.

WORTHY & MUCH HONOURED SIR,—Our Publique Miseries and my privat condition (to speake of no Particulars at present) are such that yet I must answer briefly your most loving Letters of Octob. 25, 1660 and May 10, 1661. I heartily thank you again for y^e barrel of Cramburies w^{ch} was very safely delivered to mee. The present of the Indian Corne I have not received to this day, but professe mys. highly obliged to your generous courtesy. My affliction of the Stone and Ulcer are very grievous (to say nothing of other miseries, w^{ch} by reason of the times are very heavily fal'n vpon your tormented Servant). But blessed bee the Lord that they are admeasured by a loving & faithful hand. The same God of compassions wil not leave mee nor forsake mee. I beseech you to remember my most hearty respects & services to that Reverend & most pretious Servant of God Mr. Davinport, to whom I cannot write for the present, but have sent him by these ships a smal Packet directed to his name with a Book or two of the Bohemian Ch-Government, & some Prophetical Papers, w^{ch} were sent lately to mee from my deare friend Mr. Dury, who is now at Amsterdam & writes in his last as followeth: "But I must tell you that I am moved (by special privat Friends) to goe up into Germany, where perhaps I shal stay some time, & being far out of the way shal not bee able to doe your Son that service w^{ch} you desire. I have beene of late little abroad, being about to cause print a Prodomus to the theses w^{ch} I purpose afterward to publish. I am busie to dispatch some Writings, w^{ch} are to go in it, & so have stayed at home. The Lord direct all for the best & assist you & us all in all our straits at all

* There were also two or three unimportant papers (from the Sloane MSS.) from the grandson of Winthrop, nearly a century later in date, and not worth publishing.

times, hearing all our Prayers for all our concerns, — to his Fatherly care I comend you." Thus far the Letter from Amst. ^{29 Aug.} _{2 Sept.} 1661. The fore-said Booke is called — *De Bono Unitatis et Ordinis Disciplinæ. ac Obedientiæ In Ecclesia recte constituta vel constituenda. Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ ad Anglicanam Parænesis. Cum præmissa Ordinis ac Disciplinæ in Ecclesiis F. F. Bohem. Usitate Descriptione.* I wonder that you have not heard of Dr. Rob. Child who dyed in Ireland about 3 yeares agoe, living with Esquire Hill. Hee was a singular lover of your Person & a most useful honest Man in his kind.* If your other Friend come into England, I pray doe not faile to address him to my acquaintance. For if the Lord should yet spare my health, I may perhaps not bee unuseful to him, both for his Improvement of that Talent of y^e Bank of Lands & Comodities, as likewise for his skill in Iron Works, discovery of Minerals & y^e Singularities about Salt-Works, & y^e Separating the fresh Water from the Salt in a speedy easy way. I wish his occasions would draw him over. Mr. Comenius is continually diverted by particular Controversies of Socinians & others from his main Pansophical Work, but some weekes agoe hee wrote that hee would no more engage hims. in any Particular Controversy, but would refer y^{em} all to his Pansophical Worke. Just now I had a Letter from honest & worthy Mr. Morian writing as followeth: "Hern Winthrop wolle der Herr meinet wegen hertzlichen grüssen. Ich bin seiner nit vergessen, dencke noch oft an Ihn, und bisweilen wünsch Ich mich bey Ihn auff $\frac{1}{2}$ oder gantzen tag. Unser Teutsche Becker hatt auch viel Kunststrichlein; in seinem letzten schreibet Er wie folget — sub finem — Habetis hisce demonstrationem ad oculum et manum, tam facilis eam Informationis, ut jam dudum aliqui non unius diei sed horæ spatio totum opus assecuti fuerint. Eadem facilitate modum addere possem quo unius vel alterius horæ intervallo diversarum linguarum literas vocabulum sensus et pronuntiationem quilibet assequi, modo suam vernaculam linguam legere, ejusdemq. literas scribere valeat, ita ut non tantum præcedenti doctrina instructus varias nationes intelligere, sed et earum literas vocabula et pronuntiationem exprimere sciat. Ex præcedente caractere singularis quoque Mnemoniæ species exoritur, qua unius diei spatio millia aliquot vocabulorum ita memoriæ mandari possunt, licet cuilibet vocabulo, diversus numerus adhareat, ut aliquis secundum seriem ea recensere, vel si de vocabulo in initio medio aut fine paginæ existente [quærat?] quinam sit numerus eidem assignatus, aut vero vice versuque, et artificio se explicare queat. Paradoxa hæc et gravia nimis videbuntur vera tamen suntque. Vale." The Optical Lanthorns are not yet so useful as they were projected, but I make no doubt by some or other they will bee perfected. Some weekes agoe I sent you the Systeme of Saturne with all the Cuts, being Mr. Brereton's gift, but hee had no time to write unto you. Hee is gone to his owne Country Cheshire to sell some of his Lands to pay his Fathers Debts. Hee hath taken that brave Husband-man Mr. Cressy Dymock along with him. I passionately long for your Anony-

* See Winthrop Papers, 5 Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. i. pp. 148-164.

mous Friend's (whom also before you have named) Method to raise such vast Profits without such engagement of Lands as the said Bank of Lands requireth. I have told you already of the safe delivery of the barrel with Cramburies last y. but that of y^e Indian Corne I have not yet received. Nor doth Mr. Harwood heare of it, as hee sent mee word about 2 or 3 Months agoe. I long for it very much. I dare not use any Mineral Water, but am much beholden to your cordial Advice. There is now or shortly to bee prepared for mee that excellent *Rex Calce viva* described *sparsa mentione* by Basil Valentinus in his Workes. If the Lord give a blessing, I shal not faile G. w. to impart it unto you. The designed Society, w^{ch} I sent you, is not put in practise, y^e Principal Leaders judging Europe no ways worthy of it. They intend to erect the said foundation in some other part of the World. If G. spare my life & health, I shal acquaint you more largely with the Banke of Lands. For the times of such a Publique and Universal Happines seems not yet to bee at hand. Mr. Potter hath very much elaborated y^e whole Designe, but is not so willing to act for y^e present. Mr. Benjamin Worsley,* our Special Friend, is much dealing with his Maj. and some of his Privy Council to bee sent over as an Agent or Resident of all the Plantations. If it bee granted, great numbers of honest People will replenish all English Plantations, and then Mr. Potters Contrivances will bee best set on foot amongst them. But I dare write no more for the present. The Merchants are very much for such a General Council of Trade. His Maj. and the Great Lord Chauncelour have beene at all their debates, but as yet nothing is concluded in it. If it bee established, I shal endeavour, G. permitting, to give you full notice of it. I pray again let mee heare largely of your Anonymous Friend. Hevelii Selenographia in fol. with excellent Cuts is no more to bee had. But it may bee if I should write to y^e Author of it at Dantzick hee might send mee one. It hath been sold ordinarily for three pound sterl. a peece. Systema Saturnium I have sent you as already said. Mr. Morian promised to send mee for you all the Glauberian Tracts with some other w^{ch} are counted truer Adepts,† and have taken all his Writings to taske. But it seemes the good old Man hath forgotten it. It may bee I shal bee able to send them by the next occasion of Shipping, if the Lord give leave, in whose love I rest ever, Worthy & much Honoured Sir,

Your very faithful Friend to serve you,

SAM. HARTLIB, Sen^r

(Addressed) For y^e Honorable JOHN WINTHROP, Esq.,
In New England. These pst.

* Winthrop addresses him as "Dr. Benjamin Worsley."

† A term among alchemists for those who pretended to have found the philosopher's stone.

WORTHY SIR,—I was very glad to find in our good friend Mr. Hartlib's letter that you were come to London and that you intend to make some stay in England. I hope to be at London within this fortnight, and that I shall have the good hap as to meet with you. Till then it is not to any purpose to trouble you with particulars, onely to tell you that I have received your two letters, with the inclosed raritie of Saturne, and that by Mr. Hartlib I sent towards America for you Hugenius his Systema Saturnium, of which I hope to find a copie for you where you now are. I have been these six weeks surveying an Estate which by the blessing of God upon good conduct may prove of advantage to the unregarded numerous poore among us, if there be any time of refreshing neere at hand. I now say no more but that I hope an acquaintance, begun at so great a distance, will not be broken off when I shall be so happy as to see you, but that though I am not able to serve you, yet you will accept of my reall desire to be

Your very faithfull friend to my power,

WILLIAM BRERETON.

BRERETON, IN CHESHIRE, October the Second, 1661.

(Addressed) For the Worthy Mr. JOHN WINTHROP, at London, these.

HONOURED SIR,—I count it my duty to let you know that I heare the Court are upon sending a Governor into New England, & that there are some Privat Agitations on foot concerning that Countrey. I being not able to learne any thing of Particulars further, and knowing no businesse can bee done here at Court without some Interest, give mee leave to desire the more earnestly that you & Mr. Worsley may bee acquainted with all convenient speed.* And this I doe the rather seeing I know that Mr. Worsley hath much the eare of y^e L^d Chauncellour, and I believe in reference to y^e Plantations Hee is Privy to most Transactions. I can assure you, Sir, that you will finde Mr. Worsley every way a Civil Man, and one I know will shew you a special respect, for the character Mr. Worsley hath received from mee. I believe you will finde Mr. Worsley according to your own heart's desire relating to any Publique Good, Just Liberty of Conscience, and any sort of ingenious kinde of Improvements. Hee lived out of Towne neare High-Gate, as I told you, but cometh to Towne twice a Weeke alwayes, viz.: On Mondays and Fridays, about 10 o Clock or betweene 10 and 11 in the fore-noone, and stayes at his lodging generally one houre or two before hee is going abroad. Hee lodgeth in Towne

* He seems to have become one of the Governor's special friends and correspondents. At the close of a long letter to him, dated October 27, 1670, Winthrop says: "Be assured, Deare Sir, I seldom looke upon the Constellations of the heavens, or the planetts, especially Jupiter, with my telescope, or the glorious Constellation of Orion, but the most grateful memory of yourselfe is fresh to my thoughts & soule." Perhaps Dr. Worsley had given him the telescope at their parting in 1663.

at one Mr. Grigs, his house at Hughes Court, neere y^e Water-side in Black Friars. Thus wishing you would finde him out as soone as you can, I take my leave, remaining ever,

Honoured Sir,

Your most affectionat Friend to love & serve you,

SAM. HARTLIB, Sen.

This Wednesday-night late, Octob. 9, 1661.

(Addressed) To the Worthy and much Honoured JOHN WINTHROP, Esq.
Next to the Church in Colman Street. With care and
speed, I pray.

LONDON, Aug. 5, 1663.

SIR,—I cannot but in y^e beginning of this letter expresse my Joy of so prosperous and speedy a voyage, as I understood by y^m of y^e 4 of June you had to y^r plantaõns. I hope it will be seconded by new blessings vpon y^e place; and I most heartily pray it may be so, promising myselfe so far at least a share therein, y^t I may further rejoyce at y^r communicating y^e news thereof to me. I did impart to our Society y^r tryals at sea, and y^r offer to contribute in y^r parts what may be for the service of their desseins. They charged me to giue you their thanks, and were of opinion y^t y^e sounding trials ought to be made in calme weather, for w^{ch} purpose they haue recommended y^e like to one Captain Silas Taylor, also an ingeneous and knowg person, who is now going for Virginia for his privat occasions, and hath promised us to reiterate many sea experiments, as also to giue us a very particular account of every thing y^t shall occurre to him any wayes remarkable and furthering our Ends. The same doe they also expect from you, persuading y^mselues you will in time giue y^m a better Account of y^e remarkables of y^r quarters y^e is any yet extant, concerning y^e mappe of y^e contry, y^e history of all its productions, and particularly of y^e subterrananeous ones (concerning w^{ch} you know what they look for from you, to y^e end y^t you may receaue fuller instructions and ampler commission upon discoveries made knowne to y^m), as also concerning y^r neighbors and their dealings wth you, and y^r hopes of advancing further amongst y^m, likewise a relation of the Tides vpon y^r coast, together wth y^e course of y^r riuers; but, especially and above all, a full account of y^r succeesse in y^r new way of salt-making, whereof we could not compasse y^e experement here, as was much desired. Y^e conceptions about a bank are now in y^r hands of M^r Brereton, who is y^r very affect. servant, but doubts whether it be so fit to have y^m communicated to y^e person you named in y^r letter. When I shall haue receaued y^e sentiment of vnderstanding men concerning y^e same, I shall not faile, God permitting, to signify it vnto you. One of our number hath proposed other wayes of sounding depths, as also other vessels to fetch vp water from y^e bottom of y^e sea, w^{ch}, when come to perfection, shall also be sent to you; and any other thing y^t may be worth imparting, or shall be commanded by you, wherein I haue any hability to serue you. Since you went, y^e Society hath made, among others, the Torricellian Expt.

in a glas-tube of 40 foot high, w^{ch} costed much trouble, but gaue contentmt. But they made another, w^{ch} puzleth and perplexeth, considering y^t it seems to destroy the plausible hypothesis of y^e spring and weight of y^e Air, for water defecated from Air, and included in a bolt-head w^{hin} y^e Receauer of M^r Boyles Engin remaineth suspended in y^e s^d bolt-head, and doth not at all subside after y^e Receauer hath been totally exhausted of air. Whence it seems a cleer conclusion y^t y^e pressure of y^e ambient air being removed, and yet y^e water not descending at all, y^e s^d pressure cannot be y^e cause w^{ch} keepeth vp y^e water or v^e at their equall heights. *Causa enim vera sublata, tollitur effectus: at hic non tollitur effectus, causa licet a nobis assignata tollatur.* . . .

I shall not be over-tedious wth any further reckoning vp to you of y^e particulars giuen in to increase our philosophical Stock: only this I must adde, y^t his Maj^{ty} presented his R. Society on munday last wth a very noble mace,† of 60 lb. sterl. w^{ch} this very day will be y^e first time made vse of, and be carried before our noble Presid^t at our meeting. We hope also y^t his Maj^{ty} will shortly honor us wth a visit, and write himselfe in our book of Fellows, in y^e front thereof, as our Founder and Patron, and then also name something of his guift y^t may enable us to carry on our desseins. I should annexe something of politicall news, but y^t I think I haue tired you by this time, and y^t y^e ship y^t carrieth these will furuish you better yⁿ my pen can. Only this I shall tell you, y^t y^e Bill ags^t Sectaries and Papists did not passe at y^e late prorogaon of y^e Parle^{mt}, w^{ch} was July 27, vntill March 16, 1664. It seems y^e Houses did apprehend y^t if they should put those two parties into one predicament of severity and persecution, they might put y^mselves into one and y^e same predicamt of action for their relief. *Punitis ingeniis gliscit autoritas*, said old and wise Tacitus, seconded by y^e experience of all ages and places. I pray forget not to send us your way of making Potashes, for w^{ch} I find you vpon my arr [*torn*] w^{ch} now and yⁿ are called for. I had almost forgot to let you know y^t S^r W^m Petty's double bottomed ship hath been lately twice at Holyhead [*torn*] great successe, and wonne 50^{lb}. ster^l in running agst y^e best vessel of ireland.‡ He now offers a wager of 500^{lb}. agst any vessell in y^e whole world,

* This, in the old chemical notation, represents mercury. A description of the experiment, with an illustration, will be found in Dr. Birch's History of the Royal Society, vol. i. p. 275.

† There is an elaborate account of this Mace in the seventh chapter, first volume of Weld's History of the Royal Society, with the reasons for discrediting an old idea that it was the original "Fool's Bauble," which Cromwell ordered to be "taken away," when he dissolved the Long Parliament. In the second volume, page 582, Weld gives an engraved illustration of the mace, of which he says: "The associations appertaining to it, embracing the remembrance, that around it have been gathered men whose names not only shed imperishable lustre on the Royal Society, but on the civilized world, must hallow it to all lovers of science and truth."

‡ Sir William Petty was Music Professor in Gresham College, and for many years a member of the Council of the Royal Society. An account of his curious ship, which, after making a successful trip to Holyhead, was lost in a storm on her second voyage, may be seen in Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham College. See, also, Pepys's Diary.

and saith positively y^t y^e perfection of sayling lyeth in his principle. Find it out who can. Y^e King hath giuen order he and his ship should come and meet him at Portsmouth, where his Maj^{ty} intends to be [torn] a few dayes. Y^e objections of oversetting and diuision, he saith, he intends [his] ship itselfe shall answer, wthout any more adoe. But yet our severe mathematicions and shipwrights doubt y^t structure still in fule weather and growne seas; and so doth, S^r,

Y^r assured fre. and serv^t,

H. OLDENBURG.

I pray let y^r superscription to me be hereafter for H. Oldenburg at M^r Stories, a stone cutter in y^e Pallmall, London.

(Addressed) For my much honored friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esq., Governor of Connectecut, recommended to M^r John Richards, Marchant, at Boston, or M^r Amos Richardson, marchant, or M^r Hezekiah Usher, bookseller, at Boston, in New England.

(Indorsed) M^r Oldenburge.

HONORABLE S^r,— When the Commissioners were mett at Boston in September last, the Widdow of Mr. Mayhew, who had been in his life-tyme a preacher to the Indians at a place called Martha's Vineyard, desired me very earnestly to recomend hir condition to y^e consideration of you^r [Agents] here for some continuance of allowance for himself & education of hir son; but because y^r could give hir no assurance for the future, I make bold to write to your Hon^r in hir behalfe, y^{at} she might by your favour be considered by yo^r hon^{ble} Corporation for some allowance for the future. Hir husband was one who had wholly devoted himselfe to that Indian worke, & laid such a foundation among those natives of that Iland before mentioned, that the fruit thereof hath beene very great, towards the conversion of those poore heathen many of them, & as I have beene informed it was some respect to that worke y^t made him (though possibly not only that) undertake that voyage when he was lost: he might certainly have beene settled in a better place & condition for the more comfortable supply of his family, if he would have beene taken off that employment. I beseech your hon^r to consider hir condition, & to recomend it to the gentlemē of the Corporation for what further continuance of supply shalbe thought fitt to be allowed hir. It cañot be bestowed upon an obiect more interested in suffering for the promotinge of that pious worke.

I make bold to send heere inclosed a kind of a Rarity, the first perhaps that your honor hath seene of that sort from such hands: it is two papers of latin composed by two Indians now scollars in the Colledge in this Country, & the writing is wth their owne hands. If your hon^r shall iudge it worth the notice of the Gentlemē of the hon^{ble} Corporation & y^e Royall Society, you may be pleased to give y^m a view of it. Possibly as a novelty of that kind it may be acceptable, being a reall

fruit of that hopefull worke that is begū amongst them, and therewth may please to give me leave to have my humble service presented to them, testifying thus much that I received them of those Indians out of their owne hands, & had ready answers frō them in latin to many questions that I propounded to them in y^r language, & heard them both expresse severall sentences in Greeke also. I doubt not but those honorable *fautores Scientiarū* will gladly receive the intelligence of such *vestigia doctrinæ* in this Wildernesse amongst such a barbarous people: I humbly crave your excuse for detaining your hon^r with these Indian matters, it is but fit once this being y^r first of such kind y^r has beene represented from this remote p^{ts} of y^e world, otherwise should not have presumed upon your patience. I shall not add but my humble Service to your hon^r & the other Gentlemē of the Corporation, & rest, Honorable S^r,

Your most humble & faithfull Servant,

JOHN WINTHROP.

HARTFORD, in New Engl: Nov: 3, 1663.

(Addressed) To the Hon^{ble} ROBERT BOYLE, Esq., Govern^r of y^e Corporation for propagating y^e Gospell in New England, at his house at Chelsy, d.d.

HONORABLE S^r,— After I had taken leave of the Society, I had information that I might confidently stay 2 or 3 daies at London, but next day y^e Ship was gone. So as was ingaged to go presently, &c., yet was at your lodgings, but missed y^r oportunity of receiving your hon^r Comands at my goinge downe, & could defer no longer, &c., & was necessitated to pass in another Ship; nor could take wth me y^r writing about M^r Clarke's businesse left wth Mr. Worsley for your hon^r hand writinge to it. I doe not remember whether your selfe was present wth y^e Council of the Royall Society, when I declared some proposalls concerning a way of trade & banke wthout money, w^{ch} I had formerly hinted to Mr. Hartlib in a letter frō hence, & sometymes to yourself when I was in England, but never had tyme for fuller discourse about the same: & when I mentioned it to that hon^{ble} Council, their tyme was so short y^t y^e discourse could not be read, only a little of the beginnunge, but I ingaged to leave a copy for their perusall at their owne conveniency, w^{ch} by reason of shortness of tyme I could no other way have affected but by worthy Mr. Oldenburg's owne trouble to transcribe it himselfe, being not willinge to expose it to any perusall but y^r hon^{ble} Councill & Society, to whose dispose I left that only copy in the hands of the said Mr. Oldenburg y^r Secretary, of his owne transcribinge, & he promised at a convenient season to produce it to the reading & consideration of your hon^r of the Royall Society or their Councill, w^{ch} whether since my cominge thence y^r hon^{ble} Councill have beene pleased to peruse it, or whether it ever came to your picular view, or whether it doth upon perusall appear to be a foundation of such use for the advance of trade, & settling a sure & easy way

of a banke, y^t the hon^{ble} Society doe thinke fitt to owne, & to promote it to a way of practise, I should willingly understand.* The generall acquaintance & interest y^t they have in the gentry, merchants, & citizens, besides the sufficient insight y^t many of them have into matters of trade & exchange, made me thinke y^t such a designe could no way be better accepted & brought into use than from y^t Royall Society. If it may appeare of publiq use & benifit, they may please to add what they see necessary for the perfectinge thereof: it is wholly their owne: I have given out no copies of it, nor made it knowne to any other. It will most probably be so approved, as from yourselves, that it may be quickly brought into a practical way, to the great advance of trade, & settlement of such a banke, as may answer all those ends y^t are attained in other pts of the world by bankes of ready money: I mention no pticulars, there beinge in y^e discourse w^{ch} was left wth Mr. Oldenburg the modell of what I could see necessary fundamentally for such a designe of trade. If there should be appearance of such approbation as might cause a triall of effectinge a beginninge, & some progresse, there might possibly be other additions y^t might be usefull for the proceedinge therein. This I am bold to mention to yourselfe in pticular, y^t if there appeare no acceptance as to the promotinge of it amongst gentlemen & merchants to a triall, &c., I might obtaine your hon^r advice whether to move any other way therein by acquainting merchants or others for the settinge it a foote, or to desist further thoughts about it or any further addition to that modell w^{ch} is so far already in writinge.

That there could be no pfect triall of y^e instrument for depths at sea, the motion of the waves unhookes the lead, &c. I wrote Mr. Oldenburg an account of it, w^{ch} hope he hath acquainted the Society. am not unmindefull of y^t Corne, w^{ch} I told your hon^r would ripen sooner, &c., but can yet procure none, but doubt not to have some after, &c. I have nothing else now of intelligence worth your notice, & shall not add but my humble service to your hon^r & rest,

Hon^{ble} S^r, Your most humble servant, J. W.

HARTF. in N: E: Nov. 6: 1663.

(Addressed) For the Hon^{ble} WILLIAM BRERETON, Esq., at Mr. Raymonds, at y^e White Horse in Lawrence Lane, in London.

[Copy of a Letter sent by Barbados to Sir Robert Moray.]

HARTFORD, JAN: 27: 1664.†

HON^{ble} S^r—In my former I gave your hon^r an account of the favor I had of your letter by the Hon^{ble} Colonell Richard Nicolls. I then omitted to acquaint your honor what now I will be bold to add: that havinge looked upon Jupiter wth a Telescope, upon the 6th of August

* There were no banks in England at this time. "The Bank of England" was not established until 1694. This letter is given from a rough draft.

† This date is old style, and the letter should follow the two next.

last, I saw 5 [?] Satellites * very distinctly about that Planet: I observed it wth the best curiosity I could, taking very distinct notice of y^e nūber of them, by severall aspects wth some convenient tyme of intermission; & though I was not wthout some consideration whether that fifth might not be some fixt star wth wth Jupiter might at that tyme be in neere coniunction, yet that consideration made me the more carefully to take notice whether I could discerne any such difference of one of them frō the other foure, y^t might by the more twinckling light of it or any other appearance give ground to believe y^t it might be a fixed starr, but I could discerne nothing of that nature: & I consider that the tube wth wth I looked upon them, though so good as to shew very clearly the Satellytes, yet was but of 3 foote & halfe wth a concave ey-glasse; & I question whether by a farre better tube a fixt star can be discerned so near the body of that planet when in the ever bright activity of its light, for, if so, why are there not often if not alwayes seene wth the best tubes the like or more. Is not Jupiter often in neere coniunction wth them, especially in *via lactea*? I have been in much doubt whether I should mention this, w^{ch} would possibly be taken frō a single affirmation but a mistaken novelty: but I thought I would rather beare such sensure than omitt the notice of it to such worthy friends as might frō the hint of it take occasion to cause more frequent observations to be made upon that planet, & at least this will at length be cleared, whether the light of Jupiter doth not take away the appearance of fixed starrs so neere in coniunction wth it, as that they should appear wthin the periphery of that single *intuitus* by a tube w^{ch} taketh in the body of Jupiter & that at the same unmoved aspect: & I am bold the rather to mention this as an inquiry whether any such nūber of Satellites or moons hath beene seene by your hon^r or Mr. Rooke † or any mathematicians or other gentlemen y^t have good tubes & often have the curiosity to view y^t planet, for possibly it may be new to me wth hath beene more usually knowne by others, though the notion of such a thinge is not new to my selfe, for I remember I mett wth the like narration many years since in a little booke intituled *Philosophia Naturalis* p Joh. Phociliden, though then I thought that was but a mistake of some fixed starrs. An other thing I make bold to mention, upon occasion of a relation wth I had lately frō an understanding Seamā, y^t hath beene Master of some vessells & often beene in y^e West Indies (Mr. John Blackleech), he affirmed confidently that beinge in y^e Gulfe of Florida he saw a great Pillar of Water (such as Comonly called Spouts) rise up from the Sea & rise higher till it joynd itself to a White cloude over it. I urged it to him to be a mistake, & that it was one of those spouts (usuall in y^e Indies & other

* Galileo had discovered the four satellites of Jupiter in 1610, and the number has never been increased. Winthrop, with his little "tube" in the wilderness, might well be distrustful, as he was, of discovering any thing which had eluded the gaze of Galileo.

† Laurence Rooke, the great observer of the satellites of Jupiter, had died at Gresham College, June 27, 1672, on the very night on which he had expected to complete and perfect his observations. Birch's Hist. of R. S., vol. I. p. 98.

p^{tes}) that fall from y^e cloudes above: he confidently affirmeth it could be no mistake, his ship was neer & that both himselfe & all in the ship wth one consent judged it to rise out of the Sea. I mention not this out of any credence that it was any other than a mistake, supposinge it to have beene an ordinary spout falling down; yet because of his confidence in y^e affirmation as before upon y^e occasion thereof, I thought fit to comend it to your hon^{rs} consideration, & the Royall Society (if you think it fit), that, if they please, inquiry may be made of severall Captaines or Masters of Ships or other understanding Seamen y^e have often visited the West Indies, what the true originall & maner of those Spouts are, for, however, they are of a strange nature & wonderfull, & possibly there wilbe something reported about them & the effects of them that wilbe worth the knowinge. Since my former I have beene againe at New Yorke to give the Hon^{ble}. Govern^r. Collonell Nicolls a visit there, & left him wth all there in good health & peace, & have not longe since received a letter frō him wth signified the continuance of the same. Not far frō thence upon Long Iland there was last su^mer, at an English Plantation called Gravesend, 18 oxen killed at once all together wth lightnings: & at a plantation called Stratford, as I was goinge last to N: Yorke, I saw a great tall oake that was stripped of so much of the barke as the breadth of foure fingers frō the very uppermost small top of one of the highest bowes to the very bottom of the tree at the ground,—that breadth I measured by my hand as high as I could reach, but by the iudgement of the eye it might be narrower upward accordinge to the proportion of the bodye & bowes upward, but no p^{te} of the other barke, nor the body of the tree hurt by it, & all that breadth that was taken off, it was in a kind of spirall line ruⁿinge at least six or 8 tymes about the tree & bowes frō the top bow to the roote of the tree.

But I have beene too prolix in these discourses, for w^{ch} I presume I may have your hon^{rs} excuse, & shall not add further.

J. W.

WHITEHALL, 30 Apr. 1664.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,—It is no small satisfaction to me that My Noble friend Mr. Nicolls* hath done me the fauor to undertake to deliuer you two lines by which I may giue you a testimony of the respect I bear you, & engage you in some measure to acquaint me with the

* General Richard Nicolls arrived in Boston, July 23, 1664, at the head of the Royal Commissioners to New England. Dr. Palfrey says of him: "He was a man of honor. At the breaking out of the Civil War, when he was seventeen or eighteen years old, he gave up his studies at the University, and joined the King's standard, receiving the command of a troop of horse. While the royal family was in exile, he was attached to the person of the Duke of York, and served with him, first under Marshal Turenne, in the War of the Fronde, and afterwards under the Prince de Condé. At the Restoration, he was appointed one of the Duke's gentlemen of the bedchamber; and now, when the lately constituted province, including New Netherlands, should be reduced, he was to administer it as the proprietor's deputy." — *Hist. of New England*, vol. ii. p. 680.

condition of your health, & what other matters you iudge will not be unwellcome to me. I owe him much upon many accounts; but I put a great value upon this fauor of his. And I know no better way how to acquitt myself towards him in this coniuncture then to intreat you may in all things apply & open your self to him, as you would do to the most vertuous person you know, if my strongest coniurations weigh with you. You know him to be a very worthy person, & may be perswaded of all the good offices he can do you. This is purely upon the score of kindness that I giue you this trouble. For Hee being trusted so eminently by his Maiesty in the affaires of these parts, I haue not the least doubt of your respect to him in that regard, or that you will be wanting in any thing wherein you can be usefull towards the advancement of His M^{ties} service. And I dare say he hath great confidence in your abilities & vertue, & will be glad to put obligations upon you. But I would be glad that my interposition might not onely encrease that confidence, but settle between you such a friendship as, upon further acquaintance, you may haue the same kindness for one another that I pretend to from either of you. This will be to me such a satisfaction as litle can be added to it, unless it be the happiness to receive from you some occasion to make known to you with how much sincerity & reality I am,

My worthy friend,

Your faithfull humble Servant,

R. MORAY.

(Addressed) For M^r. WINTHROP, in New England.

(Indorsed) S^r Robert Moray.

[Rough copy to Sir Robert Moray at his lodgings at Whitehall.]

HART: Sept. 20: 1664.

HON^{ble} S^r. — I had had sad & serious thoughts about the unhappiness of the condition of a Wilderness life so remote from the fountains of learning & noble sciences,—the particular Ideas of some classic Heroes representing nothing but sorrowes at the thoughts of their so great distance,—when I was greatly revived wth y^r speciall favour of yo^r honor's letter & of the happy arrival of our noble friend Colonell Nicolls. My engagements to your hon^r have beene formerly very great, & are now much increased. All your comands are strong obligations, & shalbe attended wth all due observance towards the honourable Colonell, to the greatest of my endeavours to acte a p^{ty} so eminently intrusted by his ma^{ties} as you were pleased to announce; and I hope (he) is come for eminent (future) good of these poore plantations. He was pleased at his first arrival at Boston (w^{ch} is about 100 miles frō where I live at present) to favour me with the speedy notice thereof by his letter, & that he intended speedily to goe thence wth his Frigats & wth enough of his smaller ships wth the rest of his ma^{ties} Commissioners to the West end of long Iland, w^{ch} is the nearest to the Dutch. I went thither to wait their coming, & was there

at their first arrivall, & continued with them till I sawe y^m possessed of the Fort & towne upon Manatos Iland, w^{ch} was surrendered to his ma^{ties} obedience on Monday the 28th of August last, by peaceable agreement upon articles, without occasion of one drop of blood. The fort is now called Jeames Fort & the towne New Yorke. There is another considerable towne on the same river, far up in the river, w^{ch} is also surrendered to his ma^{ties} obedience, w^{ch} is now called Fort Albany. I am now returned hither, & hope of y^r cominge shortly into these parts. Otherwise I shall be willinge to make another Journey thither again before. Matters of publike Concernment have been so many & difficult since I came over, & severall occasions preventinge, that, though I have had mē at work about some preparations for a Salt worke, yet could never have tyme to goe to the Sea Side (w^{ch} is about 60 miles frō this place) to make triall of the businesse, but am waitinge some good oportunitie for it, of w^{ch} I may give your hon^r. some account afterwards.

I had a piece of Marcasite w^{ch} seemed to containe copper an Indian brought frō up in y^r country, but there have beene such Warres amonge the heathen in these parts that there could be no travelling that way upon such discoveries, but tyme I hope will give better oportunitys. I heare there is peace like to be made amongst those Indians shortly: then there will be oportunitie to search that part of the Country, w^{ch} before the Dutch suffered not whilst that land was in their power. I should be glad there could be found any minerall matters of reall worth.

I must be bold to crave the favor of my humble service to the President, my Lord Brunker, & the gentlemen of the Royall Society, & shall only beg the further favor of yo^r commands when you shall please to write to the hon^{ble} Gov^r. of N. Yorke, that I may still be accounted, Hon^{ble} S^r,

Your most humble & faithful Servant,

J. W.

HARTF: N. ENGL: Sept. 20, 1664.

ALBURY, near Oxford, 10 Dec., 1665.

MY WORTHY FRIEND, — The good character I haue receiued from him that deliuered you my last,* & the great esteem hee hath of your persone and friendship, doth not onely oblige me to acquaint you with the satisfaction I receiue by it not onely upon the publick and diuerse other accounts, but to tell you that I am not a little proud I had some litle lende a hand in your acquaintance. Which I do not doubt, but is cultivate by both to your mutuall satisfaction.

But I would gladly be allowed to complain to you that in so long a time as you have been in those parts, and haue, I doubt not, acquired new knowledge as well as practised the old, you do not acquaint none of your friends hereaway with any thing you haue don, found out, or

* General Richard Nicolls.

do designe * nor giue them any account of such matters as you are very well able to do; that is the peeces of Naturall History, philosophical matters, Inventions, & Mechanick practises; nor any thing of Minerall businesses. If you would not be chid, you must be at some more trouble to correspond with friends here, amongst whom, if there be any thing wherein so insignificant a person can serue you, no body will with greater readiness & affection do it than,

My Worthy friend,

Your reall affectionate Seruant,

R. MORAY.

(Addressed) For M^r WINTHROP.

(Indorsed) S^r Robert Moray. Rec: Dec. 1667.

ALBERT, near OXFORD, 19 Dec. 1665.

DEAR DICK,†—When you call to minde the packett you sent me in January last, & finde it hath been so long unanswered, unless you think it hath not been deliured, your good opinion of me and my kindness to you will ly under a shrewd temptation. But as I think you will not readily condemn me, so I doubt not but you will haue, euer since the time past wherein you might reasonably haue expected to haue heard from me, been deuising to yourself excuses for my iustification. It will be a part of my answer to lay out some of them to you: and others of them will serue for a short prospect of things past since I had your letter.

As soon as I receaved it, I sought an opportunity to speak with your Noble friend & mine the E. Barclay; and had it oftner than once. I soon found the confidence you haue in his friendship is well grounded. I read to him both your letters to E. Kincardin & me, and discoursed with him on every point of them. Hee was exceedingly taken with euery particular you mention, approued all your actings & designes, & resolved to go seriously & actiue about euery thing you proposed & desired so far as it lay in his power to compasse it. And for that end, seing it seemes [?] he did conceive that none other of your letters that hee had seen did so fully & clearly expresse the state of things where you are & what was fit to be considered & done for preseruing & improving of euery advantage that place affords, Hee did desire to haue your letters to shew to the Duke, & the lord high Chancelor, that upon discoursing of all things from the grounds the

* It will be seen by subsequent letters that some of Winthrop's early communications had been lost at sea, and others had reached their destination eleven or twelve months after date. This letter of Sir Robert Moray's would seem from the indorsement to have reached Winthrop about two years after it was written! Indeed, Winthrop begins a long letter to Sir Robert Moray about "Mineralls," of which there is only a rough draft, by telling him, "It was in Dec^r 1667, when I received yours of 19th Dec^r 1665!"

† This letter was undoubtedly addressed to General Richard Nicolls, a great friend of Sir R. Moray, and Nicolls must have sent it to Winthrop, among whose papers the original is found.

letters gaue, hee might raise their esteem of them and encourage a speedy & effectuall setting forward of euery thing necessary to be done for the maintenance & defense of the place, the promoting of Trade, the improouement of all improueable, the incouragement of the Inhabitants, and your particular satisfaction.

What success hee had, & what hath followed upon it, hee will haue told you, & you will haue seen. Howeuer this was all the seruice I thought I could do you, hauing had from you no particular hint of doing any thing else about court for your advantage.

Your letters being returned me, I sent them both to Scotland to E. Kincardin; by whose answer you will see what is to be expected of the proposition you made him. It was long before I had it. Inso-much that, thinking till I had it my answer to yours to me would be very lame, and in the mean time the Court being remoued from London, the Lord Barclay gone Northward with his Master & I westward and being ignorant which way to conuey a letter to you, I forbore writing. E. Kincardins letter came to my hande at Salisbury, and not hauing seen the L^d Barclay till after we had been a pretty while at Oxford, I neuer had hopes of getting a letter sent to you, till hee undertook it, and so now I write under his Cover.

If all I have hitherto said prevail not to satisfy you as to my long silence, I am at your mercy. For I will not alleadge to you business, employments, or other such impediments, myne own heart will not admitt of those for excuses, being fraught with a measure of kindnesse for you, & zeal for the good of your persone and employment that would haue made me break through all those bands if I had known how. Nor therefore shall I need to say I could at best do you but small seruice in writing: for I ow it to your satisfaction, who cannot but be well pleased to hear from your friends.

Hetherto all will look by the preface, though it be somewhat materiall. But I do intend to speak to euery point of your letter besides what occurs; beeing willing to bestow an hour upon you, for my own sake.

It very much pleaseth me that you haue found M^r Winthorpe usefull: and I do much applaud your usage of him. I doubt not but hee hath by this time been seruiceable to you in seuerall other matters that were not in agitation when you wrote to me. Your letter of Jan. 27, 1664, being that before me at present, mentions another wherein it seemes you had mentioned at more large what relates to M^r Winthorpe. But it neuer came to my hands. I should therefore be glad to know by your next what I do not yet of all matters between you: and in the meantime, I giue you the trouble of delivering to him this inclosed wherein I express to him my satisfaction in what you tell me of him, & invite him to giue me some account of improuements, Inventions, Mineral & other philosophical matters.

I haue already touched to you as much of what past between the E. Barclay & me as will shew you I had reason to do what I did: for I could not by any other way take measure of the purpose the King & Duke haue than by speaking with him: & vpon that, hee being so well

pleased with the thing & forward to do what you desired, I thought I was sufficiently authorised not to let your representations, propositions, advyces & desires fall to the ground, though I cannot tell till I hear from you again what advantage the course I took may have produced to you.

It was no small contentment to me to find you so well pleased with the healthfullness & improvableness of the Country where your lot is fallen. The one promises worke for your industry, & the other a happy enjoyment of the fruit of your labour, on all which I wish blessings from heaven.

What you tell me of Minerall matters seemes to me of very great consequence. I am hopefull you have by this time a good account to give of those discoveries of Golden earth & Quicksilver, and could wish you sent me hither samples, that is parcells of every kind of minerall you meet with, be it earth, clay, sand, stones, or what else soever, and in good quantity. For I am at this very time with the Kings allowance retired from Court for a time to amuse myself in a priuat place, where I am about some chymicall experiments, intending to bestow som tryalls upon some improvements that may collaterally take in others: the one to extract from lead ore all the metall it contains, with one wash (?), great ease & small charge; the other to do the same in extracting siluer out of lead with the same advantages when the lead holds so much as may be worth the paines. I do not promise my self great success: but I am sure it would be of great use if it pleased God I lighted vpon the way of doing it, and I am the more ready to apply my self to this that I am in a fair way to engage my self & some of my friends in the siluer mines, as they call them, in Cardiganshire in Wales, which have formerly yielded much siluer, & ly now under water which is to be taken off with Adits that are now carrying up to the Mines.

If you light upon a Vein or Mine of Quicksiluer, it will be of great profit, that is if there be store of it, which I shall be exceeding glad to know. I know it is a braue commodity for Peru; and that if wee have a Friendship with Spain, which I believe may well come to pass, store of it may be vented there. But it is possible, I may advise some what else ere long, if I find you light upon any considerable way to furnish good quantity of it.

I need not offer aduyce as to the searching out those mines, onely let me tell you, that Quicksiluer is commonly found in a red earth wherein sometimes little of it appeares to the eye, though store is to be got out of it. And lead will be in gray blue & blackish earths, as well as in Glistening & shyning ones, and all of these may hold good quantities of siluer. This is all I shall now say of this matter, but will be ready to say more when you give me cause. It were good a particular account [*torn*] kindes of woods you have thereaway [*torn*] but of all other sortes. Withall [*torn*] &c., and what else conduces to [*torn*] a particular survey might be made, and samples of useful woods as grow not in England nor Scotland sent hither. One sort of Timber I hear there is in Jamaica, the properest in the world for

shipping, because hard, large, & is for euer free from all sortes of wormes either wett or dry. But if I go on at this rate I shall neuer haue done.

To tell you truely, I am very much satisfied with all you represent, & think your reasonings strong & adyce good. But to do more for making them take than I haue would but be labour lost, but still on all occasions I minde the lord Barclay of those matters, being unfitt & unable indeed to procure any thing of this Kinde to be so much as taken into consideration, nor need I insist upon explicating the reason to you. Onely as things stand I cannot say there is any probability of allowing trade between you & Holland: Nor indeed, though connivance were Secured, is it lykely the Hollanders will be permitted by the States to drive any trade with you. I need not enlarge vpon the political complications on either side. You can easily light vpon them with a little reflection.

By this long answer which is not yet at an end, you may judge your long letters will not tyre me: but I am affrayed my uselessness to you may make you weary of corresponding with me, who am not onely apt to put good constructions on what you say or do, but to imploy all my philosophy & other faculties to do you good seruice, and thus I haue run ouer yours to me [*torn*] that to your Cousin giues me any thing to [*torn*] read it over, that I need say any [*torn*] Cousins engageing vpon a Trade such [*torn*] all that can be said, vless it be that the business of Trade between England & Scotland is not yet regular, & though there were peace tomorrow with Holland, till the other be at a period, that alone is sufficient to barre Trade from Scotland with you. Yet if wee were friends with Holland with a litle time, if any in Scotland will go about what you propose, I presume private licenses may be obtained for it. Therefore it will not be amiss wee hear now & then from you, & so shall you from me as often at least as I hear from you, & in shorter time after the receipt of yours than this return hath been, if it please Almighty God.

I know not with whom you hold strict and constant correspondence, but I suppose you are informed from here of what passes, at least so far as it is publick. But were it left to me to acquaint you with what you might desire to know from hence, I am as unfit a Tool for that as can be imagined. For litle do I know, but less do I inquire into any kind of business. But if you will haue a conjecture not drawn from starres nor Cometes nor founded vpon politicall speculations, further than is obuius to one that sees now and then a printed Gazette, — to me it lookes not improbable that wee shall haue warre with France as well as Holland, and by consequence a friendship with Spain, which if wee haue, one may presume to say it will admit us further into the West Indian commerce with the Spanish Territories there, then ever any body beside themselues had.

Before I close I must ad a word to [*torn*] to set some body on work to discover all things that [*torn*] natural History of Mines, plants, Fishes [*torn*] the place where you are affords and [*torn*] your frinds here, and if in [*torn*] or lights they can giue you, when you put them to it, you may expect all the satisfaction they can giue you.

Now I haue been as longe I suspect as you can wish, and would haue you from this very transgression to draw an argument, that I think the time & paines well employed that may serve in any measure to confirm you in the good opinion you haue of,

Dear Dick,

Your faithfullest servant,

R. MORAY.

You may let Mr. Winthrop know what I say to you, especially of Minerrall matters.

[Copy of Letter to Mr. Robert Boyle.]

Oct: 29: 1666. [Boston.]

HON^{ble} S^r. — I reioyce much to heare by Mr. Ashurst of your recovery out of some sicknesse w^{ch} he informed me you had beene under at Oxford. I am out of hope you had any letters frō mysele last yeare; for I heare since I came to this towne that Mr. Gillams ship, in w^{ch} Col. Cartwright returned, being taken by the Dutch, all letters were cast in to the Sea. I wrote of severall matters to your hon^r largely, of w^{ch} I hope to give againe an account shortly, but, havinge not the copies of the particulars heere, I must deferr till an other oportunity. I had prepared divers things of this country last yeare for the view of the Gentlemen of the Royall Society, but the casualties of the Sea who can prevent? I hope to recruite most of them against better tymes, w^{ch} then shalbe directed to y^r. hon^r. & them frō

Your most humble Servant,

J. W.

I make bold to present my hūble service to the hon^{ble} Govern^r & other Gentlemen of the Society. I have one of those little tracts about the Comet w^{ch} I herewth make bold to present to y^r. hon^r. I had provided many of the same last yeare, w^{ch} are gone with the rest, but shall endeavour to procure more.

There is also heere inclosed a Narrative of the strange march of a French Army in the very depth of winter frō Canada, w^{ch} alarmed all our inland plantations, who were prepared for them, but they returned in greater haste than they came. This was sent me frō Colonell Rich: Nicolls, who collected & penned the true relation of it.

LONDON, Octob. 13, 1667.

SIR, — So good an opportunity as this I could not let passe w^{thout} putting you in mind of y^r being a member of y^e Royall Society, though you are in New-England; and that even at so great a distance you may doe that Illustrious Company great service. You cannot but remember both y^r generall Obligation to them, when you were received, of contributing what you could to promote the dessein and end of their Institution; and also y^r particular Engagements, of communicating to them all the Observables both of Nature and Art, y^e occur in the place, you are, and especially such as concern the Mines of that contry, and y^r ingenious way of making salt out of sea-water by a cheap and speedy method; w^{ch}, if I mistake not very much, you seemed here resolved to try in New England. I am perswaded the R. Society, who

retains still a particular respect and kindnesse for you, will receaue what shall come from you of that nature, or any other, wth no ordinary affection and thankfulness. S^r, you will please to remember that we have taken to taske the whole Vniverse, and that we were obliged to doe so by the nature of our Dessein. It will therefore be requisite that we purchase and entertain a commerce in all parts of y^e world wth the most philosophical and curious persons, to be found everywhere. We know y^r ingenuity, experience, and veracity, y^e best qualities of a man and a Philosopher; and we doubt not but you will let us share in the happy fruits and products thereof. And, since you have now been from us severall years, give us at last a visit by a Philosophicall letter. The Bearer hereof will doubtlesse give you the use of y^e printed History of y^e R. Society;* by w^{ch} you will find what progres they have made hitherto, and what they have further in designe. The Author seems to write so, as if he breathed in much of y^e soule of that noble Body. And as for me, if I am not much mistaken in the genius and cutt of y^e bulk of English Worthyes, I see ground enough to presage that this Society will be fast rooted, grow, and thrive to y^e wonder of others, the immortal fame of y^mselves, and y^e important benefit of this Island and whole Mankind.

I presume to transmit you some of the Transactions I monthly publish, to inform the curious what passeth up and downe in the world in matter of knowledge and Philosophy. You will find in some of y^m sets of inquiries concerning Agriculture, Observables in a Contry, Mines, y^e Sea, Cold, etc. I make it my request to you, that you would not think it a trouble, upon the perusall of them, to employ y^rselfe in giuing or procuring us some good answers to as many of y^m as you can. It will be, and be esteemed, a very great service to our work; and you will by doing so oblige exceedingly y^e publick as well as, Sir,

Y^r very affectionate and faithfull servant,

HENRY OLDENBURG, *Reg. Soc. Secret.*

In the Palmall in St. James's fields.

S^r, I persuade myself y^t you, who know so well the vselesnes of y^e notional and disputacious School philosophy, will make it a good part of y^r businesse to recommend this reall Experimental way of acquiring knowledge, by conversing with, and searching into the works of God themselves; and that you will endeavour, and y^r ingenious and sober friends, to season and possesse the youth of New England with y^e same.

(Addressed) For his much honored friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esq.,
Gouernour of Conectecut, in New England.

(Indorsed) Mr. Oldenburg. 1667, rec. July.

S^r,—I was very glad when lighting lately into y^e company of that worthy G^d den Heer Peter Stuyvesandt, I understood you were so

* Bishop Sprat's History was just published.

well acquainted together, & forthwith I gave notice thereof to y^e Secretary of y^e R. S. from whom, by this meanes, you are now herewithall to receive this by-going packet, & thereby, you see, the Company hath been mindefull of the maine scope still, & is advancing from time to time in their generous & noble undertakings, more indeed than could have been expected in regard of y^e late grand disasters, under which the Nation & Citty hath been so sadly struggling these three or four yeares. Now most of those difficulties & discouragements, being through Gods mercy & grace in a most hopefull condition, & either surmounted already, or in a fair way of being surmounted, it cannot but much cherish & encourage all those, wherever they are, who have any share & interest in laying & advancing these noble grounds, for Mankinds improoving the Treasures God hath communicated to them so abundantly throughout all the world, & that we may y^e more enjoy & prayse his goodnesse, serving Him & one another with all chearfullnesse & industry, & ever thereby more & more reconciling y^e estrangednesse of y^e mindes of mankinde amongst themselves, that they may be willing to listen to more & more & still better Truths & Union. We cannot doubt but you have made a good progresse since your being heer, to this end & purpose, & great are y^e expectations heer of them y^e know your abilities & publick-spirited disposition to see once a good return come in from you into the comon Treasure of y^e Society, & perhaps from divers others too in your parts, whom by yo^r example, & the worthinesse of the Designe, their own generous Genius may have encouraged & engaged in the like studies & endeavours, & readinesse of communication. However the History, now come to yo^r hands, & account of the proceedings hitherto, will doubtlesse revive & quicken you much to minde your Engagem^t & Interest, & by your meanes excite & animate many others also to consorte & cooperate for y^e advancem^t of so universall a Benefit as y^e Scope of this Societie holds forth, & their Endeavours promise to all y^e world. I finde a great inclination in Myn Heer Stuyvesandt to contribute likewise freely to this purpose, as well he may from his long experience in most of those Western parts; you will be pleased to encourage & engage him more & more, & order it so between you, that we may have frequent intelligence from you, & you shall not want returns. I write by him to Mr. Morlaen, to bring them acquainted, & to present M^r Morlian an opportunitie to renew his acquaintance with you. I shall adde no more now, S^r, but that I shall be ready & glad to doe you all the Service I can, when you shall be pleased to make use of me, praying Almighty God to blesse & prosper you abundantly, & resting, Most honoured S^r,

Your most humble Servant,

THEODORE HAAK.

WESTMINSTER at y^e Romer in King-Street this 29th of Octob. 1667.

(Addressed) For his much honoured & worthy ffrend
JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^r.
Govern^r of Conecticut in New England.

(Indorsed) M^r. Theodore Haack,
rec. July 1668.

HARTFORD, in New England, Aug. 18: 1668.*

HONORABLE S^a, — It was in Decemb: 1667, when I received yours of the 19th of Dec: 1665, frō Alberry neere Oxford. And Colonell Nicolls, by whose favour I had it not long after it came to his hands, wrote me y^t he had received it from Virginia the 26 of Novemb: last, inclosed in a letter to himselfe of the same date. This was the only letter I received frō your Hono^r, since that of w^{ch} I had the favour by him at his first arrivall. I wrote severall letters, but heare not whether they were received, and have now certaine intelligence of the losse of all those letters of 2 severall yeares, w^{ch} were sent in such ships as were most hopefull to passe safe in those troublous tymes: one was Capt: Gilham's ship, wherein Colonell Cartwright, one of his Ma^{ties} Comissioners, returned. That ship was taken, & all the letters were throwne into the sea, and I suppose Colonell Nicolls had his letters, besides the letters, & writings of consequence from his Ma^{ties} Hon^{ble} comissioners were all lost, of w^{ch} you may be informed frō the Colonell himselfe: an other yeare since, Capt: Scarlett, an acquaintance of mine, in the winter tyme, going for Boston in New England, was cast away, his ship lost, and all his letters as also his whole cargo and divers of his seamē, and he escaped wth his owne life wth much difficulty. Being now assured, by his owne letter, of Colonell Nicolls his resolution shortly to returne to London, the sorrowfull aspect, of the removal of so noble a freind, doth greatly seize upon my heart: and indeed the people not only of that colony, both English and Dutch, but of the neighbouring places also, are really sorrowfull at the report of his departure frō that place, being as sencible of their losse thereby, as they were of y^e good effects they saw frō his wisdom & great abilities w^{ch} have appeared in all his administrations. I shall not now repeat what was mētioned in former letters, except some little about mineralls, though I may be assured that all w^{ch} were sent came not to your hands. I have beene very inquisitive after all sorts of mineralls, w^{ch} this wilderness may probably affoord; but indeed the constant warrs, w^{ch} have continued amongst the Indians since I came last over, hath hindred all progresse in searching out such matters, for some of them w^{ch} have formerly brought any specimens of that kind were kild in the warr, and others, who pretend to know places of likely appearance, dare not goe up into y^e country wthout strong parties: those places w^{ch} have beene for present of most hopes for D^e† and v^e‡ are best knowne to the Hon^{ble} Colonell Nicolls, who, I beleieve, hath indeavoured much for the finding such places, and will tell you what hath unhappily fallen out to the hinderāce of the full discovery of somthing that possibly would have beene of better worth then hath beene before knowne in these p^{ts} of America, and will also lett you know the impossibility almost that full discoveries should be made, whiles these Indiā warrs continue; he hath laboured much (and I have not beene wanting therein) to settle peace amongst them, but all hitherto in vaine. Better

* This is one of the letters from the files of the Royal Society.

† Silver.

‡ Mercury.

tymes may promote better discoveries, for w^{ch} we must waite. Those shewes of mineralls, w^{ch} we have frō the Indians, doe only demonstrate that such are in reality in the country, but they usually bring but small prices, w^{ch} are found accidentally in their huntings, sticking in some rock or on the surface of the earth, on the side of some hill, or banke of a river; but they seldom speake of any great quantity where they find it, nor can they in likelihood meet wth a solid veine of good mettall, w^{ch} usually lyeth deepe in the earth, never opened by them, nor have they meanes to doe it, therfor cannot know what is in those bowells, except where an earthquake hath shaken downe the side of an hill, or made some rent among y^e Rocks. Something in that kind of good probability, I hope, hath bene further inquired into by the worthy Colonell since I heard frō him; and I expect some further discovery about copper when I cā meet an Indiā whō I expect to find yf he be not slaine, and what shall further be in that kind discovered I hope to acquaint your Hon^r, who am depely ingaged to be ever wth my cheife indeavours, & in great sincerity,

Your most humble servant,

J. WINTHROP.

Postscript, Aug: 26, 1668.

Concerning the Iron stone of these parts and the Iron works, I forbear to mention any thing againe now about those matters, having written largely formerly, as also concerning lead and great probabilities of lead mines, and something about copper and some considerable expences bestowed rashly upon trialls of a stone that holdeth (as is supposed) some small quantity of that mettall: as also what trialls have bene made by digging into the earth, and through some rocks, in hope of good mettalls, of all w^{ch} I may hope againe to recollect my thoughts about those perticulars, of w^{ch} I have formerly written, that I may againe give your hon^r a renewed collection of those matters, some other opportunity; and something I should mention concerning the tydes, but, living far up frō the sea side, I have wanted oportunityes to make fitt observations my selfe, and have not yet obtained, after much inquiry, such a satisfactory account of those very great tydes in the Bay of Fundo of Nova Scotia, most seamen that have bene there differing so much in their reports about it that I dare not write any thing of the pticulars of the quantity of the flud & ebb, and swiftnesse of the current of those tydes, till I have had better satisfaction about them, w^{ch} I doe indeavour upon all good oportunities, but it is certaine that the water floweth and ebbeth much in that sea, above all the other places of these parts, that I heare of. There is a place not far frō N. yorke, w^{ch} the dutch call *Hell gæt*, w^{ch} is a narrow passage betweene the Rocks of the llands by w^{ch} the tydes have their course, frō whence the Sound groweth wide on both sides, and the tyde passeth there in that strange mañer that it maketh it very dangerous for vessells to passe through exept neere high water, or low water; w^{ch} because I have not viewed it of late yeares, nor remember ynough to give a pfect account of the mañer of it, I shall desire your Hon^r to receive a more pfect descrip-

tion of it, then I can demōstrate, frō our noble friend Colonell Nicolls, frō whom you will have such a full relation of the strange course and effects of the tides of that place that will (I doubt not) be to the good satisfaction of your selfe, and the Royal Society, to whom I beseech your Hon^r my faithfull hūble service may be presented, who shall ever subscribe myselfe, Honorable S^r,

Your most Hāble Servant,

J. WINTHROP.

Aug. 26, 1668.

As I passed on a journey towards Newhaven on thursday last the 19 of this month, I am informed by credible psons, who were ey witnesses of the same, that the said thursday an houre before sun sett there was seene at Wethursfeld, a plantation upon the River of Coñecticut, there passed over an incredible multitude of flies: they say they were like those flies w^{ch} usually light upon the horses about their head & neck: they say they appeared to be in a continued flight about a mile broad & a mile an halfe in length, & flew frō the north directly towards the south downe the meadowes, as the course of that river tendeth. One who was coming to that place mett wth them a mile below, and the whole swarme, the last of it, was scarce passed over his head, when he was come to the towne: and its like their flight was swifter than his travaile. I shall make further inquiry about it.

(Addressed) For the Honorable S^r Robert Moray Knight & baronet at his lodgings at White Hall, d.d.

HARTFORD, in New England, Nov. 12, 1668.

S^a.—I have received your very acceptable letters w^{ch} had passed from London to Amsteldam, and thence to New-Yorke, in the hands of Heere Peter Stiivesant, together wth the History of the Royall Society, and many sheetes of these philosophical transactions (the excellent fruit of your indefatigable industry, the worlds benefitt, that publication of the) (*Dona mihi auro pretiosiora*): they were all, after so long a progresse, sent hither from Boston by the carefull direction of y^r worthy gentlemā, who had comitted them to a trusty friend going thither frō New Yorke. I am deeply ingaged to your selfe for so great a kinnesse: I had not received any letter nor intelligence frō you divers yeares, w^{ch} made me feare some great change: but have now the joyfull satisfaction of your welfare. I have written often, but I perceive y^r accidents of these evill tymes have disapointed, (*si bellū dixeris, omnia mala dixeris*). It hath beene brought back to us for great certainty, that when Capt. Gillam's ship was taken in the tyme of the warre (in w^{ch} ship Colonell Cartwright, one of his Ma^{ties} Comissioners, returned towards London, and in w^{ch} most of the letters frō this country were w^{ch} greatest confidence for safety sent) those letters by that ship were all lost. I doe not heare frō any one freind of one letter that tyme received. It is said the seamen of y^r ship w^{ch} tooke them did throw

overboard all letters & writings w^{ch} they found, that they might be sure none of them should discover what goods were in the ship, that so they might impropriate to themselves the more, & not be called to an account about such particulars as might have been knowne by letters, bills of loading or invoices. I have heard that the govern^r of New yorke and his Ma^{ties} other Honorable Comissioners lost all their letters & writings (some of them of great importance). This I have frō a confident report, but they may be spoken wth themselves about White Hall, I suppose, some of them, Colonell Nicolls the Govern^r being returned thither this last summer.* The like fate had all those the next yeare in Capt. Scarletts ship, w^{ch} was cast away on the English shore by tempestuous weather in the way frō this country to London; and he told me since that all the letters were also lost, together wth all the goods in the ship, and w^{ch} is most to be lamented divers of his men were drowned by that shipwreck. The capt: & some of his men escaped that dāger of their lives by the good hand of the Almighty: had former letters beene delivered, they would have informed of a former disapointment also of a large paquet w^{ch} was sent overland towards Boston, the place of the usuall resorte of shipping, by a foot-mā (who used often to travaile upon y^r account), but, it being in the begining of the winter, was forced back by a great snow (w^{ch} fell sooner then some other yeares): after he was gone part of the way, the snow began to be so deepe y^t he could not proceed, but hasted back: yet the storme was so violent, and the frost so sharpe also, that he escaped hardly wth his life, his feet being much frozen: the letters so wet & torne y^t could not be fitt for an other conveyance, if any had beene, but all passing was stopped till spring; that paquet was deferred to that late tyme of y^e yeare, upon some speciall reason w^{ch} would therwth have appeared, not needfull to be now mentioned.

I have beene the more large in shewing you the very pticulars of the certainty of the miscaryng of letters so many tymes, that you may know my great disapointments, w^{ch} I may imagine may be the cause that freinds have deferred their comānds for some tyme, yet hath now of late occasioned me that favour in your letter, to be putt in mind that I am a member of the Royall Society. It was impossible for me to forgett the happinesse of y^r station, when for that short time I sojourned in London they were pleased to permitt me to wait upon them at Gresham Colledge (unworthy I acknowledge of y^r Honour), nor can I possibly (though thus farre distant) forgett my duty to that Society. It is my constant sorrow that (*penitus toto orbe divisus*) my great remotenesse makes [me] so little capable of doing them that service to w^{ch} my desires & indeavours have beene and are greatly fixed & devoted. Had former letters & collections of such mean things as could be had in such a wilde place as this arrived, it might have appeared y^t I had beene gathering frō many parts of this wilder-

* Nicolls went home in 1668, and resumed his place in the Duke of York's household. He was killed, May 28, 1672, in the naval engagement at Solebay, and his remains lie under the chancel of the church of Ampthill, in Bedfordshire. — *Palfrey's New England*, vol. ii. p. 624, note.

nesse: and there had beene the relation of some observables fallen out in these parts, & of other matters w^{ch} were then thought of, as y^t might have beene considerable: there were some sheetes in that ship, w^{ch} was taken, I should not have beene willing they should have fallen into such hands, into w^{ch} they might have come, repenting often that I had lett goe such writing out of my hands till I heard the story of that policy of the seamen before mentioned, and it was good satisfaction to my mind to be certaine that the sea had those papers & letters, rather then that they should have beene so otherwise disposed of then I could have desired; and since those discouragmēts, I have thought it more expedient to reserve the mention of some hopefull considerations to an other tyme, of such oportunities as might helpe the Theory into some usefull practicall accomplishment. As for those collections, it is but as the tyme of transmitting them adiourned, for most (I hope) wilbe recruited, many I have already collected, and am adding more as occasions are presented, but it is my trouble to find so few in these colonies worth the notice of the Royall Society. I wish I could tell you some certainty of any good mines in this North America. I have made as carefull and diligent inquiry as I could, and might have travailed further hopefully therein, had not the continued warres amongst the Indians wholly hitherto disappointed all such discoveries, two of the cheifest nations of the natives being in so great a feud, that it hath ingaged all the inferiour Sachems & parties of these heathen on the one side or the other, frō the Easterne sea of New England & Canada through the whole continent almost as farre as Virginia, of w^{ch} I had written before more largely, & p^ticularly to an honorable gentlemā, a mēber of the Royall Society. There lieth this no small discouragement about inquiry after mines here: we may suppose y^t if Rich they lie usually deepe in y^e bowells of the earth, and although some * pregnant signes upon the supficies may give hopes and probabilities, & possibly scattering pieces may be casuall found of metallic substance, yet there may be great uncertainty to find a continuing veine. Great sūmes may be expended, & yet misse thereof, as hath beene in England & other parts, in knowne minerall grounds, w^{ch} have round about them good veines, w^{ch} are dayly wrought upon to much profit, as where they have the lead, &c. Some (I have heard) spende much & misse, others hitt upon a profitable discovery: it would not be likely to induce psons, especially our Planters, to adventure much upon such probabilities, w^{ch} they cānot looke into by their owne iudgment: there have beene some attempts, but profit not presently appearing, soone discouraged & given over: it may be God reserves such of his bounties to future generations. Plantations in their beginnings have worke ynough, & find difficulties sufficient to settle a comfortable way of subsistence, there beinge buildings, fencings, cleeringe and breakinge up of ground, lands to be attended, orchards to be

* This letter as far as this word is from the Archives of the Royal Society. The remainder, being missing from their copy, has been supplied from the rough original draft.

planted, highways & bridges & fortifications to be made, & all thinges to doe, as in the beginnunge of the world. Its not to be wondered if there have not yet beene *itineræ subterranea*. And all matters hitherto have been carried on by the planters wth their private estates without any such aids, as Virginia had to assist them in their beginnunge,—very large contributions, as I have heard. Might the twentieth part of such a stocke be employed heere about minerall discoveries, I should hope it would not be fruitlesse.

I find in your letter an inquiry about Salt Workes, w^{ch} had a former writinge come to your hand, might have beene in some measure satisfied. I had made preparations presently after I came over for experiments, but, havinge found another way to my better satisfaction, I thought it needlesse to spend tyme & charge about further trialls of any formerly mentioned or intended, considering that old maxim, *frustra fit per plura*, &c.;* & being well satisfied of the certainty by such small trialls as I could have oportunity to make, I intended & aplyed myselfe to preparations for a large worke, yet had writte some lines upon these small trialls w^{ch}, too suddenly perished with other papers, & since, upon further consideration, I think it not so suitable to mention more againe about it till by the experiment of a great worke, well compleated, &c., a true estimate of the profit by the effects may answer all doubts. I had prepared, moreover, for such a compleat triall, w^{ch}, if it could have been attempted, the Royall Society should have had an account of it, but it hath beene hitherto constantly retarded by some unavoidable *remoraes*. One is my necessary absence frō the sea side most part of the yeare, & every yeare since I came last from England, my usuall habitation beinge at Hartford, upon the river of Conecticut, up high into the inland country, somewhat remote frō y^e sea coasts, about 130 miles frō Boston. I am much endeavoringe a vacancy frō other occasions, that I may spend more tyme neere the sea coasts, to improve some former preparations, w^{ch}, if effected, may be practically demonstrative. I need not mention other concurring diversions besides one very grave & serious, w^{ch} is some extraordinary losses I have had: for, besides severall to the value of 2,000 pounds, I had a particular losse & great disappointment thereby in a Londō ship taken by De Ruiter at Nevis, when he was there wth his fleet, in w^{ch} ship goods to a considerable quantity were shipped upon my account for London, & all a booty to him, to my great detriment farr beyond the worth of the same, though too much to loose (*pacem te poscimus omnes*). My brother also, who had shipped that upon my account, & wth whom my future correspondence should have beene usefull, was ruined by the French & driven from his plantations, loosinge a great estate, both at Christophers, & in his goods & sugar-works at Antigua, & his Negroes there, having settled his chief plantations there; but who knowes the Issues of Divine Providence! Possibly I might have buried more in an uncertaine mine (w^{ch} I fancied more than salt), had

* The old Latin maxim is: "*Frusta fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora.*"

not such accidents prevented. The ordinary estates w^{ch} we have in plantations cannot readily be converted into such as may suit with correspondence wth Europe, or carying on such works as require the labour & helpe of such artificers & workmen, who expect pay of the comodities of England, or such as will presently procure them; but I hope I may notwthstanding proceed to the cōpleatinge of that I had intended, if tyme & oportunity may suit. I had also written formerly some new notions about findinge the longitude at sea, having had experience often of the danger & inconvenience of that defect in long sea voyages, w^{ch} had put me sometymes upon that study; but, that writinge beinge also perished, I am thinking it best to be silent about that matter at present, it being yet but in the Theory, especially as to an experiment by practicall observations in a long sea voiage, w^{thout} w^{ch} it were not fitt to affirme a certainty: — yet because I cānot thus conferr wth you every day, I may presume to lett you know that I am still seriously meditatinge of that & some other desiderata (of w^{ch} I may possibly give a better account hereafter), & may tell you of my hopes that a plaine practicable way may be found for the longitude as well as the latitude at sea. Our vessells from these ports have great disappointments; sometymes havinge no certainty of their longitude, fall to leeward of their port, w^{ch} because of the current is irrecoverable, & their voyage overthrowne. The findinge Barmudas is more difficult by the same defect of that knowledge. I have knowne some return from their voyage thither intended, who, after long tyme beatinge every way for it, could not find it.

I had written also some additions to what I left formerly with the Royal Society about y^e Indian Corne, as also about a new way of making Tarr, w^{ch} was directed to the honorable Mr. Boyle (besides about many other matters to him), as supposing there might be a good employment for Indians therein, together wth an experiment for making charcole by y^e same labour, & an addition about a new way for charcole of any & all sorts of wood, respecting chiefly the furtherance of Iron workes. There was besides these in another letter a new way of making Potashes directed to Mr. Breerton, who I heare lately is now Lord Breerton, as also concerninge a speciall kind of the Indian Corne Maies, w^{ch} may be planted very late in y^e sumēr, above a month after the ordinary sorte, & yet be ripe as soone as that, — w^{ch} may probably ripen well in England, if planted there, — this also directed to the right hon^{ble} the now Lord Brereton, & another to the same effect directed to the hon^{ble} Mr. Charles Howard, & some of the eares of that Corne intended to be sent to them pticularly, who I know would plant it if they had it, besides a good nūber more of these eares intended wth other collections before mentioned to y^e Royall Society. I had procured an eare or 2 of it from a remote northerne pte of the Country, & every year since had it planted to preserve the seed of it. I had also written pticularly to Dr. Goddard, Dr. Merret, & Dr. Whisler, Dr. Beniamin Worsley, & Dr. Keffler, concerning some vegetables of this Country, & one especially w^{ch} might be accounted a kind of Jalap, but that it causeth to vomit as well as purge. Some

dried Roots also intended for your triall of them. All these writings put a drift in the water, so far as I know any thing further about them, since they were delivered out of my hand! those above named experiments were there mentioned as *tentamina*, &, when opportunity of further trialls hath added more perfection to any or all, there may be a better account about them.

Yours, &c.,

J. W.

(Addressed) To Mr. OLDENBURG, Sec^y of Royal Society.

[No date.]

SIR, — I haue seen the letter w^{ch} lately came from y^r hands to S^r R. Moray by y^e favor of Col. Nichols, and perceiued the misfortune w^{ch} his and y^r letters haue met wth hitherto; w^{ch} I fear hath been also the lot of those I haue written to you severall times; among w^{ch} was one, sent you by one M^r Stuyvesand, a Dutch-man, wherein I put you in mind of severall things you were pleas'd to charge y^rself wth as a member of the R. Society, who hath a particular respect and kindness for you, and entertains the hopes still y^e you will not faile in performing y^e particulars, you receiued their commission for, in philosophicall matters. My letter, recommended to y^e s^d Stuyvesand for you, was accompanied wth an Exemplar of the History of y^e R. Society, and wth some of the Philosophicall Transactions, containing Queries about Mines and Tydes, and for composing a Naturall History of a Contry (the three great heads, we wish heartily, you would employ y^rself about, for the place where you are, and the neighbourhood thereof). Our good friend D^r John Beale in Somersetshire (a zealous member of y^e R. Society) being much concern'd for y^e saving of our English Timber, w^{ch} is much wasted by y^e great number of our Iron-Mills, is still very instant that they may be banish't into New England, where is both store of Iron and a superabundance of wood. It being objected that the New-Engl'd iron is brittle, he answers, 1. That art may possibly correct that britlenesse, if it be such; 2. That as it is, it may serue for many other necessary uses; 3. That there may be more sorts of Iron-stones than haue yet been tryed in that vast Continent from the North of N. Engl. to y^e South of Virginia, and as farr as the English possesse in Florida. And where the kindest Iron-stone is found, and where Fuell may best be allow'd, and where workmen may be had, there the store of Iron Mills and iron works should Indeed be encouraged.

Giue me leaue, I pray, Sir, to inquire what Chymists you haue in y^r parts; and whether they haue written any thing considerable on that argument? Item, What Mathematicall and Mechanicall men there are amongst you? Whether you haue any good Telescopes, to compare the Phenomena from that Coast wth the Accompts of Hevelius, Ricciolo, Cassini, etc. What advance of Harverd Coll. in y^r Cambridge? Whether you are furnisht wth the modern books of y^e most Ingenious and famous Philosophers and Mathematicians, as Descartes, Gassendus, Ricciolo, Hevelius, Cassini, Fabri, Ward, Wallis, Boyle, Pell, Hugenius, Willis, Hook, Merret, Wilkins, Evelyn, Vossius, etc.?

And if you are not, whether it were not proper to move such as are able and publick minded amongst you, together wth those amongst vs, that correspond and trade wth and wish well to New England and the rest of our American plantations, that they would be so generous as to lay out jointly such a summ of money (w^{ch} cannot amount to much) for the providing of the s^d colledge wth such kind of Books; by y^e use whereof the young students there would be led on to mind solid and usefull knowledge; w^{ch} would be much for the glory of y^e people, and in truth for the glory of Alm. God.

But farther, S^r, we should be glad to be inform'd by you, What are the staple-commodities of those Contries, y^e haue prov'd most constantly beneficiall in the tryalls they haue had hitherto? How Clothiers thrive there? How y^e Towns and Stocks of Cattle are increas'd? How y^e Tillage and Pasture in y^e severall Contries haue prov'd or been improv'd? What care of Gardens for y^e kitchen, and of orchards, either for wholesome edible fruit, or for good Cider? What medicall Plants and Exotics you are stor'd wth, and what curiosity you haue amongst you for them? What vines for Grapes or wine? What Hop-yards there, or other helps for Beer or Ale? What Animals are there, either Naturall or Exotick: And here 'tis particularly desired, to informe us, whether the Natives haue any Wolf-dogs, w^{ch} they know to be really descended of Wolues of both sides (as seems to be remark'd by S^r Ferd. Gorges in his acct of Long Island; where he saith, y^e they are obedient to their Masters, but doe much hurt to our English Cattle), or whether those Wolf-dogs are of a mingled race, y^e one side wolf, y^e other dog. In y^e records of Antiquity, we find that they us'd very great industry to blend the race of Dogs wth severall animals, as might be most for human advantage. Their Lynxes [?] are s^d to be y^e offspring of a Bitch and a Dog wolff. Certainly the best Irish Wolf-dog is a gallant Animal. And the Brittish Mastiff, though of no great size and very ugly, had y^e highest applause in y^e Roman theaters for invincible courage, of w^{ch} race we think there are very few left in England. — Tis not wthout reason, y^e we would engage you in this inquiry. For 'tis no slight point of Philosophy to know at certainty what Animals may be tam'd for human use, and what commixtures wth other Animals may be advanced. And besides it may interpret to vs, whether those w^{ch} we call Dogs, of such strange diversities, and yet bearing one denominaõ, be not a mixture wth wolues, foxes, Leopards, Cats, Lyons, Tygers, etc.? Or whether they take not much of their Nature, shape, fierceness, swiftness, sent, and other peculiar qualities for Hunting, Fowling, Fishing, and docibility from y^e peculiar soyle and climate where they are bred: As, whether the Liam-bound for senting, Grey-hound for swiftness, Somersetsh: mastiff for fierceness, hold the same vertue to a second or third generaõ in Jamaica, Barbados, Virginia, New England, etc.? I doe not know (w^{ch} yet may seem very extravagant) why Dogs of the best sent might not be taught to search for mines and other reserves of Nature of great value.

But to returne from my digression, we would farther know, in what order y^e Sea-towns prosper there? And w^{ch} of y^m thrive best? And

how it fares wth the Inland-towns? What are the particular hindrances; or where y^e best helps; or whether y^e number of Sea-towns be increas'd, and safer Havens discover'd, or any Harbors strengthen'd. We haue an imperfect mapp of Virginia, but none at all y^e I can find of New England. It would be well if y^r Printing presse were employ'd also for all y^e mapps you can get of New England, New-Netherland, Mary-Land, and whereuer y^e English are planted, whether on y^e Continent, as in Florida, Surinam, or in any of y^e Islands (especially such as are nearer and best known to you) from Bermudas to Newfoundland, as they come to be discover'd, strengthened, or planted more and more from time to time. We would faine heare what is y^e present condition, strength, or number of y^e English at Newfoundland; and what rules, power, and order to secure our Fishing there, and at the Banke. We want much better, briefer, and more substantiall Annals of y^e growth of New Engld.; and of all the removals the English haue made from that Colony, to plant in the neighboring islands, etc., than we had from S^t Ferd. Gorges and his Grandchild M^r Gorges. It would contribute much to y^e increase of y^e honor of y^e people to keep in their Archives y^e faithfull records of all their successes, stops, exigencies from their beginnings, and to doe the like kindness for their neighbors, as New Neth. or the Main or Georgeana; for y^e L^d Ployden's Plantaõn, Maryland, Virgin., and y^e many islands about y^e Continent, as hath been noted.

More-ouer, we want exceedingly a true account of y^e qualitys of y^r Timber, and the progresse of y^r building of Ships. Some say, y^r Oake is not so hearty as Old Englands oake, and hence y^r ships farr lesse lasting. Others say, you are destitute of good Ship-wrights, others of good Sea-men, it having been noted y^t y^r best ships were cast away, when y^e rest of our English ships, w^{ch} were in y^e same Company, came safe to harbour. Great is the outcry here for the late waste of timber, especially about y^e Forests of Dean, where tis said that above 20,000 acres of y^e best Timber of England hath been cut downe and mis-spent. A noyse loud enough to turn our faces to seek Timber else-where, even whilst we enjoy peace. Is it true, I pray, y^t they make a good gain in N. Engld by y^e sale of boards, waincot, planks, joyners work, coopera-work, carpenters work, ready fram'd? Sure you haue some saw mills and iron-mills; to w^{ch} if by an encouragemt from hence more might be added, that would be a hardy improvement and a fit employ^t for y^r Colony, and a kind of redemption to England.

We heare there is store of people in Maryland, its soyle very rich, my Lord Baltimer's son amongst y^m, and that 'tis very pleasant for habitaõn, but we hear not wth certainty what their Govern^t is; nor how they correspond wth other English, either towards Virginia or towards N. Engld. Nor can I hear how far y^e New Netherlanders doe comply wth New Engld or wth Mary-land? How happy would it be, if there were an Union of all our English Colonies for free communications wth mutuall assistances: Taking in the Bermudas and other isles, w^{ch} the English inhabite, they cannot be lesse than a

million of people. But I am told, to my grief, y^t for want of due care of them (w^{ch} would fix and settle y^m in convenient habitaōns) vast numbers of y^e English are become as wild as y^e Savages, and y^t they destroy all accommodaōns whereuer they come, and so remove from place to place as disorderly as y^e wild Tartars. If in time there should be discovered from the west side of y^t Continent a short and safe passage to y^e Southern Seas, then we shall not repent y^t we haue a numerous people there united, born and bred to agree wth y^e Air and Soyle, and too strong to be supplanted by their Ennemys. And if y^e English made it their busines to chuse their habitaōns about the heads of their rivers from New Engl. to Virginia, 'tis affirmed, they would haue a wholesomer Air, safer habitaōns, and y^e line of communicatōn much shorter. I think, Sir, you told me once y^t they had a foot passage from New Engl to Virginia through Maryland, and y^t it was not above 100 miles by y^t way. How easy then would it be to send forth 10 companies of Planters in 2 or 3 years from Virginia, Maryland, and N. Engl'd, to secure and maintain commerce through y^t passage, as at every 10 miles distance: And in 2 or 3 years more they may settle more plantaōns, as at 5 miles distance.

I forgot above to adde this inquiry, whether young beavers may be disciplin'd; and how farr the Savages doe excell the English, Dutch, and Suedes in diving for them, and fetching y^m out of their holes?

And now I would intreat you again not to forget y^e Annals of New Engl. both corrected, and continued in a much better, briefer, and more substantiall manner, than is done by M^r Gorges, or by his Grandfather S^r Ferd. Gorges. If M^r Gorges Description of N. Engl'd. were carefully reviewed, y^e impertinencies, w^{ch} take up at least half of it, omitted, and then y^e following years continued, and y^e account of the neighboring plantations and removals (as aforesd) perfected, such a History together wth y^e Maps could not faile of a good Mart and Sale, as well amongst vs as in all the Colonies.

I send you herewth a Printed paper, w^{ch} contains y^e predictions of M^r Bond for the variations of y^e Needle for several years to come. It will be worth observing how they will be verifed; and I doubt not but you will take notice, where you are, how the variation varies in New England; and excite y^e friends in the neighboring Plantations to observe likewise how it varies wth y^m. These printed papers contain likewise a set of Queries concerning Vegetables; I would intreat you to obserue y^eself and provoke y^e acquaintance to doe so too, what may serve for an answer to them, and, having done so, communicate it wth the other particulars, above recommended, for the use of y^e R. Society, to,

Sir,

Y^r faithful Servant,

HENRY OLDENBURG, *Soc. R. Secr.*

(Addressed) For his honord friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire,
at Boston, in New England.

(Indorsed) Rec'd May 6, 1669.

WHITEHALL, 17 Jul. 69.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,—Your letter writ in August last was delivered me by M^r Nicolls when he came hither. I would not have forbore so long to answer it, if I had been sooner advertised of an occasion to carry it to your hands. I have notice of this by him, & I willing embrace it, to thank you for your kind remembrance of me, & to let you know I do still retain that esteem & kindnesse for you that your worth & friendship exact of me. Could I make you a better return, it would joy me much. And I will be very ready to do so when it offers. I would study to finde out occasions to convey my letters to you more frequently, had I any thing to acquaint you with that were worth your trouble, or did you lay any task upon me: as it is, I do satisfy myself that you are well & retain good impressions of my friendship. I do not remember I had any letter from you but one besides this last, since I saw you, though you have, it seemes, been at the paines to write two more to me, but you have heard of the loss of some of your own letters, which I should hardly have euer come to know if you had not told me. The grief you express for M^r Nicolls his return shewes me the value you have for him, & that minds me of the thanks I owe you for your kindness to him, whereof I presume some part is upon my account: and I must tell you that I was not a little pleased to find him speak so very much to your advantage, and your testimony of his deportment there doth not a little encrease my esteem of him.

It had been too much trouble to you to have repeated what was in your former letter, but it would doubtless have been not onely satisfactory to me, but usefull to know every thing you wrote. The account I had from Col. Nicolls of the Mineralls he caused search amounts to no great matter. If so be these warres amongst the Indians were once at an end, I do presume you will prosecute the designe you have to enquire after Mineralls: and till then I cannot expect any such matter, but I do not doubt to hear from you when you meet with any thing of that nature. I do likewise presume you will not fail to make all such enquiries & observations concerning all curious naturall & artificiall things as you can. That of the Tides will be none of the least considerable. You might very well have writ what you hear about them in Nova Scotia. I can hardly think the Ebbes & floods can be greater there than on the Coast of France where the tide rises 14. fathom upright: and you cannot but know that in the Seuerne it flowes Ten Fathom. In a word, write what you hear, & enquire further. Wee have in Scotland in diuerse places such currants in narrow passages that are not to be sailed through but on high & low water except in high windes, else they are either swallowed up in whirlpooles or dasht against the Rockes inevitably. I did impart to friends here what you say of these & other things, who all were glad to hear of your welfare. I shall now add no further but my best wishes & a new assurance that I am & will ever be, My worthy friend, Your reall humble servant,

R. MORAY.

You say nothing to me of salt & other things I know you think of.

(Addressed) For JOHN WINTHROP, Esq. At Hartford in New England.

(Indorsed) S^r Robt Moray, rec. Mar: 10, 1670.

LONDON, March 26, 1670.

SIR, — Y^r Kinsman, Mr. Adam Winthrop, hath acquitted himself faithfully of y^e trust you had reposed in him, in delivering into my hands both y^r letter and y^e American Curiosities accompanying the same. W^{ch} done, I herewth assure you that I was very carefull in presenting all to y^e R. Society, y^r newew being present, and an Eye-and-Ear-witnesse of y^e kind reception. His Maj^{ty} himselfe, hearing of some of y^e rarer things, would see y^m, and accordingly the Extraordinary Fish, the dwarf-oaks, y^e gummy fragrant Barke, wth knobbs, y^e silken podds, y^e baggs wth litle shells in them, etc., were carried to Whitehall, where the King saw them wth no common satisfaction, expressing his desire in particular to have y^r Stellar fish engraven and printed.* We wish very much, Sir, y^t you could procure for us a particular description of y^e s^d Fish, viz. whether it be common there; what is observable in it when alive; what colour it then hath; what kind of motion in the water; what use it maketh of all that curious workmanship wth Nature hath adorn'd it wth? etc. But before I recommend to you new taskes, I should first obey the command I have receiued from our Society, and returne you their hearty thanks for y^r rich Philosophical present you have increased the stock of their repository wth, assuring you that they continue a very affectionat respect for you and y^r merits, and are ready to demonstrate the realnes thereof upon occasion. And wherein any of their members can be of use to your newew, recommended by you, they will, I am sure, neglect no opportunities of convincing him of their affection. And y^r this returne may not be altogether verbal, you are to receiue wth it some few books lately printed here by several Fellows of y^e Society, viz. : 1. Mr. Boyles Continuation of y^e Experimts concerning the Spring and weight of the Aire. 2. Dr. Holders Philosophy of Speech. 3. Dr. Thurston *de Respirationis usu primario*. 4. The Transactions of the last year.

I hope y^e New English in America will not be displeas'd wth what they find the Old English doe in Europe as to y^e matter of improving & promoting usefull knowledge by Observations and Experiments; and my mind presages me that wthin a litle time we shall hear that the ferment of advancing real philosophy, w^{ch} is very active here and in all our neighbouring Countrys, will take also in y^r parts, and there seize on all, that have ingenuity and industry, for the farther spreading of the honor of the English nation, and the larger diffusing of y^e manifold advantages and benefits y^t must proceed from thence.

I am persuaded, Sir, you will lay out y^r talent for y^t purpose, and instill the noblenesse and usefulness of this Institution and work, wth y^r best Logick and Oratory, into the minds of all y^r friends and acquaintances there, especially of those pregnant youths y^t haue begun to giue proof of their good capacities for things of that nature. I

* This star-fish was engraved; and Governor Winthrop's account of it, and of other curiosities, was printed in the Society's monthly publication for March, 1670, being the first number of the fifth volume of their Transactions.

doubt not but the savage Indians themselves, when they shall see the Christians addicted, as to piety and vertue, so to all sorts of ingenuities, pleasing Experiments, usefull Inventions and Practices, will thereby insensibly and y^e more cherefully subject themselves to you.

This I could not but represent to you upon so good an occasion as this is; to w^{ch} I shall add no more at present, than to recommend to you afresh the composure of a faithfull and ample Natural History of New England; as also to sollicite you, y^t you would not think it a trouble to recover again such particulars, as you intimate in y^r letters to be lost, w^{ch} were likewise intended for the R. Society; especially of Minerals. And I make it my particular request to you y^t you would be pleas'd to send ouer for me a smal vessel wth red Crams-berry's, cover'd wth water, w^{ch} is said to be the best way of preserving y^m. I am ready to acknowledge this kindnesse, wherein I can; and so wishing you and all y^m a continuance and increase of all happinesse, I remaine, Sir,

Y^r very afft friend and servant,

HENRY OLDEN[BURG].

Great Plenty of acorns all ouer England, Scotland, and ireland y^e last year 1669.

S^r R. Moray presents his particular respects to you, and tells me, y^t his Maj^{ty} would be well pleased, if you sent over such a quantity of y^r silkpods, as would make him a pillow. It may occasion his Maj^{ty} to think on you as often he lays his head on [such] a pillow.

(Addressed) For my honored ffriend JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire,
Gouvernour of Conecticut in New England.

Wth a paquet of Books. To be Left at M^r John Richards house in Boston.

H O

(Indorsed) M^r Heⁿ^r Oldenburg.

LONDON, May 9th. 1670.

SIR, — I have lately, viz. March 26, 70, written so large, that I shall doe little else by this opportunity of Dr. Pells son than to reffer you to y^r letter, and to the Books I sent you together with the same. Only I shall here mention, that, since y^t time, here is come abroad a new Hypothesis of the Fluxe and Reflux of the Sea, devised by one Mr. Hyrne, supposing y^t y^e Earth, besides y^e Diurnal and Annual motion, hath another, directly from North to South, for y^e space of 6 hours and some odd minuts, and then again from South to North for y^e same time; and y^t in this motion y^e Earth does not always move to the same points, but farther, when we have Spring-tides, y^e at other times; and y^t y^e motion of y^e Earth in each vibration from the Spring-tide to y^e neap-tide decreaseth, as that of a Pendulum will doe; and from thence again increases in y^e same proportion it decreased, till the Tydes be at y^e highest.

From this Hypothesis he pretends to solve all the phænomen[ena] of y^e diurnal and menstrual Tydes, adscribing the Annual to meer casualties. Hence he will give a reason, why y^e Spring tides are all the world ouer at y^e same time, on the same side of the Æquator; and why a place hath the greater tydes, y^e farther it is distant from the Æquator, etc.

It would be worth knowing, whether, according to this supposition, it be high water on y^e American shore all ouer, at y^e same time it is high water all over the European Shore. He affirms particularly, y^t in the Bay of Mexico there is but a very litle or no rise and fall of y^e water, and pretends to solve this phænomenon also by his Theory.

Sir, you will doe us and Philosophy a good piece of service to acquaint us wth what particulars you know of the matter of fact in America, and of what you can learne from observing and credible navigators all ouer that part of the world. This gentleman is very confident of the truth of this Hypothesis, taking the liberty to say in writing, y^t he hath been for many years as fully satisfied in his judgement concerning the Cause of this Phænomenon, as of any in Nature.

This must be examined by good Observations, and a general and faithfull History of y^e Tydes: to w^{ch} that you would contribute your and y^e friends symbols, is the errant of this letter from, Sir,

Y^r very afft and faithfull servant,

H. OLDENBURG.

The Books sent March 26, were; 1. Mr. Boyles Continuation of Expts concerning y^e Spring and Weight of the Air. 2. Dr. Holders Philosophy of Speech. 3. Dr. Thurstons Diatriba de respirationis usu primario. [4.] All the Transactions of A. 1669.

(Addressed) To his honored Friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire,
Gouernour of Conecticut in New England.

To be inquired for at Boston. By a friend.

(Indorsed) M^r Hen: Oldenburge.

WHITEHALL, 22 Jun. '70.

MY VERY WORTHY FRIEND, — The unfrequency of our Correspondence must not in the least detract from our kindness. I usually answer your letters with the first conueniency after I receine them. I doubt not of your continuing your industrious enquiries, though of a long while wee haue had no account of them from you. The bearer will acquaint you with occurences here & so giues me ground of excuse for the breuity of my letter, but you do not measure my friendship by the number of my lines. I will be glad of any oppertunity to make it appear by the highest kinde of demonstration you can put me to. And to shew you I have a firm confidence of yours, I do most earnestly recommend to your fauor the bearer Mr. John Pell, whose worthy father D^r Pell you know we value highly. The Gentleman is a Server in ordinary to the King; & I do firmly expect & cert'ainly promise my self you will use him as you might expect I would a

friend of yours vpon your serious recommendation, and indeed I will account your kindness to him as a singular testimony of your friendship to,

My worthy friend, your reall servant,

R. MORAY.

(Indorsed) S^r Robert Moray to Gov^r W. 1670.

HONOURED S^a,— You might justly blame my backwardnesse of answering your kinde & large letter to me last year, but y^a I trust your goodnesse will be ready still to make y^e best construction of what admits anie. I have my self undergone a sicknesse which was like to have proof'd y^e last, & since the recovery found my self on a sudden plunged in & distracted with a most troublesome tedious controversie & Lawsute, whiles my dear wife fell ill, & after much weaknesse, growing upon her byond recoverie, departed this life, which accid^t was followed with a sad traine of many other troubles to me; besides y^e losse of many very speciall ffrends in severall parts, & especially of that dear & worthy ffrend of ours M^r Morlaen, whom I had so great a Desire to have seen once more. He & his wife soon deceased one after another, & I am informed that all his goods & those many excell^t curiosities & rarities he was master of were suddenly sold, distracted, scattered. After all this, when I recollect what is past, I cannot but admire & adore Gods mercifull & wonderfull dispensation, deliverance, & sustentation, whereby he hath & doth uphold me in all my streights, that I have cause to complain of nothing but my own unthankfullnesse to him for all his goodnesse. S^r, from all this I doubt not but you will easily inferre, that it was rather an increase of trouble to me than otherwise that I could not enjoy y^e benefit of so acceptable an entercourse as your singular Love & kindnesse invited & engaged me to; & that I was right glad of this good opportunity by y^e meanes of Dr. Pell (so worthy & dear a ffrend) his own & onely son, to expectorate my case into yo^r Bosome, & to deliver into your own hands this Testimonie of my constant & due Respects to your person & y^e high & wortheie esteem of yo^r vertues & Merits, sorrie onely that for y^e present I have not other & better matter to entertain you withall; & to requite the paines you took & y^e content you gave me by y^e rehearsall of so many signall acts of the Divine Providence, vulgarly call'd casualties. Truly, S^r, I esteemed them so much y^e more because I am sure you doe not report such matters by common hear-say; & indeed, S^r, if we would but be attentive observers of our own personall concerns of this kinde, in thankfull acknowledgem^t to God & usefull Providence for our selves, what Treasures would it afforde us, & what incitements, encouragem^t, & engagem^t, to fear, love, & serve our great & good God, & to be on all occasions helpfull, comfortable, & beneficiall to ourselves & others, causing us often to rememb^r, sing, & practise the 107^a Psalm. I could instance passages of my own Experience & Experim^t of this nature, as of y^e greatest part of my Life, so especially of y^e latter troublesom yeares, but y^a y^e circumstances

are too many & diffuse for Letters. However, we do well to observe all occurrences, & to improve all experiments without & within us to the End of our Creation, Redemption, & Preservation. I hope, S^r, if God vouchsafes me longer Life and health I shall be at better leasure hereafter to entertain your epistolar visits, & glad of any opportunity to shew, that, how undeserving soever of so meritorious & thrice worthy a friendship as yours, none is more willing and desirous to endeavour all acknowledgem^t thereof than,

Most honoured S^r, Your very humble & much obliged Servant,

THEODORE HAAK.

LONDON, this 22 of June, 1670.

P. S. — Just now I receive a Book from Holland, in Dutch (called *Historia Generalis Insectorum*, ofte *Allgemeene Verhandelung van de Bloedeloose Dierkens*) printed at Utrecht, & set forth by one Jo. Swämerdam, Medic. Doct. in 4^{to} ab^t 32 sheets with xiii cutts annexed, & yet but the First part. They tell me, y^e author is a rare man, & asserts nothing but what he hath found himself by his own mature & curious observations: therefore I believe I may recomēd it to your procurem^t as a good book for to be also improved in yo^r parts.

(Addressed) For JOHN WINTHROP, Esq^r, Governor of y^e Province
of Conecticut in New England, for His Ma^{ty} of
Great Brittain residing at _____.

P^r Frend whom God Speed.

(Indorsed) Mr. Theodore Haake.

LONDON, March 18, 1671.

SIR, — Though I received yrs, dated at Hartford Nov. 28, 1671, (w^{ch} I did not till March 1, 1671) yet I have not yet y^e Indian dialogue and the sheet call'd y^e Indian A, B, C; nor doth the Master, y^t brought y^e letter, remember y^t any such books were left wth him at Boston; though he adds, he will look for y^m wth care. I cannot but thank you for the particulars contained in y^r letter; for w^{ch} I have nothing to return at present but the Transactions of y^e last year.

I received yesterday news from Dantzick, written by Mons^r Hevelius, importing y^t he had seen since March 6 (n. st.) a new Comete; w^{ch} had been observed there by others March 2, first of all. He intimates y^t he saw it from y^e 6th to y^e 9th of March (st. n.) (on w^{ch} day his letter was written) both mornings and evenings; and on y^e 9th he found it *in brachio dextro Andromedæ*. If this phaenomenon haue appear'd to you also (w^{ch} it hath not yet done to us, y^t I can learn,) I hope you will impart to us y^r observations by y^e next. There is also seen a new starr *sub capite Cygni*, w^{ch} was first observ'd y^e last year, and is now observ'd again; w^{ch} you will doe well to look after in y^r parts. The Discourse of Mr. Boyle concerning the Origine and Vertue of Gems is not yet printed off: when it is, you shall not faile, God permitting, of having a Copy of it sent you by y^e first ship y^t shall goe for y^r parts after its publication.

Y^r noble friends here, My L^d Brereton, Mr. Boyle, Sir Robert Moray, etc. returne their affectionat services to you, and continue wth me their earnest request, that you would not delay to put in writing what you know of y^r constitution and productions, etc., of New England. Though it cannot be perfect, yet it will be very welcome, as much as can be said of it by you. What remains, and what shall be further discover'd hereafter, will be the work of those y^t shall survive us. You will pardon this importunity to him, y^t by his office must employ himself in constant solicitations, and y^t is somewhat impatient of all delays in matters of present utility; and who thinks also he may presume to use a great degree of freedom wth a person, whom he knows to be both curious and able, and of a nature prone to pardon the tediousness of, Sir,

Y^r faithful friend and serv^t

OLDENBURG.

(Addressed) To his honored friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire,
Gouverneur of Conectecut in New England.

(Indorsed) M^r Oldenburge,
rec: about Jun: 1672.

WHITEHALL, 8 Ap. -71.

MY VERY WORTHY FRIEND,— Your friendship & kindness are amongst the things I value most. The care you take to shew them upon occasion deserves better returns than I can make. I should be very glad you would help me to devise how to be quittes with you. Your present of the pods with the silk lyke cotton I shew'd the King, & haue caused pick the seeds of them. He is much pleased with every thing that either curiosity or usefullnesse commends. I haue giuen of the seeds to be sowed here. Could the down of them be spun or wrought into hats, &c., it were considerable, but it is too tender for any such use: & they tell me, it will not long keep its Springiness if it be kept vnder pressure. I know you are still busy about enquiries & improvements. Prince Rupert hath found out an admirable way to turn cast Iron or any other Iron into Steel so as to be as usefull as the best in the world and for rollers to draw plates withall better than any other. It will make excellent Gunnes great & small, & in a word render, as is probably expected, refining Iron useless, as also steeling of all Tooles. For the tooles being wrought up all but the polishing, (where polishing is needfull) of good Iron, He can turn the whole tool whateuer it be into perfect Steel cheeper than the Steel comes to in the ordinary way: & then bring it to what temper is desired without spoiling it in the least. This is all the trouble I shall now give you. But I should be glad you would lay some task on me that might serve for a conuincing testimony that I am really,

My very worthy friend,

Your reall servant,

R. MORAY.

Your noble kindness towards Mr. Pell did very much oblige many of his friends, for w^h I have a large share of thanks to give you, which I do heartily return you.

(Addressed) For JOHN WINTHROP, Esq.,
Gournor of Connecticut, New England.

(Indorsed) S^r Robert Moray.

LONDON, April 11, 1671.

SIR, — Y^r letter of Octob. 11, 1670, to me, and y^r present to the R. Society, together with that to S^r R. Moray, I haue well receiued from the hands of Mr. Fairwather, who deserveth to be commended for his care of the particulars you had entrusted him wth. I soon deliver'd to y^e s^d Society their parcell, viz. The Shell-fish (call'd Horse-foot,) y^e Humming bird-nest wth y^e two Eggs in it, being yet whole; y^e feather'd Fly; and y^e shells, bullets, and clays taken out of y^e overturn'd Hill. For all w^h, that Noble Company returns you their hearty thanks, and very much desires the continuance of such curious communications, for the enlargement of their repository, and consequently of y^e intended History of Nature. These curiosities being view'd at one of our publick meetings, some of y^e Company conceiued, y^t what you call y^e sharp taile of y^e Horse-foot is rather the fore part and nose of y^e fish; y^e same persons having also found y^t two of the knobbs on the shell, now dry'd vp, had been the places of the Eyes, and did still by y^e manner of their ductus's expresse y^t they had looked towards y^e s^d nose, when the animal was aliue. The Humbird-nest was also shew'd to his Maj^{ty}, who was as much pl[ea]s'd wth it as y^e Society. And I doubt not but S^r Rob. Moray will tell you the same, and w^hall acknowledge y^e receipt of those silke pods y^t were directed to him.

Concerning y^e overturned Hill, it is wished that a more certain and punctual relation might be procured of all the circumstances of y^t accident.* It seems strange y^t no Earth-quake was perceiued, and yet that y^e Hill is said to haue been carried ouer the tops of y^e Trees into y^e River, as also y^t people living near it should not certainly know the day, when this happened. I doubt not, Sir, but y^r owne curiosity will haue carried you, since you wrote this, to view y^e place, and to examine all the particulars remarkable in this matter. I hope My Lord Brereton, to whom you communicated the story at length, will also write to you by this returne, and joyne wth me in the request of giuing us a fuller account of this wonder.

I cannot yet desist from recommending to you the composure of a good History of New England, from the beginning of y^e English arrival there, to this very time; containing y^e Geography, Natural Productions, and Civill Administration thereof, together wth the notable

* A letter of Governor Winthrop's to Lord Brereton, containing the account of this "overturned Hill," was read at the meeting of the Society, March 23, 1671, and is printed in Birch's History, vol. ii. p. 473.

progresse of y^t Plantation, and the remarkable occurrences in the same. An vndertaking worthy of Mr. Winthrop, and a member of y^e Royal Society!

I herewith send you a few philosophical Books, lately printed here; viz. :—

1. M^r Boyle's New Tracts about y^e wonderful rarefaction and Condensation of the Air, etc.
2. Mons^r Charas's New Experiments vpon Vipers.
3. The Transactions of 1670.

To these I adde a small discourse, originally written in French against y^t great Sorbonist, Mons^r Arnaud, touching y^e Perpetuity of y^e Romish Faith about the Eucharist. And so wishing you much health and happinesse, I remain, Sir,

Y^r faithful servant,

HENRY OLDENBURG.

S^r, when you send any thing more for the R. Society, or for me, I pray, add my dwelling place (in y^e *Palmer*) to the superscription. I must not forget to giue you very many thanks for y^e Cranberries: they tasted of y^e Cask, or else they would haue been very good.

P. S. — I just now receiued S^r R. Moray's letter, as you find it here vnsealed. My L^d Brereton hath not yet sent his, and I dare stay no longer from doing vp this packet, the master of y^e Ship hauing appointed this morning for the delevering of it.

(Addressed) To his honor friend JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire,
Governor of Conecticut in New England.

(Indorsed) M^r H: Oldenburge,
Secretary of y^e Royall Society.

It was voted to omit the stated meetings for the months of July and August, authority being reserved, however, to the President and Secretary to call a special meeting at any time during these months, if they deemed one desirable.

SEPTEMBER MEETING, 1878.

The stated meetings were resumed, after a vacation of three months, on Thursday, the 12th instant, at the rooms of the Society in Boston, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the previous meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the donations to the Library since the meeting in June. He called attention to a number of books relating to the Rebellion, the gifts of Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, and to a valuable collection of letters and papers relating to the discovery and conquest of America, entitled "*Cartas de Indias*," published under the auspices of the Spanish government, and the gift of the "*Ministro de Fomento*."* The thanks of the Society were ordered for these donations.

The President then said:—

In meeting again, this morning, Gentlemen, after our summer vacation, we have fresh cause for gratitude to God that amid all the casualties of the past months, and while an appalling pestilence is raging among our Southern brethren, our own little Resident Roll remains undiminished. One vacancy only, created by the sincerely regretted resignation of Professor Parsons before our last adjournment, is still to be filled, for which a nomination was made in June. Our Hundred will then again be complete.

Meantime, we have to regret the loss from our Corresponding Roll of Mr. Evert A. Duyckinck, of New York, who died in that city on the 14th of August last, in the sixty-second year of his age. Mr. Duyckinck was a gentleman of singular amiability and excellence, and greatly esteemed by all who had the privilege of his acquaintance. He had been a large contributor to Historical Literature. He published a volume of "*Poems relating to the American Revolution*" in 1865; a "*History of the War for the Union*," in three volumes, in 1861-65; a

* The administration of government in Spain is intrusted to eight departments or ministries, — State, Justice, War, Finance, Marine, Interior, Colonies, and Fomento. This last includes public works, agriculture, industry, commerce, and public instruction. See Maurice Block's *Dict. général de la Politique*, article *Espagne*. — Eds.

"National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans," in two volumes, in 1869; and a "History of the World, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time," in 1870. A charming little volume, too, of "The Wit and Wisdom of Sydney Smith," published by him, with a Memoir, in 1856, will not be forgotten by any one who has read it. But his most substantial and important work was "The Cyclopædia of American Literature," published originally in 1856, and to which he added a valuable Supplement in 1866. This is a work of permanent interest and value, and will take its place, with Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature, and Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, among the standard books of reference in all our public and private libraries.

Before turning to other topics, I am unwilling to omit the opportunity of mentioning another loss to Historical Literature, which has occurred within a few weeks past. I had made a memorandum, on my notes for our present meeting, to ask the concurrence of the Council of our Society in proposing the name of Henry Armitt Brown, of Philadelphia, as one of our Corresponding Members, and I have no reason to doubt that he would have been nominated to-day. He will be remembered by many of us, as the eloquent young Philadelphian, who came on as a delegate to our Centennial Tea-Party Celebration, in December, 1873, and made an admirable Address at Faneuil Hall on that occasion. In the following year, he delivered a really brilliant Historical Discourse in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the meeting of the old Congress of 1774, which deservedly attracted great attention. In December last, he delivered another Historical Oration, of hardly inferior interest, at Burlington, New Jersey, in commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the settlement of that place by the Quakers. More recently still, he had been engaged to deliver the Orations on the Centennial Anniversaries of Valley Forge, on the 19th of June last, and of the Battle of Monmouth, on the 28th of the same month. As the result of fulfilling the first of these engagements and preparing for the second, he was struck down with a fever, from which he did not recover. He died on the 24th of August last, in the thirty-third year of his age.

Mr. Brown has always kindly sent me every thing which he printed, and I have never failed to read whatever he sent; and I know of no young man, or old man, of his period, who has exhibited greater power or skill in working up the historical materials which he labored with so much zeal and enthu-

siasm in collecting. He was an orator of no second class, and his sketches and illustrations of the scenes and events which he depicted were most felicitous and impressive. Had his life and health been prolonged, he could hardly have failed to rise to great distinction; and his death, at so early an age, and after such signal evidences of his taste and talent for historical research and description, entitle him to be remembered in our records, though it be too late to inscribe his name on our rolls. I am glad to observe a statement in the papers, that his Anniversary Addresses are to be made up into a Memorial Volume.

I proceed now to communicate two or three papers, which have come to me from various sources.

Our Corresponding Member, Mr. W. Noël Sainsbury, under date of 3d July last, writes as follows: "I have the pleasure to enclose herewith the transcript of an Entry in one of our Printed Calendars (Home Office Papers, 1760-1765), published *this day*, which I think will interest you. I do not know offhand whether this account has been printed before, but I think not." I leave it to our committee to decide whether it shall be printed in our Proceedings.*

I have here, also, a letter from the Rev. Dr. Charles Rogers, Secretary of the Royal Historical Society of England, announcing the presentation to our Library of all the publications of that Society, and explaining how it has happened that we have not received them before. These volumes are now on our table, and you will authorize me, I am sure, to return our grateful acknowledgments to Dr. Rogers and the Society.

I turn lastly to a letter of Governor Hutchinson's, written in London, 25th of May, 1775, which affords a striking illustration of the confidence he still entertained that the American Revolution would prove a failure, and that our Boston patriots would be overawed and overpowered by the measures of the British Ministry. His hope that "the senseless Confederacy will be at an end," and his intimation of "a total and perpetual exclusion of all Americans from the Fishing Banks," are amusing, if not edifying, at this day. I chanced to observe the original of this letter in the marvellous autograph collection of Mr. Lewis J. Cist, of Cincinnati, when I visited that city in May last; and, at my request, Mr. Cist

* The volume of the Calendar containing this entry reached the libraries of this country in July. The abstract, which refers to events in Rhode Island connected with the Stamp Act, is printed there on pp. 809-811, and it is not thought advisable to reprint it here. — Eds.

has sent me a copy of it. It has no address, but it was evidently written to some one on this side of the Atlantic. It was dated after he must have heard of the events at Lexington and Concord, and it may have reached Boston about the time of the Battle of Bunker Hill. It is written in a tone of great confidence, but in entire consistency with that moderation and dignity of spirit and temper by which Governor Hutchinson's conduct and correspondence were characterized even under the greatest provocations.

ST. JAMES'S STREET, 25 May, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I have omitted thanking you for your letter of the 18th February, and for the pamphlet enclosed. I am glad to see so many pens drawn in defence of Government. It is much better than drawing swords. I have always had secret hopes that the latter would not be necessary. Before this reaches you, I fancy you will be able to determine whether my hopes were well founded.

The act for restraining your trade ought to convince everybody that they have been wickedly and cruelly deceived by assurances that the people of England would be so enraged by the American combinations as to bring about a change in administration, in order to a compliance with American demands. I firmly believe that such compliance would have caused a change in administration; and I am assured by the best judges that the body of the people of the kingdom were never more united in any thing than in the present measures with respect to America; and if Franklin, who is undoubtedly employed by two or three of the opposition here, should still prevail upon you to adhere to the combinations in expectation of Government's giving way, he will increase your distress, but it will have no tendency to cause any change of measures here. There is no more certain way of judging of the general temper of the people than by the part which the knights of shires, who are independent of the minister, take in Parliament. They are in general more determined than the dependants upon administration; and I think it was one of them who declared he was ready to pay thirteen shillings in the pound, if Government could not be supported without it. I hope, therefore, this senseless confederacy will be at an end before the act takes place. If it should hold until another session of Parliament, the members will be so incensed against you that I think the first act will be a total and perpetual exclusion of all Americans from the fishing banks. I shall not, however, be surprised to hear that there has been a strong party who had nothing to lose pressing to a perseverance; but I trust the country has friends enough to overpower it. Parliament is to rise to-morrow.

I am your faithful, humble servant,

THO: HUTCHINSON.

I fancy what I write of the general sense of the kingdom will be confirmed by the letters of the New England men now in London, for they have expressed to me their great surprise to find it so different from what they conceived in America.

The Hon. John Lowell, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member.

The following vote, recommended by the Council, was adopted:—

Voted, To commit the disposition of the specimens of natural history remaining in the Society's Cabinet to a committee, with full powers. The Cabinet-keeper and Colonel Theodore Lyman were named as this committee.

Mr. DEANE, from the committee to consider the application of Messrs. Houghton, Osgood, & Co., to print Dr. Holmes's Memoir of Mr. John L. Motley, in a separate volume, reported that the matter would be arranged satisfactorily to Dr. Holmes and to the Society.

The President presented, for the Library, a copy of the separately printed preface by Mr. Sainsbury to the latest volume of the Calendar of State Papers. This volume relates to the East Indies, China, and Japan. He also read a note from Mr. Alexander T. Laughton, Secretary of the Scots Charitable Society of Boston, presenting a copy of their newly published Constitution and By-Laws, with a List of Officers and Members, and Extracts from the Records from the year 1657; this being the oldest incorporated charitable society in Massachusetts.

Mr. DEANE laid before the Society an old manuscript from its archives, on the cover of which was written, in an ancient hand, "The Govern^t Settled wth a Presedent and Counsell"; and beneath this, in the hand of the Society's late Assistant Librarian, Dr. Appleton, the following,—
"Journal of the President and Council of New Hampshire."
He submitted the following communication respecting it:—

The jurisdiction of Massachusetts was extended over the New Hampshire settlements in 1643, in which year, in September, Exeter was admitted to the terms of the union, to which Portsmouth and Dover had subscribed on the 14th of June in the preceding year. Hampton was claimed from the first to belong to the territory and jurisdiction of Massachusetts.* This jurisdiction over the New Hampshire towns continued till 1679–80. Covering this period there are no records, except what are connected with, and contained in, the Records of the Massachusetts Colony.

When it had been decided in England that neither Massa-

* See Mass. Coll. Rec., vol. i. p. 324, vol. ii. p. 43; Provincial Papers of New Hampshire, vol. i. p. 146; Farmer's Belknap, pp. 81, 82.

chusetts nor Robert Mason had a right to rule New Hampshire, it became necessary to provide some other government for the four towns which still constituted the whole inhabited part of that territory. The King, in Council, accordingly instituted such an authority. New Hampshire was created a Royal Province. John Cutts (or Cutt) of Portsmouth, a respected merchant, now far advanced in life, was made President of it, with power to appoint a Deputy. Six persons were designated to compose his Council, with three others chosen by them. The Governor and Council were to be a judicial court, subject to an appeal to the King in Council, in cases involving a value of more than fifty pounds. They were authorized to appoint military officers, and, with the concurrence of an assembly, to assess taxes. The assembly, to consist of Deputies of the towns, was to constitute a part of the government so long as the King should not see fit to order otherwise. Enactments were to be immediately transmitted to the Privy Council, and were to remain in force until disallowed by that authority. Liberty of conscience was to be maintained. It was ordered that a seal should be transmitted to the Province, with a portrait of the King and the royal arms, to be set up at the seat of government.*

The commission was brought to Portsmouth on the first of January, 1679-80, by Edward Randolph, than whom, says Belknap, there could not be a more unwelcome messenger; † and its contents were made known to the persons named in it as magistrates. They were, besides the President, Richard Martyn, William Vaughan and Thomas Daniel, of Portsmouth; John Gilman, of Exeter; Christopher Hussey, of Hampton; and Richard Waldron, of Dover. "All of them were well affected to Massachusetts, and no one was ambitious of the position to which he was raised. They accepted the trust simply from a conviction that, if declined by them, it would fall into hands that would deal less justly with the rights and interests of their neighbors. They took the oaths of office, and elected for their associates Elias Stileman of Portsmouth, Samuel Dalton of Hampton, and Job Clements of Dover. They appointed Richard Martyn to be Treasurer, Elias Stileman to be Secretary, and John Roberts to be Mar-

* See Farmer's Belknap, pp. 88, 89; Palfrey's Hist. of New England, vol. iii. pp. 402, 403, whose excellent summary of Belknap, and of the Commission to Cutts, I here follow, in his own language.

† Farmer's Belknap, pp. 90, 91. The Commission is in Provincial Papers of New Hampshire, vol. i. pp. 373-382. It passed the seals on the 18th of September, 1679.

shal; and the President designated Richard Waldron as his Deputy. They issued writs convening an Assembly, to consist of two deputies from Exeter, and three from each of the other towns, and appointed a Fast-Day to pray for the continuance of their precious and pleasant things.*

Of the new government thus instituted, the paper which I now lay before the Society is the earliest record,—that is to say, it is the record of the Governor and Council, from January 1, 1679–80, to December 16, 1680, a period of one year,—and it has never been printed.

The manuscript consists of twenty-three folio pages, closely written, and is in the well-known hand of Elias Stileman, the secretary of the Province and clerk of the Council; that is, from the establishment of the new government till he was superseded by Richard Chamberlain,—a period of one year. It is in excellent preservation. There is one blank leaf at the beginning, and three at the end; and one leaf, probably a blank one, has apparently been torn out immediately following the last leaf of manuscript. The whole is enclosed in a paper cover, made from part of an ancient Dutch map, the face turned inward. On the outside of the cover is written, probably in the Secretary's hand, "The Govern^t Settled w^t a Presedent and Counsell," followed by the modern inscription already referred to. The sheets and cover are firmly stitched together.

It might naturally be inferred that this manuscript belonged to the archives of the Provincial Government of New Hampshire, if such a deficiency exists in their public records.† The following extract from a letter of Richard Chamberlain, the successor of Mr. Stileman in the office of secretary and clerk, may throw some light upon this point. It is written from New Hampshire to the Lords of the Council of Charles II., under the date of May 16, 1681:—

* Palfrey's *New England*, vol. iii. pp. 403, 404, and the authorities cited by him. For brief notices of President Cutts and the members of his Council, see *N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. viii. pp. 305–352.

† From a note in Farmer's *Belknap*, p. 469, published in 1831, and from the contents and notes of the eighth volume of "New Hampshire Historical Collections" and the first volume of "Provincial Papers," both edited by the late Dr. Bouton, I should infer that the original manuscript records (like such as now form the subject of this communication) of the Provincial Government of New Hampshire, from its institution in 1679–80 to the administration of Barefoot inclusive, were not now known to be in existence. What are published in the two books last named are probably papers from "the files" which never formed any part of the Records, and such fragmentary papers as were originally copied from the Records, and now lie scattered in several depositories in the State. Of course there were no records kept in New Hampshire under the general governments of Dudley and Andros.

In obedience to your Lordships' commands, by your letter of the first of October last, requiring me to give your Lordships an account of all matters transacted in the office of Secretary (and clerk of the Council) of this Province of New Hampshire, I humbly present to your Lordships this following narrative:—

Upon the twenty-fourth of December [1680] I arrived at Portsmouth, at the house of John Cutt, Esq., then President, since lately deceased, unto whom I delivered your Lordships' letter of September 30, 1680; and showed him his Majesty's Commission, whereby I was appointed Secretary for the Province and Clerk of the Council.

Upon the 28th December the Council met, where the said Commission and your Lordships' letter were publicly read. It was debated about three days whether they should admit me or not; but at length, upon the 30th of the said month, I was admitted. According to the duty of my place and office, I did desire the books and papers of the Council's proceedings to be delivered to me, which were in the hands of Mr. Stileman, one of the Council. For the Council book, it was denied me, upon pretence that there was not any. Then desiring one to be made, I was told the country was poor, &c.; but afterwards, at their meeting in March, I had a waste-book of the Council's Acts and Orders delivered me, to transcribe and keep; the fairer book, then brought, being to remain in the hands still of Mr. Stileman. For the records and papers, recorded as "on file," he retains them too, as an officer called Recorder; and is besides Clerk of the Writs, besides Captain of the Fort, as appears in the general account to your Lordships. For, to make my commission insignificant, they have appointed three among themselves to be parcel Secretaries or Registers of the Province, &c.*

It appears by this narrative of Chamberlain that the rough minutes (or "waste-book") of Stileman were delivered to him to "transcribe and keep"; while the "fairer book" exhibited to him was still to remain in the hands of Mr. Stileman by virtue, as was claimed, of his office of "Recorder and Clerk of the Writs," &c. Our copy of this manuscript therefore is, without doubt, Stileman's "fairer book," transcribed by him from the original minutes which he kept during the meetings of the Council, as is the custom with such clerical officers, and retained by him in his personal possession after he was superseded in his office by Chamberlain, between whom and the members of the old Council there was no very friendly feeling.

* Jenness's *Transcripts of Original Documents relating to New Hampshire: New York, 1876*, pp. 93, 94. This letter as recorded, or originally published, is so badly punctuated in many places that its meaning is obscured. In the above extract, I have endeavored to punctuate it according to the meaning of the writer.

From whom did the Historical Society receive this manuscript? We should naturally seek to trace its previous possession to Dr. Belknap, who, in his *History of New Hampshire*, cites the "Council Records," from the earliest session of that body "in the handwriting of Elias Stileman, Secretary,"* down to near the close of Cranfield's administration; and whose papers have found their way, some as well before as since his death, to the archives of the Society. I find no record of its having been presented by name, but in the early history of the Society large masses of manuscripts were sometimes given, with no indication as to their character or contents. The manuscript was deposited in Cabinet No. 41 of the Society with a mass of ancient papers not very well arranged for consultation, though they were principally catalogued some twenty years ago on slips of paper preparatory to printing in a volume. A printed or even a complete manuscript catalogue of the Society's papers is yet a desideratum. My eye fell upon this relic while searching for materials to illustrate the early proceedings of the Society now passing through the press.

I cannot but think that these records contain several details, only briefly summarised by Dr. Belknap, relating to the provincial history of New Hampshire, to be found nowhere else; and it appears to me that we should be doing a friendly service by publishing the manuscript for the use of our historical friends in that State which for so long a period formed a part of Massachusetts. I therefore recommend that it be printed in the *Proceedings of the Society*.†

The Society voted to commit the manuscript to Mr. Deane, to be prepared for the press.

* See Farmer's *Belknap*, pp. ix. 109, 110.

† In printing this manuscript, I have made the spelling and the punctuation conform generally to modern usage. Abbreviations have been spelled out. The names of persons I have allowed to stand as they are written. A heliotype of the first page of the original manuscript is given.

the president & council were met in the morning & assembled at y^e president's house in portsmouth & then & y^e distinctly read his Majesties Commission as directed. /

January y^e 21th 1679

His Majesties Commission^{Commission} & Nominations in said books y^e respective oaths, as mentioned in s^d Commission. /

January 22nd 1679

This day the Inhabitants of the province of N-Hampshire having had seasonable Notice did convene together in portsmouth in publick before y^e assembly his Majesties Commission was Read unto them & proclamation made of his Majesties edifying them into his gracious favour & protection^{was} & was received wth gr^{at} acclamation & firing of Guns in severall parts of s^d Towne of portsmouth. /

This day also the president made Sir Richard Waldron wth y^e his Deputy so of great satisfaction of y^e Council, also was added to y^e said Councilⁱⁿ Elias Stileman Sam^r Dalton & Job Clements, the said Stileman & Dalton took y^e respective oaths of allegiance & Supremacy & to their places & offices. /

The president & council agreed upon & ord^d for a proclamation to be sent forth to all y^e Townes wth in this province to order all officers to keepe their respective places until they take further ord^r wth as sh^{al} becometh. /

To All his Majesties good Subjects the Inhabitants of portsmouth Hampton Dover & Exeter in his Majesties province of N-Hampshire in New Eng^l

[*Records of the President and Council of New Hampshire.*]

PORTSMOUTH, IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
Januā : primo, 1679.

This day, by the hands of Edw. Randolph, Esq., we, his Majesty's President and Council for the Province of New Hampshire, received his Majesty's Commission of grace and favor for the Government of said Province, together with a seal and letter from the King's Majesty and his honorable Privy Council.

January the 14th, 1679.

The President and Council, mentioned in his Majesty's Commission, assembled at the President's house, in Portsmouth, and then and there distinctly read his Majesty's said Commission, as directed.

January the 21st, 1679.

His Majesty's Commissioners nominated in said Commission took their respective oaths as mentioned in said Commission.

January 22d, 1679.

This day the inhabitants of the Province of New Hampshire, having had seasonable notice, did convene in Portsmouth, and in public before the Assembly his Majesty's Commission was read unto them, and proclamation made of his Majesty's receiving them into his gracious favor and protection, which was received with great acclamation, and firing of guns in several parts of said town of Portsmouth.

This day also, the President made choice of Richard Waldron, Esq., for his Deputy, to the great satisfaction of the Council ; also was added to the said Council Mr. Elias Stileman, Mr. Samuel Dalton, and Mr. Job Clements. The said Stileman and Dalton took their respective oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and to their place and office.

The President and Council agreed upon and order for a proclamation to be sent forth to all the towns within this Province, to order all officers to keep their respective places until they take further order, which is as followeth : —

[SEAL.] To all his Majesty's good subjects, the inhabitants of Portsmouth, Hampton, Dover, and Exeter, in his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire, in New England, per order of the President and Council assembled at Portsmouth, this 22d of January, 1679 and in the 31st year of his Majesty's reign :

Be it known unto you and every one of you that the President and Council do order and declare, in his Majesty's name, That all Commissioners, Constables, Marshals, Grand Jurymen, and all other officers, Civil and Military, do keep their respective places and attend the duty and concerns of the trust to them already committed until further order be taken by his Majesty's Government, now here established. And, if any trespass be done to any town or person in their liberties or

properties, the selectmen and officers shall take effectual care to suppress and restrain the same according to their several places and offices; and if any person have already presumed to do any trespass upon any town, person, or peculiar, they are alike required to forbear, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

God save the King.

The original copy put on file.

At a meeting of the President and Council, the 4th February, 1679, — present the President, Deputy President, Mr. Ric. Martyn, Lt. Vaughan, Capt. Daniel, E. Stileman, Secretary, —

Agreed, That a warrant be drawn up and sent to every of the selectmen within the four towns, to take a list of the names and estates of their respective inhabitants, according to their usual manner of making single country rates, and send in to the Council by the 16th instant. Copy of the warrant followeth: —

To the Selectmen of Dover, &c.

IN HIS MAJESTY'S NAME:

You are required forthwith to take a list of the names of your inhabitants, together with the value of their estates, after the manner as you have been wont to do for the making of a single country rate, and deliver the same to one of the Council with you, in season to be brought in to the President and Council for New Hampshire at their sitting, on the 16th day of this instant, February, in Portsmouth, hereof you are not to fail.

Per order of the Council.

E. S., Secretary.

Dat. in Portsmouth, the 4th February, 1679.

John Baker and Philip Duley, being brought before the Council, the said Baker for *sloeking** away said Duley (who had hired himself with Mr. John Cutt some time before to be as a seaman in his ship) under a pretence of an indenture said Baker exhibited before the Council, which indenture was antedated several days before his first agreement with said Mr. Cutt, as by his own confession and the testimony of John Barsham and Robert Williams, on purpose to deceive, as also for his contemptuous carriage before the Council, together with his threatening of them that, if he had not justice, he would try his case in England: sentence him to be committed, and forthwith sent to prison, and to endure a month's imprisonment without bail, or to redeem the same by paying a fine of 50 shillings in money and all costs, and to be fed with bread and water, prisoner's fare.

And said Philip Duley, for telling of several lies in the face of the Council thereabouts, and making of contracts first to one and then to another before he had performed the first engagement: sentence him to be forthwith whipped to the number of ten stripes on the bare back; which accordingly was performed.

* To "slock" is to entice, to steal. A "slockster" is one that slocks or enticeth away men's servants. See Halliwell's "Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words," &c. — C. D.

George Harrison, being complained of by the selectmen of Portsmouth for that he had bought a servant woman, viz. Hester Ward, out of Capt. Woodland's ship, and left her upon the town of Portsmouth to be at charge to maintain her, made this answer: that he had sold her to Zack: Trickie; but, it not appearing, the Council orders that the said Harrison take care of her, and secure the said town from being at charge, and right himself in a course of law upon said Trickie.

The verdict of the jury of inquest concerning the untimely death of Mathew Quire brought in and put on file of the Council's Records.

PORTSMOUTH, the 16th of February, 1679.

At a meeting of the Council, the President and Deputy President present, —

Job Clements, Esq., being chosen one of the Council for the filling up their number, took the oath of allegiance, supremacy and oath of his office.

The Council being informed of the great neglect of the present constables, and sundry other the constables in the several towns within this Province, in gathering their respective sums committed to them for the discharge of the war, and satisfying the towns' and counties' engagements to their ministers and other disbursements for the town's use, do order and enjoin all and every such constable and constables in each town that are behind, upon their utmost peril, that by the 13th of March next they see and gather in the same, and clear up all their accounts with the several treasurers and selectmen that they were and have been directed by warrant in the premises to do, and make it so to appear before those of the Council in each town where such are behind, as aforesaid, on pain of themselves and estates being distrained on for the satisfaction thereof; and further, if the constables cannot find estates, they are to distrain on the persons of such, and them to carry before those of the Council in their respective towns, to be ordered to work the same out or otherwise, according to their discretions. The Council also doth declare that if any person or persons shall think themselves aggrieved, referring to the war rate, after that they have paid the same, that such just complaints shall have a hearing by them; and if it appears to them that any person is injured by overrating, or otherwise respecting to that concern, they will cause restitution to be made to him or them so grieved, always provided that if it shall appear to them that his or their complaint be found unjust, he or they shall pay the charge.*

To the Constables of, &c.

You are required, in his Majesty's name, forthwith to acquaint your present selectmen with this order of the Council, whereby you may receive from them instruction and direction who of your former Constables are behind in their rates, that by you they may be advised to attend the order as above. Fail not hereof at your peril.

* The taxes levied on the inhabitants of the New Hampshire towns by the government of Massachusetts yet remained, to a considerable extent, undischarged. See Secretary Rawson's Letter to the New Hampshire authorities, dated 20 May, 1680, in Mass. Coll. Rec., vol. v. pp. 276, 277. — C. D.

An act made for the calling of a General Assembly:—

We, the President and Council of his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire, being required by our commission to call a General Assembly of the said Province, and it being left to us to judge and determine what persons shall choose their deputies for the said Assembly, Do hereby order and declare in his Majesty's name that the persons hereafter named in the several towns shall meet together on the first day of March next, by 9 of the clock in the morning, and having first each of them taken the oath of allegiance (if they have not taken it already), which oath is to be administered by the member or members of the said Council there residing, choose from among themselves, by the major vote given in in writing, not exceeding the number of three persons, which persons so chosen are to appear at Portsmouth on the 16th day of March following, by 9 o'clock, there to attend his Majesty's service for the concerns of the said Province of New Hampshire, provided that we do not intend that what is now done be precedent for the future, and that it shall extend no farther than to the calling this first Assembly, that they, being convened, may, as his Majesty's Letters Patents direct, make such laws and constitutions in this and other respects as may best conduce to the weal of the whole. And we do further order that the constable or constables in the several towns shall publish this writ, and warn all the persons concerned to attend their duties as is above expressed, and make a true return under their hands of the names of the persons so chosen. Further, it is ordered by this Council that no man shall vote for deputies but such as are mentioned in this list, upon penalty of paying a fine of five pound, and that no man put in but one vote for one man, and that they do not cut quite through the names they write in their papers. Also, that those of the Council in Portsmouth, Dover, Hampton, and Exeter, see the respective meetings in the several towns where they live regulated in all the premises according to the Council's true intent therein

The list of names follows:—

PORTSMOUTH.

Jno. Cutt, President,	Jno. Seaward.	Walter Neale.
Ric. Martyn,	Sam. Keasen.	Leond. Weekes.
Wm. Vaughan,	Wm. Ham.	Nath. Fryer.
Thomas Daniel,	Tho. Harney.	Jno. Foss.
E. Stileman,	Obadi. Morse.	Geo. Jaffray. Not app'd.
Mr. Jos. Moody.	Geo. Lauers.	Jno. Lewis.
John Pickerin.	Jno. Tucker.	Sam. Wentworth.
Tho. Jackson.	Jno. Shipway.	Jno. Clarke. Not app'd.
Geo. Bromhall.	Wm. Hearle.	Wm. Lux.
Pet'r Glenfield.	Jno. Cotton.	Tho. Parker.
Sam. Whidon.	Jno. Hunking.	James Leech.
Ano. Ellens.	Jno. Moses.	Jno. Fabes, Sen. Not app'd.
Wm. Cotton.	Hen. Beck. Not app'd.	Jno. Hinckes.
Jno. Whidon.	Jos. Walker.	Robt. Elliot.
Jno. Jackson. Not appeared.	Tob. Leare. Not app'd.	Hen. Sherburne.
Marke Hunking. Not app'd.	Ric. Sloper.	Geo. Wallis.
Ric. Shortridge.	Jno. Sherburn, Sen.	James Rendle.
Hen. Sauidge. Not app'd.	Jno. Westbrooke.	Nath. Drake.
John Dennet.	Jno. Brewster.	Jno. Odiome.
John Fletcher.	Phil. Lewis.	Ano. Bracket.
Ric. Jackson.	Jno. Johnson.	Wm. Seauet, Sen.
John Partridge.	Mathi. Haines. Not app'd.	Tho. Seauet.
Reu. Hull.	Sam. Haines, Sen. Not app'd.	Robt. Furrington.
John Fabes	Sam. Haines, Jun.	

HAMPTON.

Mr. Seaborne Cotton.
Nath. Batchelour.
Jno. Browne, Sen.
Nath. Boulter, Sen.
Moses Cox.
Jno. Clefford, Sen.
Jno. Clefford, Jun.
Hen. Dove.
Godfrey Dearborne.
Tho. Dearborne.
Hen. Dearborne.
Abra. Drake, Sen.
Gersha. Elkins.
Wm. Fuller.
Wm. Fifield, Sen.
Benj. Fifield.
Hen. Greene.
Isaac Godfrey.
Edw. Goue.

Morrice Hobbs.
Timo. Hilliard.
Jno. Knowles, Sen.
Tho. Louet.
Tho. Marston.
Ens. Moore.
Wm. Marston.
Jos. Moulton.
Jno. Moulton.
Jno. Marian.
Tho. Nudd.
Abra. Perkins.
Isaac Perkins. Not app'd.
Fran. Page.
Tho. Filbrooke.
Hen. Robey.
Jno. Redman, Sen.
Jno. Sanburne.
Isa. Marston.

Hen. Moulton.
Wm. Sanburn, Sen.
Sam. Sherburne.
Ano. Stannill.
Robt. Smith.
Jno. Smith, Coop'r.
Jno. Smith, Tal'r.
Tho. Sleeper.
Josh. Shaw.
Ben. Shaw. Not app'd.
Ano. Taylour.
Dan. Tilton.
And. Wiggins.
Tho. Wiggins. Not app'd.
Nath. Wyer.
Tho. Ward. Not app'd.
Tho. Webster.
Jos. Smith.
Sam. Dalton, Esq.

EXETER.

Mr. Sam. Dudley.
Jno. Gilman, Esq.
Robt. Wadleigh.
Moses Gilman, Sen.
Jonathan Robenson.
John Folsom, Jun.
Robt. Smart, Sen.

Kinsman Hall.
Ralph Hall.
Hump. Wilson.
Edw. Gilman.
Sam. Leuit.
Edw. Smith.
Ric. Scamon.

Moses Leuit.
Daniel Gilman.
Jonath. Thing.
Petr. Folsom.
Capt. Tippin.
Edw. Hilton.

DOVER.

Major Ric. Waldron, } Esqrs.
Job Clements,
Mr. Pike.
Jno. Dam, Sen.
Jno. Hall, Sen.
+ Thom. Austin.
+ Hump. Varney.
+ James Nute, Sen.
+ James Nute, Jun.
Tho. Whitehouse.
Jno. Hall, Jun.
Jos. Canny.
+ Tho. Roberts.
+ Lt. Pomfret.
Phil. Cromwel.
Jno. Tuttle.
Jno. Roberts, Sen.
Jos. Beard.
Tho. Chesley.
Phil. Chesley, Jun.
Rich. Carter.

Jno. Foss.
Hen. Hobs.
Benj. Heard.
Jno. Ham.
+ Rich. Oates.
Eldr. Wintworth.
Lt. Petr. Coffin.
Jno. Heard, Sen.
Robt. Euens.
Wm. Horne.
Jno. Church.
Jno. Euens.
Jno. Gerrish.
+ Jno. Wingett.
Ric. Waldren, Jun.
Jos. Hall.
Hen. Langstar.
Jno. Dam, Jun.
Wm. Furber, Sen.
Ano. Nutter.
Wm. Shackford.

Jno. Woodman.
Steven Jones.
+ Robt. Burnham.
James Huggins.
James Smith.
Benj. Mathews.
Jno. Bickford, Sen.
John Hill.
John Alt.
John Rand.
Tho. Edgerly.
Wm. Perkins.
Charles Adams.
Jno. Meader, Sen.
+ Jos. Smith.
+ James Bunker.
Jno. Davis, Sen.
Nic. Follet. Not app'd.
+ Wm. Follet.

Note that all above named have taken their oaths except those that have this mark + against them.

The President and Council, having seriously considered that weighty charge lying upon all that fear God, to acknowledge him in all their ways, enforced by that gracious promise of having their paths directed by him, being also encouraged by the good success that the people of God have met with when they have assembled themselves to seek the Lord by fasting and prayer, a right way for themselves, their little ones, and their substance; considering also that the unchangeable God,

which is the author and orderer of all the changes that pass over our heads, can only bless them to us; being likewise not unmindful of the many sins that are among us, which may justly provoke the Lord to come in his anger and displeasure against us; and feeling in themselves how insufficient they are for so weighty a charge in point of Government as is now laid upon them; and considering how highly we are engaged to pray for God's blessing upon our gracious King and all his weighty concerns for the advancement of the gospel and the good of all the people under his royal protection,—do upon these, and such like considerations, appoint the 26th day of this present month to be kept by all the inhabitants of this Province as a day of humiliation before the Lord, humbly to implore his gracious Majesty to pardon and purge away all our iniquities for his Name's sake, to direct and assist themselves in their endeavors to seek the weal of that part of God's Israel committed to their care, to revive his own work and maintain his own cause and interest in the midst of us, to continue our precious and pleasant things to us, and bless us with peace and prosperity with our neighbors in the several Colonies near us, together with all the churches of Christ abroad, and in a special manner that he will smile upon us with reference to the meeting of the General Assembly, that their agitations and conclusions may be for our good, that he will favor us in respect of the spring and seed time ensuing, and in all things do for us, and for our children after us, as the matter does require. And for that end do inhibit all servile labor on that day, and commend it to the Elders, Churches, and people, that they prepare and apply themselves unto a diligent, humble, and hearty attendance to all the duties of the same.

Richard Martyn, Esq., is chosen Treasurer for this Province during the pleasure of the President and Council.

John Roberts, of Dover, is chosen head Marshal of this Province, and Hen. Dowe of Hampton, under him.

Richard Scammon, complaining that George Jones did much trespass upon him, as at large in his petition put on file may appear, the Council orders that a warrant be sent to the constable of Exeter to cause him to forbear, and bring him to answer for so doing on the 16th day of March next.

At a General Assembly held in Portsmouth, in the Province of New Hampshire, the 16th day of March, 1678: present of the Council:—

Richard Waldron, Esq., *Deputy President.*

Richard Martyn,	} Esqrs.
Wm. Vaughan,	
Tho: Daniel,	
Xtopher Hussey,	
Jno. Gilman,	
Elias Stileman,	
Sam: Dalton,	
Job Clements,	

The Deputies:—

Mr. Robt. Elliot,	} Portsmouth.
Mr. Philip Lewis,	
Mr. Jno. Pickerin,	
Mr. Anto. Stanion,	} Hampton.
Mr. Tho: Marston,	
Mr. Edward Goue,	
Lt. Peter Coffin,	} Dover.
Lt. Ano. Nutter,	
Mr. Ric. Waldren, Jun.	
Capt. Barthol: Tippin,	} Exeter.
Lt. Ralph Hall,	

Sundry laws and ordinances made at this sessions, and are in another book for that purpose.*

Jno. Winget, being bound over to appear before the Council to answer for that which he said to Major Waldron, that himself had been rated 17*l*. and Major Waldron was rated but 21*l*., and some other words tending to the slandering of those that made the rates, before a house full of people, said Winget acknowledged before the Council that he did say the words he was charged with in the warrant, and doth confess that he spake them unadvisedly, and was very sorry for them, with which the Council was satisfied.

The Council being informed of three boys of Dover, that ran away from their masters, being taken again and bound over to answer before the Council, the Council refers the issuing thereof unto Major Waldron and Mr. Job Clements, to hear and determine when they shall see cause to call them.†

17th ditto. — Mr. Edward Randolph came before the Council, informing them that he had seized a ship in the river for the King, and the master at the same time complaining that Mr. Randolph had done him much injury to stop his vessel when he had broken no law of his Majesty in any kind; for the issuing whereof Mr. Randolph desired a trial by a jury, which was granted him, provided both parties would join issue, and bind themselves in fifty pound bond apiece, with sufficient security to pay all costs of the suit.

18th ditto. — The said master came before the Council and desired that there might be an issue of his case, whereupon the Council sent to Mr. Randolph to acquaint him with the master's solicitation for an issue, who appeared and desired a copy of some papers that the said master left with the Council yesterday (as he said they promised him). The Council replied that, if he would enter his action and come to a trial, he might have any copies that were with them, or, if said Randolph would give a copy of his papers and parchments he had shown the Council and received back again, that the master might have them as he desired; else, they thought it but reason that the master should have his papers again without giving copies, as Mr. Randolph had his.

On petition of Marke Hunking, master of the ketch Providence, that the Council would be pleased to grant a special Court for the issuing of the difference between himself and Mr. Randolph about the seizure of his vessel, the Council grants the petitioner his petition, and appoint Tuesday next to hear the case, and order that a warrant be given by the Secretary to the constable of Portsmouth to summons a jury out of his precincts of twelve men to attend that service on that day by 9 o'clock in the morning.

Marke Hunking binds himself to the Treasurer of this Province, in a bond of ten pound, to pay all the charge of the suit while in trial.

* The Province Laws made "at this sessions," or session, are printed in Provincial Papers of N. H., vol. i. pp. 382-408. — C. D.

† See N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. viii. p. 89. — C. D.

Secretary to grant Warrants.

The Council order that the present Secretary shall grant all warrants and attachments until they shall take further order.

Jury of Trials Oath.

You swear by the living God that in the cause or causes now legally to be committed to you by this Court, you will true trial make, and just verdict give therein, according to the evidence given you, and the laws of this Province, or in defect thereof the laws of England, so help you God.

Marshal's Oath.

You, J. R., being chosen Head Marshal for the Province of New Hampshire, do swear by the ever living God that you shall perform, do, and execute all such lawful commands as shall be directed to you from lawful authority constituted by his Majesty in this Province, without favor, fear, or partiality, according to your best ability and the laws here established; so help you God.

John Roberts and Henry Dowe took the oath for Marshals in this Province.

Oath of Witnesses.

You swear by the living God that the evidence you shall give to this Court concerning the cause now in question shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; so help you God.

The Council finding a necessity of prisons, and keepers for them, for the securing of offenders and other persons for debt, do order that the prisons already at Hampton, Dover, and Portsmouth, shall be for the same use still; and Jno. Souter of Hampton, and Jno. Tuttle of Dover, and Richard Abbot of Portsmouth, be and are empowered prison-keepers to the several prisons in the respective towns where they dwell; and to receive all prisoners as shall be committed to them by authority, and this to continue during the pleasure of the Council.

George Jones appearing before the Council to answer to Mr. Richard Scammon's complaint, as by his petition at large the first of March last, the complaint was deliberately read unto him, and all evidences therabouts produced by which the complaint was fully proved.

In the examination of the case, the Council find said Jones guilty of a trespass done to said Scammon, and of several lies and slanders; and a man of very ill behavior.

1. Sentence, that Mr. Scammon shall and may take off all those staves and timber that be upon the land within the line, which said Jones said he would not remove, before the case was heard.

2. For lying and slandering: sentence, to be whipped* to the

* It will be understood that "said Jones" is the person who is here sentenced.—C. D.

number of five stripes, or redeem it by a fine of 10s. money. He paid his fine.

3. For his ill behavior in threatening words and carriages since (the breach of his bond at Salisbury last) that the Council asserted this Government: sentence, to be bound to the good behavior, and to continue until the quarter sessions or Court at Hampton, the first Tuesday in September next, and then to appear; and if, in case he shall ill behave himself in the mean time towards any person or persons, especially towards Mr. Scammon and his family, that then any one of the Council, upon legal proof, may and are hereby empowered to commit him to prison without bail or mainprise, there to continue during the Court or Council's pleasure, and pay costs in money or as money, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
To Mr. Scammon	02	5	6
To the Treasurer	01	0	0
To Constable Thing, for his trouble	00	10	0
	03	15	6

Mr. Scammon responds for this.

It is ordered by the Council that Richard Waldron, Esq., Deputy President, and Richard Martyn, Esq., with two whom the Deputies shall appoint, to join with them to give thanks in their behalf to the Reverend Mr. Joshua Moodey, for his great pains in his Sermon preached before them on Tuesday, the 16th of this instant, March, and desire him to print his Sermon, or give them his notes, and they will print it.

It is ordered that all the inhabitants from Wm. Seavie's to Sandy Beach, round to Little Harbor, shall be under the command of the Captain of the fort on Great Island, and to be called forth by him to the exercise of arms and such exigents as may happen on any alarm at said fort.

At a special Court held in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, by the President and Council, the 23d of March, 1679, being Tuesday:

JURY.

Mr. Nath. Fryer,	Mr. Jno. Fletcher,	} <i>legally called and sworn, and</i>
Mr. John Hinckes,	Mr. Sam. Kaiese,	
Mr. George Jaffray,	Jno. Tucker,	
Mr. Thomas Harney,	Rich. Jackson,	
Mr. John Shepway,	Obadi. Morss,	
Mr. Rev. Hull,	Nehem. Partridge,	

liberty granted to the plaintiff and defendant to challenge any of the Jury: neither plaintiff nor defendant objected against any, but declared themselves satisfied.

Marke Hunking, commander of ketch Providence, plaintiff, against Edward Randolph, Esq., defendant, in an action of the case, for going on board said ketch and putting the broad arrow upon his mast, reporting he had seized the said ketch as forfeited to the King, thereby obstructing his voyage and causing him to lie upon demurrage to his great damage. This case was pleaded in the President's house, and all

the evidences read that plaintiff and defendant had to say, and then committed to the Jury.

Jury finds for the plaintiff 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* damages; and cost of Court, 8*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* money.*

The Council orders that Mr. Randolph shall have all his papers and parchments he put into Court in the case between him and Mark Hunking, the Secretary taking copies and keep on file.

Edw. Randolph, Esq., being called before the Council to answer for his saying when he was pleading of his case against Marke Hunking, being asked where the Earl of Danby was, answered that he was hanged, for aught he knew; the which the Council takes as a great reflection upon such a great Minister of State.

Unto which Mr. Randolph said by way of acknowledgment that it was a sudden and a rash speech, being spoken in such a public assembly, and was sorry for it, and desired it might be passed by, wherewith the Council was satisfied and dismissed him.

March 24, 1680.—Capt. Walter Barefoote appearing before the Council, and examined by what power he set up a paper on the Great Island concerning customs to be entered with him, or whether he did set up such a paper there that all persons should enter with him: Answered, that he did set up such a paper, and must own it. Dismissed, and ordered to appear to-morrow.

March 25.—Capt. Walter Barefoote appearing before the Council, his indictment was read unto him:—

1. That you have, in a high and presumptuous manner, set up his Majesty's office of Customs, declared it by a paper in a public place on Great Island, for all persons concerned to come to make their entries with you at their peril, not having leave first from the President and Council of this Province so to do, which shows high contempt, being since his Majesty's authority was set up in this place.

2. That hereby you have disturbed and obstructed his Majesty's subjects both in greater and smaller vessels, and such as pass but from town to town and harbor to harbor, near adjoining, on their occasions, but must enter and take their passes with and from you, as proved by testimony.

3. Your peremptory answers; that, when any question was asked you, you would answer, My name is Walter.

Sentence to pay a fine of ten pound in money forthwith, and stand committed until it be paid.

Council order that Capt. Barefoote shall have his Commission and Instructions he received from Mr. Randolph returned him, the Secretary taking copies of them.

An act passed by the Council and Assembly to write to the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts, drawn up as follows:—

* "Granted execution, 4 November, 1680."—*Marginal note.*

To the much Honored the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts Colony, to be communicated to the General Court in Boston.

PORTSMOUTH, IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
the 25th March, 1680.

The late turn of providence made among us by the all-ordering hand hath given occasion for this present application, wherein we crave leave, as we are in duty bound.

1. Thankfully to acknowledge your great care for us and your kindness towards us while we dwelt under your shadow, owning ourselves deeply obliged that you were pleased upon our earnest request and supplication to take us under your Government, and ruled us well whilst we so remained, so that we cannot give the least countenance to those reflections that have been cast upon you, as if you had dealt injuriously with us.

2. That no dissatisfaction with your Government, but merely our submission to divine providence and obedience to his Majesty's command, to whom we owe allegiance, without any seeking of our own, or desire of change, was the only cause of our complying with that present separation from you that we are now under, but should have heartily rejoiced, if it had seemed good to the Lord and his Majesty to have settled us in the same capacity as formerly.

3. And withal we hold ourselves bound to signify that it is our most unfeigned desire that such a mutual correspondency betwixt us may be settled, as may tend to the glory of God, the honor of his Majesty, whose subjects we all are, and the promoting of the common interest and defence against the common enemy, that thereby our hands may be strengthened, being of ourselves weak and few in number, and that if there be opportunity to be any ways serviceable unto you, we may show how ready we are thankfully to embrace the same.

Thus, wishing the presence of God to be with you in all your administrations, and craving the benefit of your prayers, and endeavors for a blessing upon the heads and hearts of us who are separated from our brethren, we subscribe.*

Whereas his Majesty, by his Letters Patents, hath given express charge and command to the President and Council of this Province for the settling of the Militia in the hands of them that may be best qualified, for our defence, — Richard Waldron, Esq., is by the Council chosen Major-General over all the forces of foot and horse, &c., within this Province, and to have Commission drawn up and signed by the President, and seal of the Province affixed.

And it is further ordered that the persons hereafter mentioned shall be commissioned under the seal of the Province for the management of the Militia in the several towns, and that the President, with the

* This letter may be found also in the Mass. Coll. Rec., vol. v. pp. 280, 281. It is there subscribed by John Cutt, President, with the consent of the Council and General Assembly. — C. D.

Secretary, draw up and affix the seal of the Province to all commission officers.

For Portsmouth: Capt. Thomas Daniel, Lt. Walter Neale, Ens. Jno. Hunking.

For Dover: Major Richard Waldron, Lt. Peter Coffin, Ens. John Davis.

For Hampton: Capt. Xtophr. Hussey, Lt. Jno. Sanburn, Ens. —.

For Exeter: Capt. Jno. Gilman, Lt. Ralph Hall, and Ens. Wm. Moore.

For the Fort: Capt. Elias Stileman, Lt. Nath. Fryer, Ens. Nath: Drake.

The chief officer in each company to choose their inferior officers.

Ordered, That there shall be for present but one troop in the Province, consisting of sixty troopers, besides the officers.

For the Troop: Capt. John Gerrish, Lt. Ano. Nutter, and Cornet Sam. Sherburn.

It is ordered by the Council that, if there be any troopers that have served under the command of John Gerrish, or in that troop of Norfolk, they shall be at their liberty to continue or not in the service of troopers any longer, they listing themselves foot soldiers in the towns of their present residence. And also such as are already troopers in this Province are anew to list themselves under Capt. John Gerrish and such others as are qualified according to law, for the filling up the said troop to the number of sixty, besides officers as above said.

At a meeting of the Council, April 1, 1680: the President and Council of New Hampshire, taking notice of his Majesty's command to his foreign plantations referring to the act of trade and navigation which are punctually to be observed by all his Majesty's subjects in the several Colonies in New England, —

Do therefore order and enact that henceforth all masters of ships, ketches, and other vessels coming from foreign parts into any of our ports within this Province, or do sail from hence, do without cover or fraud yield faithful and constant obedience to his Majesty's laws and ordinances for trade and navigation that are published in the book of rates according to the true intent and meaning of them, and that they do from time to time repair to the President, and thence to such other officer or officers as shall be by him and the Council appointed, to make entry of their ships and vessels, and to give bond and take their despatches as in the said rates are provided, on penalty of suffering such forfeiture, cost, and damage, as by the said acts are particularly expressed.

Per order of the Council.

E. STILEMAN, *Secretary*.

Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, April 1, 1680.

Mr. Ric. Martyn is chosen and appointed to take entry of all ships and vessels from foreign parts, and to give despatches, and to see to and look after the act and trade of navigation.

Capt. Elias Stileman is appointed to receive the powder and customs, as formerly.

Jno. Tucker is appointed and chosen to the office of Water Bailey, and to be Marshal's Deputy only in this town of Portsmouth.

The Assembly and Council adjourns to the first Monday in June next.

At an adjournment of the Council and General Assembly of the Province of New Hampshire, held in Portsmouth, the 7th of June, 1680, being Monday, —

Ferries.

It is ordered that all that keep ferries within this Province shall carry to and fro without any pay all or any of the Council, Deputies for the General Assembly, Jurymen which are upon the service of the Province; and all troopers in their common and general musters shall pay but 3*d.* horse and man, and foot soldiers only at a general muster shall pay one penny a person.

Clerks to gather in their Fines.

Ordered by the Council that all Clerks belonging to the horse and foot within this Province are hereby continued in their places, and are required forthwith to gather in and give an account to the chief officers where they do belong of all fines committed to them to gather, before this change of Government; and that a warrant be sent to Mr. Nathaniel Waire, Clerk of the troop, to gather in those fines committed to him from such persons, troopers, as are within the two towns of Hampton and Exeter, which did belong to Norfolk troop, and give account to the Council, and the Secretary is to send copies of this order to the chief officer in every town. And where any Clerk cannot find estate, he is hereby empowered to take their bodies and carry to prison until it be paid, or during the pleasure of the chief officer; and all prison-keepers are to receive them into their custody, and them safely to keep at their perils.

James Browne came before the Council, and confessed a judgment of 5*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* in money due unto John Pickerin.*

Lt. Pomfret is granted a license to sell liquor by retail within and without doors of his own distilling, and cider of his own growth.

Agreed with John Tuttle to keep the prison at Dover, for which he is to have 4*l.* per annum, beginning his time the 20th day of February, now last passed, the like sum to be allowed to the rest of the prison-keepers within this Province, viz. Jno. Souter of Hampton, and Rich. Abbot of Great Island.

Mr. Robt. Wadleigh appearing before the Council to answer for his reproachful speeches against the Council and General Assembly, as

* "Granted execution, 8 June, '80." — *Marginal note.*

per testimony on file: sentence, to pay a fine of 5*l.* in money or goods equivalent, and pay the Marshal, for fetching of him down, 12*s.*; and the witnesses and fees, 2*s.* 6*d.*, and stands committed until it be paid.

Mrs. Frances Reyner, moving to the Council her great inability to manage her administratorship granted her at a County Court in 1677, upon the estate of the Rev. John Reyner, her son, partly because it was granted before the Government was changed, and partly that she is alone, and wants help; the Council therefore confirms and establisheth that administration granted, and joins Lt. Peter Coffin with her in administration upon the said Mr. Jno. Reyner's estate, and enjoin them faithfully to perform the place and office of administrators, according to law and custom; and all his housen and lands stands bound for the payment of his debts.

At a meeting of the Council, the 10th June, 1680, in Portsmouth: Edward Colcord and Ann his wife, being bound over to appear before the Council for their disorderly living, Upon a full hearing of the case, the Council doth order that the said Edward Colcord, and Ann his wife, shall stand bound to the Treasurer of this Province in the sum of 5*l.* apiece to be of good behavior each to the other during the pleasure of the Council, and that the said Ann do attend her duty towards her said husband in the use of the marriage bed according to the rule of God's word, which, if she refuse so to do, upon complaint to the next Court at Hampton, the Council doth order she shall be whipped to the number of ten stripes. The Council takes his own bond.*

Granted licenses as formerly unto the persons under-named, their paying:—

	£	s.		£	s.
Jno. Clarke	6		Lt. Pomfret	0	0
Jno. Partridge	8		Jos. Beard	3	0
Rich. Webber	1	10	Hen. Crowne	7	0
Sam. Sherburne	5		Jno. Johnson	4	0
Hen. Robey	3		Goodw. Trickie	1	0

For direction unto the Major over all the forces in this Province and all the military officers in their several companies, the Council orders that, as a rule to them in their several places and discharge thereof, the laws and orders that formerly they have been regulated by shall be and continue the same till the Council take other order in all military affairs and concerns, and all the soldiers are required to yield obedience thereunto.

Wm. Hurford, for being drunk once on the Lord's day, the 23d of May last, and the day following, owned by him: sentence, to pay a fine of 5*s.* for the first, and breach of Sabbath 10*s.*, and for the second offence 10*s.*, and pay the Marshal 6*s.* and fees, 2*s.* 6*d.*, and stand committed till it be paid.

Mary Tibbet, widow, for committing fornication, having a bastard:

* See N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. viii. p. 40; Prov. Pap., vol. i. p. 367.—C. D.

sentence, to be whipped forthwith to the number of ten stripes, or redeem it by a fine of 40s. and fees. Jos. Canny passed for her fine.

Mr. Samuel Dalton is chosen Recorder of Hampton and Exeter.

The return of three boys, viz. Cornelius Tomson, Benj. Johnson, and Sam. Tibbets, who ran away from their masters, being referred to Major Waldron and Mr. Job Clements to examine and issue, their return in that affair is put on file of the Council's records.

Upon sundry presentments exhibited against John Waldron for drunkenness and neglect of his calling and disorderly living, also his father presenting a complaint against him for great abuses done to him in his age, and disobedient and rebellious carriages, with other informations of his vicious living, the Council doth sentence him to close imprisonment during their pleasure, and that he be debarred of all company except the keeper or others sent by authority, and also from strong drink, and that one of his legs be constantly chained to a post, and to be kept to work, as Mr. Martyn, Mr. Vaughan, and Capt. Stileman, or any two of them, shall appoint; and, if he refuse to labor, he shall be kept with prisoner's fare, and to be whipped to the number of ten stripes at a time, at the discretion of those gentlemen above named, and that they or any two of them shall provide him materials to work at his trade, and to dispose of the proceed for his own and his children's maintenance and livelihood, he not to dispose of any of his labors without the privy and consent of the gentlemen above-named, which the prison-keeper is to prevent, and pay officers' fees, 30 shillings.

Whereas his Majesty, by his Letters Patents sent to the President and Council of this Province of New Hampshire, hath given express command for the regulation of the military discipline, and the arraying and mustering of the soldiers for the defence and safety of this his Majesty's Province: It is therefore ordered by the President and Council that all the train soldiers within the bounds of this Province, from sixteen years old and upward, do from time to time obey such orders and commands as shall be given by the officers that are commissioned by this Government in the several towns, both respecting arms and ammunition and times of exercise, according to the laws and orders that are and shall be made concerning military affairs. And that those troopers that were formerly listed under the command of Major Pike, and now inhabitants in this Province, shall have liberty to list themselves and horses anew under the command of Capt. John Gerrish, Captain of the Troop in New Hampshire; and such as do not list themselves under his command are required to attend their duty in the foot company where they dwell, on penalty that is provided for neglect in that case.*

The Assembly and Council adjourn to the 12th day of October, 9 o'clock.

At their adjournment, the 12th of October, 1680, it is ordered that

* See N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. viii. pp. 42-44. — C. D.

a Committee be chosen for the drawing up all the laws made by this Assembly as near as may be according to the laws of England, and will suit with the Constitution of this Province.*

The Committee chosen are Ric. Martin, Esq., Mr. Sam. Dudley, Mr. Seaborne Cotton, Elias Stileman.

The Committee's return put on file.

Granted administration to Mr. Peter Twisden, of Isles of Shoals, upon the estate of John Boon, deceased.

It is ordered that a warrant be sent to all constables within this Province that are behind either for war rates, Province rates, town or ministers' rates, to appear at the Quarter Court, held in Portsmouth next, to answer for their neglect.

The Council and Assembly adjourn to the 2d Thursday in December next.

To his Most Excellent Majesty, Charles II. by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.†

The humble address and petition of the President and Council of his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire, in New England, humbly sheweth, —

That, it having pleased your most excellent Majesty to separate us, the inhabitants of this Province, from that shadow of your Majesty's authority and government under which we had long found protection, especially in the late war with the barbarous natives, who (through divine protection) proved a heavy scourge to us, and had certainly been the ruin of these poor weak plantations (being few in number and otherwise being under great disadvantages), if our brethren and neighbors had not out of pity and compassion stretched forth their helping hand, and with their blood and treasure defended us, our lives and estates. Nevertheless, upon the receipt of your Majesty's pleasure, delivered by Edw. Randolph, Esq., upon the first of January last, directing unto and commanding the erecting of a new government in and over these four towns (the Government of the Massachusetts yielding ready obedience to your Majesty's commands, with reference to our relation formerly to them), although deeply sensible of the disadvantages like to accrue to your Majesty's Provinces, and ourselves, more especially by the multiplying of small and weak Governments, unfit either for offence or defence (the union of these neighbor Colonies having been more than a little instrumental in our preservation), we have taken the oaths prescribed us by your Majesty, and administered to your subjects of these four towns the oath of allegiance, and convened a General Assembly for regulating the common affairs of the people and making of such laws as may be of more peculiar use to ourselves, having special regard to the acts for trade and navigation set forth in the book of rates commonly printed and sold; and, if some obstruction occasioned by such as make great pretences of your Majesty's favor and authority had not hindered, we might have brought matters to a greater maturity,

* See "Historical and Bibliographical Notes on the Laws of New Hampshire, by Albert H. Hoyt," in the Proceedings of the American Antiq. Soc. for April, 1876. — C. D.

† This and the following letter are copied into the records at this place, without reference to chronological order. They were transcribed by Dr. Belknap, and published in the Appendix to his History of New Hampshire. — C. D.

yet hope to perfect something by the first opportunity of shipping from hence, but feared it might be too long to defer our humble acknowledgment of your Majesty's grace and favor in committing the power into such hands as it pleased your Majesty to nominate, not imposing strangers upon us; and it much comforts us against any pretended claimers to our soil, or any malevolent spirits which may misrepresent us (as they have done others) unto your Majesty or honorable Council while (beside the known laws of the realm, and the undoubted right of Englishmen) we have the favor of a gracious Prince to fly to.

We do therefore most humbly beg the continuance of your Majesty's royal favor and protection, without which we are daily liable to disturbance, if not ruin.

And as in duty bound we shall humbly pray, &c.

MARCH 29, 1680.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

We, the President and Council of the Province of New Hampshire, have (according to your royal pleasure) given an account of our allegiance and observance of your Commission by Mr. Jowles, in March last, and therefore shall not give the trouble of repetition. According to your Majesty's command, we have, with our General Assembly, been considering of such laws and orders as do by divine favor preserve the peace and are to the satisfaction of your Majesty's good subjects here, in all which we have had a special regard to the statute book your Majesty was pleased to honor us with, for which, together with the seal for your Province, we return most humble and hearty thanks; but such has been the hurry of our necessary occasions, and such is the shortness of our summer (the only season to prepare for a long winter), that we have not been capable of sitting so long as to frame and finish aught that we judge worthy to be presented to your royal view, but shall, as in duty bound, give as speedy a despatch to that affair as we may. In the mean time, your subjects are at quiet under the shadow of your gracious protection, fearing no disturbance unless by some pretended claimers to our soil, whom we trust your Majesty's clemency and equity will guard us from injury by; and considering the purchase of our lands from the heathen, the natural proprietors thereof, and our long quiet possession not interrupted by any legal claim, our defence of it against the barbarous adversary by our lives and estates, we are encouraged that we shall be maintained in our free enjoyment of the same without being tenants to those who can show no such title thereunto. Further, we do gratefully acknowledge the mark of your princely favor in sending us your royal effigies and imperial arms, and lament when we think that they are (through the loss of the ship) miscarried by the way; and, seeing your Majesty is graciously pleased to license us to crave what may conduce to the better promoting of our weal under your Majesty's authority, we would humbly suggest whether the allowance of appeals mentioned in the Commission may not prove a great occasion, by means of malignant spirits, for the obstructing of justice among us. There are also sundry other things that a little time and experience may more evidently discover a great convenience in, which upon the continuance of the same liberty from your Majesty we shall with like humility present.

Thus craving a favorable construction of what is above suggested, and praying for your Majesty's long and prosperous reign, begging also the continuance of your Majesty's favor, out of which, if any of our adversaries, under a pretence of loyalty or zeal for your Majesty's interest,

should endeavor to eject us, we hope, upon liberty granted us, to speak for ourselves, we shall abundantly demonstrate that we do truly and sincerely subscribe,

Your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects,

PORTSMOUTH, IN THE PROVINCE OF
N. HAMPSHIRE, June 11th, 1680.

JOHN CUTT, *President*,
With the consent of the Council.

At a meeting of the President and Council, the 3d of November, 1680, Edward Randolph, Esq., having seized several pieces of canvas, which he called French goods, of Mr. Philip Severet and said Severet complaining he had wrong done him, said Randolph being then present, and could not be determined without a trial at common law, the Council enjoined said Mr. Randolph, and he promised to prosecute and bring the case to a trial at the Quarter Court, a month hence, which, if he did not, the goods seized should be delivered back to said Severet.

At a meeting of the Council, the Deputy being present, December the 7th, 1680, the Council doth order that the present selectmen of the town of Hampton do confirm the rate made by the last selectmen for the schoolmaster there, and direct it to the constables there, to gather, that so he may be satisfied according to bargains made with him.

Whereas, that notwithstanding several orders and injunctions that have been made and laid upon the several constables within this Province for their gathering of the rates that have been committed to them to gather respecting the war, Province, towns and ministers in the respective towns, and yet notwithstanding they have not fully attended their duty therein, the Council doth now order that if the several constables yet behind in the premises do not gather in their respective rates, and clear with the treasurer, selectmen, and ministers, as they do relate unto by the sitting of the Council and General Assembly, the first Tuesday in March next, that then execution shall be issued out upon such constables' estates for satisfaction.

The President and Council, with the Assembly, considering that having begun their year with fasting (as there was a great deal of cause, considering how matters were circumstanced with us), and having had since that time much experience of the Lord's wonted goodness in hearing our prayers, we have thought it our duty to end our year with thanksgiving, and to pay the vows that we made in the day of our fears and searchings of heart that were upon us. Do therefore order and appoint the 2d Thursday in January next to be kept as a solemn day of praise and thanksgiving throughout this Province, prohibiting all servile labor upon that day to all the inhabitants of the same, and calling upon them to enter into the Lord's house and bless his name for all his mercies for this year past, to our Nation and ourselves, particularly for preserving the Protestant interest and the life of his Majesty from the plots and designs of the Popish party, for

causing a good agreement between the Council and Deputies, for favoring us with health and peace in our borders, for graciously permitting us to stand one year longer in his vineyard, under the enjoyment of our liberties and privileges, both civil and ecclesiastical, and for affording us a competency of the fruits of the earth for our maintenance, for all which, and for all the rest of his kindnesses (too many for us to reckon up in order before him), we account the Lord's name worthy to be praised, and do advise to heartiness and seriousness in this duty, so that the fruit of our lips being offered up (through him), as also the fruit of our lives by a right ordering of our conversation, we may see more of God's salvation, goodness and mercy may follow us and ours, and we may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of our lives, there to praise him all the days of our lives.

At a meeting of the President and Council, the 22d of December, 1680, the Council understanding that Mr. Beackum had a letter of attorney from Mr. Randolph to be his deputy searcher and informer, and that he could inform them that the rigging Mr. Severet and Mr. Nicholl's ships were rigged with were exported out of Europe, and had not paid custom in England, the Council sent for him, and on examination he said he heard he had a letter of attorney, but had not received it (only a private letter), which he thought was gone to the letter-breaker, naming Mr. Elliot,* and, as to the rigging aforesaid, affirmed it came out of Europe, but could prove nothing of what he informed them of.

The Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., called the attention of the members present to a large portrait of Chief Justice Sewall, which had been deposited in the rooms during the summer vacation by the kindness of its owners, the Misses Ridgway of Boston, and from which an engraving had been made for the forthcoming volume of the Sewall Papers.

Mr. WILLIAM P. UPHAM presented, for the Cabinet, a number of heliotype *fac-similes* of papers relating to Major Robert Pike of Salisbury, Mass., made for one of his descendants, Mr. James Pike, of Philadelphia. Among these heliotypes was one of the curious and interesting letter, written at the height of the witchcraft delusion by Major Pike, or rather under his direction, the body of the letter being in the handwriting of Thomas Bradbury, while the interlineations are written by Pike, and the whole subscribed with his initials. The original is at the Essex Institute in Salem, and the letter is described and its authorship discussed in Upham's "Salem Witchcraft," vol. ii. pp. 447-452; and it is printed entire, *Ibid.* pp. 538-544. The originals of the other papers are preserved at the State House in Boston.

* Probably Robert Elliot, of Great Island, merchant, is the person here intended. — C. D.

Mr. GEORGE DEXTER stated that he had been permitted to examine some commonplace-books belonging to Mr. John F. Eliot, and that they contained copies of letters written from Boston, during its occupation by the British troops, by the Rev. Dr. Eliot, to his children and others.

Mr. DEXTER said: Andrew Eliot, D.D., was one of the few clergymen who remained in Boston during the siege. He had been settled over the New North Church since 1742, and was one of the prominent ministers of the town. He remained at first, as he says in one of these letters, from a sense of duty, that the people might not be without the ordinances of religion. Finding his situation uncomfortable beyond what he thought he ought to bear, he tried to leave in September, but was refused a pass, and forced to remain until the army evacuated the town. He had a large family, eleven children. The eldest, named for his father, was at this time the minister of Fairfield, Connecticut, and received and cared for the mother and the younger children, who left Boston the last of April. The second son, Josiah, remained with his father, and looked after the business affairs of the family. Samuel, the third son, to whom many of these letters are addressed, was a merchant in Boston, and had married the daughter of William Greenleaf. He, with his family and Mr. Greenleaf's, after entertaining some thoughts of taking refuge in Dartmouth, left Boston in August, and settled in Waltham. John, the fourth son, had graduated from Harvard College in 1772, and was pursuing his professional studies in Cambridge when the College was dispersed. For some time he had no settled home. He was a few weeks in Milton, from thence went to Dover where he began a school, and afterwards resided with Judge Cranch, in Quincy. He succeeded his father at the New North Church, and was one of the founders of this Society, and among its most energetic workers. Ephraim, the youngest son, was preparing for College, from which he graduated in 1780. Five of the six daughters were older than Ephraim.

Mr. John F. Eliot, the son of Ephraim Eliot, has kindly placed in my hands the originals of the letters to John Eliot; and Mr. Edward S. Ritchie, a grandson of Samuel Eliot, has permitted me to use the originals of those addressed to his grandfather. Portions of some few of these letters have been used by Mr. Waterston and Dr. Ellis, but it is thought best to print them here entire:—

*Andrew Eliot to Thomas Brand Hollis.**

BOSTON, April 25, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you by Capt. Robson, and should not so soon have troubled you again, were I not impelled by the unhappy situation of this town, which, by the late cruel and oppressive measures gone into by the British Parliament, is now almost depopulated, or will be in a few days. Filled with the troops of Britain, and surrounded by a Provincial army, all communication with the country is cut off, and we wholly deprived of the necessaries of life, and this principal mart of America is become a poor garrison town. The inhabitants have been confined to the city more than a week, and no person suffered to enter. At length, the General hath consented that, if the inhabitants would deliver their arms, they should be suffered to depart. This proposal, humiliating as it is, hath been complied with. In consequence of this agreement, almost all are leaving their pleasant habitations, and going they know not whither. The most are obliged to leave their furniture and effects of every kind, and indeed their all, to the uncertain chance of war, or rather to certain ruin and destruction. The last week I thought myself in comfortable circumstances, had a convenient dwelling, well furnished; a fine library, made so very much by the munificence of our late most worthy friend; attended by a large, affectionate, and generous congregation; happy in a consort, one of the best of women; and surrounded by a large number of desirable children. Now, I am by a cruel necessity turned out of my house; must leave my books and all I possess, perhaps to be destroyed by a licentious soldiery; my beloved congregation dispersed, my dear wife retreating to a distant part of the country, my children wandering, not knowing whither to go, perhaps left to perish for want; myself soon to leave this devoted capital, happy if I can find some obscure corner which will afford me a bare subsistence. I wish to God the authors of our misery could be witnesses of it. They must have hearts harder than adamant if they did not relent and pity us. I am sensible your tender mind is deeply affected with this tragic scene. How would it have torn the benevolent heart of that excellent man whose death we so deeply deplore, but who as you justly observe is taken from the evil to come. Alas! when you so pertinently and almost prophetically used that phrase, little did I think what *was* to come. What misery doth pride and a lust of dominion bring on mankind! What doth Great Britain gain by this unnatural contest? How long before the proposed revenue, if it should be submitted to, would repay the charge of this cruel expedition? Your trade is destroyed as well as ours, and all parts of the British empire will severely feel the effects of this dreadful exertion of power. Must millions be sacrificed to a mere punctilio, to a mere point of honor? For the dispute which Great Britain maintains against her colonies is

* The heir of Thomas Hollis with whom Dr. Eliot had maintained a confidential correspondence for several years. — Eds.

in fact no more. She would gain, if she conquered, not near so much by taxes as she does in the way of trade. But, unhappily for us, she must assert her authority, and her supreme power must be owned; that is, her pride must be gratified, let what will follow. Forgive, dear sir, these severe reflections on the parent country. My heart is wounded, deeply wounded, almost to death. Surely there is a God that judgeth in the earth, and what must the contrivers of these schemes have to answer for in another world, if not in this. But I know not why I should make you unhappy by reciting what we suffer. My design is only that the friends of America, the friends of liberty, the friends of humanity, may unite their efforts for our deliverance. Great Britain may ruin the Colonies, but she will never subjugate them. They will hold out to the last gasp. They make it a common cause, and they will continue to do so. In this confusion, the College is broken up: nothing is talked of but war. Where these scenes will end, God only knows; but, if I may venture to predict, they will terminate in a total separation of the Colonies from the parent country. Your troops have made a most ill-judged manœuvre, were obliged to retire, and are now cooped up in Boston, afraid to march out, and expect to be assaulted within. If you should favor me with your correspondence, it must be by the way of New York. Please to direct to Mr. Andrew Eliot, minister in Fairfield, in the colony of Connecticut. That direction answers to my son, which will be the safest in the present state; for suspected letters are opened. You need not put under cover: my son will know for whom your letter is designed. Through his hands, it will come safe to me, if I should not be at Fairfield myself. But I trouble you too much, and shall only add that I am,

Your afflicted friend and humble servant.

Andrew Eliot to John Eliot.

Boston, May 4, 1775.

MY DEAR SON,—I have but a moment's time; am just going to preach a lecture; am distressed on every side. I wrote you two billets by Mr. Langdon, with two bundles and two dollars. Your mother and Nancy set out yesterday for Fairfield. Polly, Sally, Sukey, and Eph. went last Sabbath by water.* Nothing keeps me from leaving the town but the obligation I am laid under not to leave so many people without any ordinances. Your sister Betsey will come to Mr. Vose's, if she can leave Samuel's wife and children. You ask me what you shall do. My dear child, what can you do? Can you get business of any sort? I wish you had gone to the eastward. Can you get a school? Can you preach? Possibly, in this strait, a few

* Dr. Eliot's interleaved Almanac contains this entry, 30 April: "My children sailed for Salem." These children, with their mother, remained in Fairfield, Conn., during the occupation of Boston by the troops. See Proceedings for June, 1878, p. 182.—Eds.

of my sermons might be of advantage. You shall have them, or money if you need it. I wish you had gone to Charlestown instead of Roxbury. Our correspondence would be much easier. Any thing I can do for you I will do. God bless you, my son.

Yours affectionately, in great haste.

My best regards to Mr. Vose and wife. May God reward their kindness to me and mine. Let me hear from you by Mr. Josiah Vose on the morrow. I believe Betsey will come there, if Mr. Vose will fetch her.* It will be a great relief, if you can propose any thing for yourself.

Andrew Eliot to John Eliot.

Boston, May 9, 1775.

MY DEAR SON,—I hear you are at Milton. You must endeavor to spend your time to as much advantage as you can. Especially let the present troubles lead you to God. I wish you had joined to the church. I would have you do it at Milton, if you tarry there,† and labor after sincerity. O my son, my principal concern for you is that you may know God and Jesus Christ, whom to know is life eternal. If you could procure any way of subsistence, I should be glad; in a school; or if you had any opportunity to preach, I would have you embrace it. Whatever you want of me that I can supply you with, you shall have. You must do all you can to make your sisters comfortable in their setting out. What Providence designs concerning me I know not. At present, it seems to be my duty to tarry here, though much against my inclination, but I submit to the will of Heaven. My best regards to Mrs. Vose. I hope it will some time or another be in my power to make my acknowledgment to her in person. Write me where you keep, and on what terms; whether you have any plan, or I can do any thing for you. I am surprised you heard nothing from Mr. Belknap. He was at Malden and thereabouts more than a week. God bless you, my son, and make you a blessing.

Your affectionate parent.

You had best make a sermon on the troubles of life, a necessary subject at this day.

Andrew Eliot to John Eliot.

Boston, May 12, 1775.

MY DEAR SON,—I have received a letter from your brother Andrew, who came to fetch your dear mother. They were all in health at Hartford, May 7. He writes, "I know not what has become of John; should be glad to see him at Fairfield." If no business offers this way, possibly it may be best to think of going thither, if you

* Dr. Eliot's interleaved Almanac contains this entry, 9 May: "Betsey set out for Dartmouth."—Eds.

† He joined the First Church in Dedham, 4 June, 1775. See Dr. M'Kean's Memoir of John Eliot, 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. i. p. 215.—Eds.

could find a way of getting thither. The reason of his mentioning you in that manner was the hint you gave before your mother left us that you might go to Connecticut. Whatever you need you shall have, so far as is in my power. How long I may stay in the town I know not. I am in a lonely and melancholy state, but the will of the Lord be done. My love to Mr. and Mrs. Vose, Betsey, and all friends. Write by every opportunity to

Your affectionate parent.

Andrew Eliot to John Eliot.

Boston, May 12, 1775.

MY DEAR SON,—The only reason of my desiring you not to come into town is the fear of your not getting out again. If that could be ascertained, I should be glad to see you. I am sorry for the difficulties you are put to, but glad you got your things (so many of them) to Milton. I hope the difficulties and trials you meet with will be sanctified to you. It is no new thing to find men ungrateful. I fear Mr. Belknap hath disappointed you. I believe he hath taken young Sewall. I would have you join the church where you are, since you cannot be in Boston. Preach as soon as you will. I would have you try if you cannot get business this way before you think of going elsewhere. A bare support is all you must at present aim at. Keep close to God, and he will not forsake. It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth. I wish Betsey could stay with Mrs. Vose, but I would not have her do any thing to grieve her sister. When her sister is comfortably fixed at Dartmouth, possibly it may be well for her to come back. In that case, Mr. Langdon will convey her back. He kindly offers to take her into his family at Dartmouth. I should not dislike it, as possibly those she depends upon may not be so willing to receive her as she may imagine. I am glad you find Mrs. Woodman to make your clothes. Mrs. Eliot and little Samuel will be with you by water on the morrow or the next day. Look out for them, and help them along as fast as you can. I shall send you some money and those other papers you mention by her. My best regards to Mrs. Vose, whom I shall never be able to compensate for her kindness to mine. May God reward her. If you see Mr. Dexter, let him know that he is often in my thoughts, and hath my best wishes and prayers. God knows whether I shall ever have the pleasure of conversing with him again. Your cousin Samuel and his wife, and Mr. Hill and family, will sail, I suppose, for Halifax to-morrow.* I have mentioned whether there might not be an opening there for you. God will provide for you, my son. How long I shall stay I know not. May God direct me. I would not stay another day, if I did not think it would

* Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Eliot left the vessel in which they had embarked at Marblehead, and finally settled in Haverhill until they were able to return to Boston. See the "Andrews Letters," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings* for July, 1865, pp. 406, 407. — Eds.

hurt the interest of religion for me to leave the town at present. I am in continual hurry and confusion. Your brothers are well, and desire to be remembered to you.

Your affectionate parent.

Andrew Eliot to John Eliot.

Boston, May 19, 1775.

DEAR JOHNNY, — I received yours of the 16th just now. I write this, though I know not when you will receive it. I should like your being at Mr. Haven's very well, but your board will be expensive; and I do not see how you will be in any way of supporting it. However, you may tarry there awhile if you think best, and very possibly Providence may point out a way for your subsistence. Trust in God and do good, and verily thou shalt be fed. I am glad to find Mr. B. was not to blame. I thought hardly of him; and I believe his sister, Betsey E[liot], heard me express my wonder at your not hearing from him. I have thoughts of sending to Mr. Thayer to know whether any place is open there.* Clark is an unfaithful, bad man. He had buttons, and ought to have sent them; but it is an ungrateful world we live in. May God prepare us for a better!

Your affectionate parent.

My situation is unpleasant, but know not how to leave it. What God designs I know not. I desire to leave all with him. Have heard nothing from your mother or sisters. My kind regards to Major Vose and Mrs. Vose, Betsey, Mr. Haven and lady, &c.

Andrew Eliot to John Eliot.†

Boston, June 5, 1775.

MY DEAR SON, — Yours of June 2d I received. I had been anxious about you, not having heard from you for so long a time. I am much pleased with the thought of your going to Dover. I received a letter from your brother at Fairfield, wherein he informs me of the very agreeable situation your mother, &c., are in. He adds: "We are exceedingly concerned for John. I wish he was here. He might have some grammar scholars, and get something, though but little. As to his board, he should be welcome to it from me, though he must not expect delicacies the year round. If he can do no better, let him come along: we will provide for him as well as we can." Your brother is very kind, but I am much better pleased with your being at Mr. Bel-

* The Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, minister of Hampton, N. H., was Dr. Eliot's nephew, and is doubtless the person mentioned. — Eds.

† The previous letters to John Eliot are addressed to Milton. This is addressed: "At the Rev. Mr. Belknap's, Dover, to the care of Nathaniel Carter, Esq." An interleaved copy of Mills and Hicks's Register for 1775, with MS. notes in John Eliot's handwriting, shows that he reached Dover on June 14th, and opened his school on the 16th. — Eds.

knap's, to whom I hold myself extremely obliged. You will take care to follow his advice. Treat him with gratitude and respect, and imitate his pious and exemplary life. Let it be your first care to walk with God, and maintain a constant intercourse with heaven, and let your whole conversation be as becometh the gospel. I hope you will soon make the dedication of yourself to God in public. See to it that your heart be right. I would have you preach as soon as you find yourself prepared for it. Study to be an Evangelical preacher, and to win souls to Christ. In your school, be steady and aim at doing good to the children you have in charge; be very careful to avoid severity, which is generally hurtful to both master and scholar. When I shall see you God only knows. I thought to leave the town soon, but so many remain here that I fear my going would hurt religion. I stay much against my inclination, and yet dare not go. May I have direction from above. My state is uncomfortable enough, lonely and surrounded with trying scenes; and yet my friends who remain do every thing to support and strengthen me. What will be the event God knows. May he overrule all for his glory, and may these disputes terminate in a lasting harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies. Your brothers salute you. When I leave the town, I purpose to go to Salem before I set out for Connecticut. You will then hear from me. It would give me great pleasure to see you, but this I am denied; and I submit to this as well as the many other acts of self-denial I am called to, I hope with some degree of cheerfulness, because all is ordered by a wise heavenly Father. Remember me with sincere regard to Mr. Belknap, and, if you have any opportunity to write, let me hear from you. If you could convey a letter to Salem, to the care of Mr. Diman,* or Deacon Sharp at Capt. Dodge's, it would come safe to the hands of

Your affectionate parent.

Be sure to behave well to Mr. B. I am not certain it will be best for you to board with him, but do in every thing as he would have you.

I know not what you mean by receiving a degree the next Commencement. I have heard nothing of Commencements, Degrees, or Diploma. However, upon every account, I approve of your not receiving a degree of A. M. this year.

Andrew Eliot to Samuel Eliot.†

MY SON,—When you go out of town, write to your mother, and desire their letters may be sent to Mr. Greenleaf's care. Send my letter to your brother by a sure hand. Pay Mr. Lawrence six dollars which I have given you for a ticket I let him have, and which I had

* The Rev. James Diman was pastor of the Second Church in Salem. — Eds.

† Samuel Eliot left Boston August 2d, and remained at Waltham during the siege. — Eds.

not paid for. The other five (I think that is the number) are at Fairfield, besides several others which had been paid for. If you have a good opportunity, send for them, and receive the money and keep it for the right owners. They are in a little parchment book which I gave your mother, in the little trunk with my sermons. Desire your brother Andrew to take particular care of the papers that enclose each ticket, that you may be right in returning the money. Take particular care of Mr. Hill's papers; write to him that you have them. If you go to Haverhill, you may leave them with your cousin Samuel, but do not let them go out of your hands to any one else. Let me know when you have delivered them. Inquire about your sister Betsey, and send me word where and how she is. Let her know that I have heard from her mamma and John. Send me word whether Mr. Ingraham arrived when it was said he did, and whether he saw Mr. Hollis. Keep my clothes at Waltham; let them be spread. Write me by every good opportunity. Commend me to all my friends, and tell them I long to breathe a free air.

*Andrew Eliot to Isaac Smith, Jr.**

Boston, June 19, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR, — According to your desire, I write without ceremony to acquaint you with the state of things in Boston. You left us shut up, and the people removing from the town as fast as they were permitted. I am told that more than nine thousand are removed. Many more were preparing to follow, but passes have been stopped for some time. So that thousands are detained who desire to go, among whom I am one. I tarried purely out of regard to the inhabitants who were left, that they might not be without ordinances and worship in the way which they choose. It is now perhaps too late to think of removing, as all communication is at present stopped. The last Saturday gave us a dreadful specimen of the horrors of civil war. Early on Saturday morning, we were alarmed by the firing of cannon from the fort which is erected on Copp's Hill, and from the ships which lie in Charles River. Upon inquiry, it was found that the Provincials had been forming lines on a hill below the hill in Charlestown commonly called Bunker's Hill. This intrenchment was calculated extremely well to

* This letter is addressed: "Mr. Isaac Smith, Jr., to the care of the Master of the New England Coffee House, Threadneedle Street, London. Favored by Mr. Silsby." Isaac Smith, Jr., graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1767. He was tutor there at the commencement of hostilities, and throwing up his office went to England in May, 1775. He was ordained over a dissenting congregation at Sidmouth, Devonshire, in 1778, but returned to America after the war, in April, 1784; was Librarian of the College for three years, and afterward preached in Boston. He died in 1829. He was an intimate friend of the Eliots, and in his interleaved Almanac for 1775 speaks of more than one letter passing between them. Frequent mention of him may be found in Mr. George A. Ward's *Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen*. A letter from his father, a merchant of Boston, copied by a member of the Eliot family, immediately follows this letter of Dr. Eliot. — EDS.

annoy Boston and the ships in the harbor. About one o'clock, a large body of British troops set off from Boston to attack these lines. About three o'clock, the engagement began, and lasted perhaps an hour. Great part of the time the firing seemed incessant. It seems the troops stormed the lines, and after a warm opposition carried them. Perhaps there has seldom been a more desperate action. As the Provincials were up to the chin intrenched, they made a great slaughter of the King's troops before they retreated. How many were killed on each side it is impossible for me to say. It is generally agreed that seventy or eighty officers were killed or wounded on the side of the regulars. It was a new and awful spectacle to us to have men carried through the streets groaning, bleeding, and dying. Some of the best officers are taken off, and some hundreds of the privates. The attack was commanded by General Howe. How the Provincials have suffered is not yet known, nor indeed shall I pretend to give a particular account of the terrible scene. You must take this from the prints. Dr. Warren is among the slain. It is said he had the chief direction of the defence. If this is true, it seems to me he was out of his line. Since this action, the King's troops have taken possession of Bunker's Hill, and fortified it strongly. On the other side, the Provincials are intrenching themselves on the hill back of the road in Charlestown, just beyond the two-mile stone. Amidst the carnage of Saturday, the town of Charlestown was set on fire, and I suppose every dwelling-house and every public building is consumed till you have passed the passage to the mills, and are come to the houses where Woods the baker dwelt. You may easily judge what distress we were in to see and hear Englishmen destroying one another, and a town with which we have been so intimately connected all in flames. We are left in anxious expectation of the event. God grant the blood already spilt may suffice. But this we cannot reasonably expect. May we be prepared for every event. It is talked that a further attack will be made on the Provincials, but I cannot pretend to guess what will be the motion on either side, though every one I meet seems to be as able to tell as if they were admitted into the council of war. I know by this time you will be anxious to hear of the fate of the College. I can only say that last week I received a letter from the President, informing me that there was to be a meeting of as many Overseers and Fellows as could be got together, in order to consult what was proper to be done. What was done at this meeting I do not know. I wish they may come to no sudden resolutions: it is no time to give offence. I have heard it said there was talk of moving the College to Haverhill or to Worcester. I wonder who will send their children in this time of confusion. I should think it were better to leave matters at present, and to wait the issue of things, but you know how little influence I have had of late. Perhaps it will one day be seen that it had been as well if more moderate counsels had been pursued. Dr. Appleton, I hear, is declining. The righteous are taken from the evil to come. I forgot to mention that a few days before the action the Governor issued a proclamation offering pardon to all that would lay down their

arms except Mr. Adams and Mr. Hancock, and at the same time putting us under martial law. It would be a great comfort to me, if I could leave the town, but I submit to what God is pleased to order. I gave Mr. Amory a letter to Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq. It was written when my mind was very deeply affected with the distresses of the town. I know not that there was any thing that would give offence; but as it was written when I was greatly agitated, and in such a manner as that the writer would be easily known, I should be glad it might be used with caution. You will be so good as to find, if possible, that worthy gentleman, and communicate my desire. His direction is at Messrs. Harrison & Cromwell, Attorneys, Million Bank, London, — if I mistake not, in Lombard Street. I have not his letter by me, and therefore am not certain I give his direction exactly right. You may easily find him by inquiry, and I should be glad you would make no delay. Whether you will receive any other letter from me is uncertain. But, however Providence may dispose of me, that you may enjoy every blessing you can yourself desire, is the earnest wish and prayer of

Your sincere friend and humble servant.

I write in great haste and perturbation of mind. You will therefore excuse every impropriety, and will not wonder I do not write more in this very critical day.

JUNE 22.

Things have been pretty quiet since the above. We have no communication with those on the other side the water, but can perceive that they are fortifying at Chelsea, Malden, Winter Hill, the hills in Roxbury, Dorchester, and where not? Every inch of ground will be disputed. Can no way be found to accommodate these unhappy differences? If Great Britain should finally subjugate us, I fear for the College, I fear for the churches. There is great wrath against the President, and indeed against the Presbyterian ministers in general. If the Americans prevail . . . ! You may possibly, if things should be settled while you are in England, be able to serve your country. The God of heaven preserve us! It is an inexhaustible source of comfort that the government of the world is just where it is.*

Isaac Smith of Boston to his Son Isaac Smith, Jr.

SALEM, June 30, 1775.

DEAR ISAAC, — I wrote you soon after you sailed by way of Bilbao, since which many things have happened; though it is probable you may have heard some account of the destruction of Charlestown, the most unjustifiable cruel action ever committed by any barbarians; by which action three-quarters of innocent inhabitants have lost their all, and must be dependent for a livelihood. They set fire to the town

* An interesting letter from Dr. Eliot to this same Isaac Smith, dated April 5, 1776, is printed by Dr. George E. Ellis in his "Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Evacuation of Boston," p. 190. — Eds.

as soon as the troops landed; began at the street by the ferry-ways and meeting-house about two o'clock in the afternoon, and have burned all the houses as far as Stearns's, as you go [up] Mystic Road. The regulars attacked the others in their intrenchments. The combat lasted about two hours, with great warmth on either side, when the regulars' third division got possession of some intrenchments begun the night before, and not completed, as they had got up but two or three pair small cannon. There were three ships and three floating batteries playing most part of the day from Copp's Hill right opposite, and throwing bombs likewise. Yet it does not appear that the colony's troops have lost but about fifty killed, about one hundred wounded, and thirty taken prisoners, which is very wonderful. On the other side, it seems to be acknowledged that they have had killed and wounded a thousand, some say many more. It seems there were about eighty officers of that number, the greater part killed, or since I believe dead. Amongst the field officers are Colonel Abercrombie, Majors Pitcairn and Williams, so that the advantage of getting the hill in Charlestown has cost them very dear.

I have seen many from Boston who were eye-witnesses to the most melancholy scene ever beheld in this part of the world. The Saturday night and Sabbath were taken up in carrying over the dead and wounded. All the wood-carts in town, it is said, were employed. Chaises and coaches for officers. They have taken the workhouse, almshouse, and manufactory house for the wounded. In the several skirmishes from the time of the Lexington affair, the army, I believe, are at least two thousand weakened; and, as they are confined entirely to salt provisions, we hear they begin to have the flux, by which means we are afraid the inhabitants will likewise get sick. There has been an account taken since martial law has been proclaimed, and there are about five thousand inhabitants still remaining in town. Amongst them are all the selectmen, who are not permitted to come out at all, nor any others since the battle. Mrs. Newell has been out about a fortnight. Mr. Payn's family and Mrs. Newell's are still at Mr. Brooks's. Your mother and I were coming from Waltham on Saturday afternoon when we heard the account of the engagement. She chose to return, after which I went to Cambridge; where among others that were wounded was Colonel Gardner, of Cambridge, very badly in the thigh; Colonel Gridley, a flesh wound in his leg. Your cousin Billy, being sick, was not out.

The intrenchments extend from Winter Hill over to Cambridge road. There are now under arms from Roxbury, and so round to the other encampment, about sixteen thousand men, the other governments' not all come. On the other side, don't think they have six thousand, horse and all, able to do duty. It has been thought they would have come out Roxbury way, and so burn the town, which I suppose will be, should they come out; but they are pretty well prepared to receive them. At present, don't think they will come out either way just now, though there is no knowing. There is not any wood in the town that the inhabitants can buy.

Drs. Eliot, Mather, and Byles are still in town. Dr. Mather's daughter I saw at Waltham. She came out the day before the engagement, and left every thing at Charlestown, and, not being able to get carts to carry them into the country, has lost all; as likewise many others who had left their goods at Charlestown, which the sailors, it is said, have plundered. Dr. Welsh, who is like to become a cousin, by the way, of Kent, happened to be out of town, lost his clothes, linen, and many other things. And we are now coming into more distressing times, as I suppose the cutters, &c., will stop all wood vessels, as they have already begun, and pressing every thing that comes in. And, as the events of all are under the divine direction, we have at this most melancholy time more need to look up to Him who can overrule the present unnatural contention for the peace and happiness of both nations.

I hope you will conduct yourself in such a manner as to do honor to that profession you have taken upon you, and that you may escape the pollutions that are in the world. Your mother, brothers, and sisters are all well. Mr. Eliot and lady board at Mr. John White's, at Haverhill. Mr. Boylston and Mr. Bromfield are still at Boston. But as Mr. Jonathan Amory is in Boston, who has had opportunity to write from thence, he may have informed his brother many things that we are unknown to.

Your affectionate father.

P. S. July 1. Since martial law has taken place, there is no such thing as saying any thing. Poor, harmless Shrimpton Hunt, standing by his door at the time of the engagement, was overheard saying he hoped our people would get the better of the others, was taken up and confined in gaol. Sam. Gore, for calling over to his sister to come and see a funeral pass, was taken up and confined some time; and a person who came out by water yesterday says Jemmy Lovell is in close gaol or in the dungeon, but nobody can tell for what. A person, who says his intelligence was such that it might be depended on, says that the Fifty-second Regiment had but two captains returned, and that the number of officers killed and wounded was ninety-four; one hundred and two sergeants, and seven hundred soldiers killed and since dead, besides a great number wounded. It is said by officers who were at the battle of Minden that it was scarce equal. A most dismal scene to be killing one another.

The Continental Congress have appointed Colonel Washington to the chief command, who is on the road; Colonel Ward, the second; General Lee, the third; Colonel Schuyler, Adjutant-General.

Andrew Eliot to Samuel Eliot.

Monday morning.

MY SON,—Your billet I received. I shall take care of those articles you mention, if they are not gone before I shall see the person with whom you intrusted them. Remember me to all my kind friends.

I was not at all well last evening: purpose to keep house to-day, though better. I forgot to mention to you that, when I go away, Hannah purposes to go. Possibly you might meet with a place for her. If she could have small wages or only her board, it would be better than for her to tarry here. Send my letters to Salem the first opportunity, and take particular care to send Mr. Hill's; and, when you deliver his notes, it may not be amiss to desire him to compare them with the schedule, to see that they are right. Love to Betsey and the dear little ones; to Mr. and Mrs. Greenleaf and all theirs; to everybody else, especially my own people. When you see Mr. Hill, ask him if he can tell whether Mr. Stearns received any thing for me. I hear Mr. Cary is at Haverhill. In case you go there, inquire for him, present my particular regards to him, tell him he hath hardly been out of my thoughts since the burning of Charlestown. I trust he hath an inheritance above, which cannot be destroyed. My son, you see the emptiness of this world, and by what an uncertain tenure we hold the things of it. Make sure of a better portion. To see you a good rather than a great man is the desire of

Your affectionate parent.

*Andrew Eliot to Daniel Parker.**

Boston, July 31, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR,— Your great attention to me and concern for my comfort deserve my sincerest thanks. I received the two quarters of mutton, and have divided one between Dr. Rand and Mr. Welsh, who express their acknowledgments in the highest terms. Part of the other I shall send to make broth for the prisoners, who have really suffered for want of fresh meat. I shall this day make a quantity of broth for the sick around me, who are very numerous. You cannot conceive the relief you will give to great number of persons by this kind office. Perhaps your broth has been dispensed to thirty or forty sick people. I thank you for the ability of helping them. I have invited a number of friends to partake of the rest. It is one of the greatest pleasures I have to communicate of any good thing which Providence sends me. Oh, how have we despised former mercies! God is severely teaching us our ingratitude. May we know the blessedness of those whom he chasteneth and teacheth out of his law. After all, the difficulty of food is the least concern I have, though I very seldom meet with any thing fresh. But to live amid scenes of blood and slaughter, and other trials I do not care to mention, is hard; and yet, on the whole, I cannot say I am sorry I tarried. I hope God has made me in some measure useful in my labors both in public and private. I visit the sick in all parts of the town, but alas! I do but little in comparison with what I ought to do for so good a Master. This is my greatest distress. The door is again opened for the departure of the inhabi-

* Daniel Parker was a friend and parishioner of Dr. Eliot, who took refuge in Salem during the siege. — Eds.

tants: multitudes will embrace the opportunity. The more go from us, the easier it will be for me to depart. In this view, I rejoice to see my friends going from me; and yet, if God calls me to tarry, why should I repine? It is because I have not that temper of mind I ought to have that I cannot leave myself wholly to Providence, and be perfectly easy in the situation in which God sees fit to place me. I have yet fixed no time for my departure. I find the very mention of it occasions uneasy sensations in the people, which gives me pain. May God direct me. I have just received a letter from my son, in Fairfield, dated July 20, which informs me of the health and welfare of Mrs. Eliot and my children there. Blessed be God. You cannot conceive what a relief this affords me. Pray remember me to your dear consort, her mother, and the children, and all other of my friends and congregation who are in Salem. My assembly is [was] large: it hath decreased; it will soon be small. Oh, how happy should I be to see my own people collected together, and to preach once more to them! but the will of the Lord be done. Pray let me have a remembrance with you, and believe me to be

Your obliged and affectionate friend and humble servant.

I do not mention Deacon Sharpe, because I propose to write to him.

August 2.—Mr. Welsh was as communicative of his mutton and broth as I was. In short, you cannot conceive how much good you have done. Mr. Austin tells me he verily believes it saved the lives of a number of people. I eat very little of it myself, and yet never had so much pleasure in any provision in my life. If I could only get a little at times, I would engage not to taste it myself, and to give it *only* to the sick. Provision for myself is my least concern. The Lord is my shepherd: I shall not want.

If you could send me a line by this transport, commit it to the care of Mr. Knox, who will convey it safe to me.

*Andrew Eliot to John Eliot.**

Boston, August 1, 1775.

MY DEAR SON,—It is long since I heard from you. The last time was by a letter you wrote to Mr. Dutton, which his widow sent to me before she left the town. You had not then arrived at Dover. I hope you are now comfortably settled there. My son, fear thou the God of thy fathers, and serve him with a perfect heart and a willing mind. Be diligent in prayer, be diligent in the duties of your station. I know not whether you have yet engaged in public preaching. Let this sacred employment be entered upon with serious preparation. Think what a weighty thing it is to preach the Gospel. Be desirous of understanding it yourself before you undertake to instruct others.

* This letter is addressed: "At the Rev. Mr. Belknap's, Dover. To the care of Rev. Mr. Thayer in Hampton."—Eds.

Let it be your particular concern that you may have a sense of the importance of religion. This will make you earnest that others may have an acquaintance with it. Affect not a pompous and florid style, but seek a plain, easy manner of writing, which will be level to the capacity of all your hearers. This may be without sinking into incorrectness, or clothing your sentiments in a low, slovenly dress. Determine to know nothing but Christ Jesus and him crucified, and let it be your sedulous endeavor to make your hearers good men and sincere Christians. I am glad you have such a wise and prudent friend to advise and assist you as Mr. Belknap. Always consult him, and treat him with that respect and deference which his merits and his particular regard to you justly claim. In your school, you will endeavor to be faithful to your trust, and aim at establishing your authority by mild and gentle persuasion rather than by an austere carriage and severe discipline. It is much more desirable to have it said that your scholars love you than that they fear you. If they love you, they will fear you. I should be extremely glad to see you, but at present am denied that favor. I remain still in town, much beyond my expectation and desire. I intended at first to continue only a few weeks; but the numbers who still remained, and the solicitations of many that I would not leave them, prevailed. I thought it my duty to give up my inclination to what I esteemed a call of Providence. I have been called to scenes of difficulty and distress, but have been carried through them. When I shall be able to go out, I know not. I wish it might be soon; and yet why should I wish for this, if I can be more useful here? I have not yet learned the great lesson of self-denial as I ought and as I desire. Amidst all the fears, dangers, and anxieties with which I am surrounded, I commit myself to my heavenly Father.

I have just received a letter from Fairfield, dated July 20th, informing me that your mother and her children are well, and as happy as they can be in the present state of difficulty and confusion. Your brother there hath a daughter born. At the same time, I was informed of the welfare of Mrs. Eliot at Waltham, and her little ones. I have heard nothing of your sister Betsey since you left us. God grant that I may once more see my children collected together; but I leave all to his sovereign disposal. I have nothing particular to write you of the state of things here. The town is visited with a dysentery, which carries off many of the inhabitants. Five are to be carried to the grave this evening. This greatly increases my labors. Give my sincere regards to Mr. Belknap, and his dear consort, and her sister. Remember me to his father and family, and to all friends. May God bless you, my son, and make you a blessing!

Your affectionate parent.

Write me by the first opportunity: send it to Mr. Daniel Parker at Salem, or Mr. Greenleaf at Watertown, and either will convey it. But be careful to write nothing that relates to things you would not have known to others; for your letters will be examined. Write as

soon as you can; for I hope to be gone in a few weeks. God knows whether I shall be so happy.

August 3.—I yesterday received yours of the 16th June, together with one from Mr. B. I rejoice to find things are so agreeable; hope they will continue so. I send this out of town by your brother Samuel, who will leave us to-morrow. I fear I shall not have time to write to Mr. B. by this conveyance. Make my warmest acknowledgments to him. I have just written to your mamma, who will be comforted to hear of your welfare.

Andrew Eliot to Samuel Eliot.

Boston, August 19, 1775.

MY DEAR SON,—I was greatly concerned that I heard nothing from you in so long a time. I was not able to account for it, and was fearful you was sick. I was almost as much surprised when I received yours that you gave me no account of a number of things I committed to you. Have you sent your letters forward? It is surprising to me that I have had no answer from Salem, nor anywhere else. Where is your sister Betsey? I have the greatest anxiety about her. Have you sent word to Mr. Hill? I have received two letters from him about those papers. Did Mr. Ingraham see Mr. Hollis, &c.? Did you receive what I sent you? Must I pay the bearer, or did you? Your Mr. Sparhawk declined delivering the coal; said Mr. E. gave him the small things. I did not choose to dispute. You told me of some shrub. I find none. I am glad to hear of John. Josiah expected to hear from you. I could not obtain a pass, if I would, but hope things will be better in a few weeks. If I could convey my clothes, should rejoice to take a place in a chaise to Fairfield. Had the disorder of the times upon me last week; am better, but weak. I wish I was out of the town. It is inconceivably difficult. I have hardly time to think of it, being perpetually in sick and dying rooms. The sickness doth not increase; but the aged die for want of strength of nature to grapple with it, the poor for want of necessary comforts. Neighbor Grant is dead. Poor Mr. Swift was said to be dying last evening. When you go to the eastward, give my best regards to all friends. Remember me most affectionately to your cousin Samuel and his wife, and tell Mrs. Andrews that I am extremely obliged to her for the kind notice she hath so frequently taken of me in her letters to Mr. A. My son, you live in a troublesome time. Remember this is not your resting-place: make sure of an inheritance beyond the grave. Wisdom is the principal thing: get wisdom. Remember me to your Betsey. Kiss the pretty lambs for me. May God bless them! Compliments to your father Greenleaf and his family. I fear Mr. Scollay will lose his son.* I want supports myself, but am continually called to give them to others. I cannot enlarge. The times are bad, but

* The eldest son of Mr. Scollay died in August. See Essex Inst. Hist. Colls., vol. xiii. p. 196. — Eds.

the corruptions of men make them so. I wonder your mamma hath not received a number of letters, particularly two I sent to the care of Mr. Treat, of New York. Write to her every convenient opportunity. I want to say a great deal about some things; but I hastily put down things as they come into my mind. I shall add no more than that I am

Your affectionate parent.

Pray write me as soon as possible.

Andrew Eliot to Samuel Eliot.

Boston, August 27, 1775.

MY DEAR SON, — I have received yours of the 22d inst., and your billet of Saturday. When you see Mr. Hill, you will see that his papers are right. I communicated to Dr. Perkins what you wrote of his niece. He hath received nothing from her. If you know any thing more of her, you will oblige him if you will write it to me. I am in a better state of health than I was, but my constant fatigues keep me weak. We have many taken down with fevers. I rejoice to hear your family is in health. May God preserve them! I long to hear that your Betsey is safely delivered. She hath my prayers and best wishes. You might break open the parcel from T. B. H. [Hollis], inform me what is in it, and take particular care of the contents. I suppose there is a letter enclosed. You may open it, and, if you think it proper, convey it to me; but this I leave to your prudence, when you have read it. You will use the utmost caution in sending it. I did not know of Mr. Pemberton's going time enough to write. My best regards to your parents with you, and your brothers and sisters, and all other friends. I wrote to you by Mr. Edwards and by Mr. Collins. You mention one of 23d. I know not which it was, but hope it was that which enclosed the letter to Fairfield. I am sending to your mother by a gentleman bound to New Haven. I am tired of writing about coming out, but am more tired of being here, and yet am greatly afflicted at the thought of leaving such numbers. I never was so embarrassed in my life. May God direct and support me! Whatever awaits me I desire to submit.

Yours affectionately.

My regards to Mr. Cushing and all friends. Your brother says you ought to have written to him concerning something he committed to you. Take care of the enclosed paper. There was a bag of allspice in Mr. Holmes's room, which Hannah and Molly Laughton say was yours. I took it away, but would be glad to know whose it is. If it is Mr. Holmes's, I will return it. I write a line on the other side to Betsey. Send it to her. When you see her, give her your best advice, and if she wants any small matter supply her.

Andrew Eliot to John Eliot.

BOSTON, August 28, 1775.

MY DEAR SON, — Yours from Waltham* I received with pleasure. I am glad your situation is agreeable. I am concerned about your health. Fear that keeping school and preaching will together be too much for you. At present, you had best preach but seldom; and, if some time hence (I should not choose it very soon) you should be engaged in constant preaching, you must quit the school. But I would not have you think of this at present. I am sorry you are deprived of a father's advice and assistance at this critical time of life; but Mr. B. must be father to you, and you must especially acknowledge God in all your ways, that he may direct your paths. O my son, walk closely with God, and preach Christ Jesus and him crucified. How God will dispose of me is uncertain. I hope to be with your dear mother before winter. I have great difficulties to go through, but I submit because I know God doeth all things well. I leave myself and family with him. I gave Mr. Belknap's letter, etc., to Mr. Parker immediately on the receipt. I conclude he will hear from him or Mr. Dawes. Mr. Parker tells me he hath not been able to procure any money, as he hoped he should. My best regards to Mr. Belknap, his consort, his father and mother, and all other friends. Write to your brother Samuel as often as you can. He can communicate intelligence to me. To hear of your welfare will always afford great satisfaction to

Your affectionate parent.

I conclude you know that Governor Wentworth is come to reside in Boston.

Andrew Eliot to Samuel Eliot.†

BOSTON, September 6, 1775.

MY DEAR SON, — What I greatly feared is come upon me. I had prepared my things for a speedy departure from this devoted town, but heard yesterday that it was determined in a conclave of our new-fangled councillors that I should not have a pass. However, I was determined to apply. This day I waited on the Town Major, who peremptorily refused to give me a pass. I endeavored to expostulate the matter with him, but could have no reason assigned but that he was to allow only women and children. I argued that men had been allowed to go. He said they had made particular interest, but that there were some who would not be allowed to go. When I found that all I could say availed nothing, I left him. I shall soon wait on the General, but fear it is already determined that I should not go.

* John Eliot's interleaved almanac for 1775 shows that he left Dover on the 7th, was in Waltham the 10th, and preached in Salem on the 13th. The first entry of his preaching is in Mr. Belknap's pulpit on July 10th. — Eds.

† This letter is addressed to Waltham, "To be left at Mr. Cushing's, who is desired to deliver it with care by his humble servant, A. Eliot." — Eds.

It is very hard treatment. I have no fuel, and very little provision. Some of those gentlemen who have inserted themselves in this affair insinuated that I made money by tarrying. So far from this, I do not receive one-half of what I received from my people, and, if I must tarry, should be willing to preach only for my wood, which would cost more than I am like to receive, if it is to be got at all. If I cannot go, I must submit; but what will be the event with me and a great number of others, God knows. To tarry here through winter will be dreadful; but I hope Providence will find out a way for our relief. I am at present in health, but great numbers die, chiefly children and old persons. I commit myself to my heavenly Father. I am greatly distressed for your dear mother, who will be inconsolable when she hears that there is like to be a longer separation. May she have divine support! I long to hear of Betsey's safe delivery. She has my best wishes and prayers. Remember me to her with the tenderest affection. May God bless you and her and your dear children! I am at a loss whether it is best yet to inform your mother that I am refused a pass till I have taken every step; and you must be cautious how you mention any thing which I mention about the mandamus councillors, so as that it may reach these quarters, for we are made offenders for a word. I hope the time will come when we may speak and write freely. I have received two agreeable letters from your cousin Samuel. Let me hear from you the first opportunity; but, if you write any thing of a private nature, take care to send it so as it may not be seen by those who now govern us. There is but one way in which you can send safely: you know that. My best regards to Mr. G[reenleaf] and lady, and all friends.

I am, under all embarrassments,

Your affectionate, &c.

Cannot you send by — * the whole parcel from T. B. H. Pray write Josiah by the first conveyance.

I am at length allowed again to visit the prisoners. They were overjoyed to see me. Except poor Delanne, the butcher, they seemed all in a good way, most of them very hearty and well. There are but eleven living out of thirty. It was a great grief to me that I could not see Capt. Walker † and others before they died, as they were earnestly desirous of seeing me; but so it was ordered. If you have any opportunity to send to Fairfield, let me know it. You can write some things to me which may be seen, when you cannot write otherwise. Let me hear from you soon.

* A name in the original has been carefully erased. Dr. Eliot probably thought it wiser, in case the letter should fall into hostile hands. — Eds.

† Capt. Benjamin Walker was wounded and taken prisoner at Bunker Hill. His leg was amputated, and he died in August. — Eds.

Andrew Eliot to Samuel Eliot.

BOSTON, September 18, 1775.

MY DEAR SON, — I received your billet dated September 1, and just now yours of yesterday. I am in an uncomfortable state, but must submit to Providence. When I consider that affliction cometh not forth of the dust, I feel calm. But, when I think of the injurious treatment of men, my passions rise. I need more grace than I have. I wish you had mentioned the date of Polly's letter. I would have you send the enclosed by a safe hand.* They talk of taking Mr. Holmes's house for an hospital. I fear some such fate of my house when I leave it, if I should ever be allowed. Every house is now taken as the officers please. Gen. Clinton is in Mrs. Hancock's, Burgoyne in Mr. Bowdoin's, &c. I shall be glad to see T. B. H. when it is convenient. My love to Betsey. I pray God to send her deliverance. Kiss the dear babes for me. Remember me to the amiable family with which you are connected. We are much affected with the death of Mr. Hunt and Mr. Howe. Worthy men. Poor Boston! But all God doth is right. Josiah is well. The sickness abates. Many are dead. Your good old Mrs. Adams is gone to rest. Let me hear from you by every opportunity. God bless you, my son. You have the continual prayers of

Your affectionate parent.

I send your mamma's letter open to you. Seal it and enclose it. You must be cautious in writing to me, as your letters will be opened, unless you take particular care.

Andrew Eliot to John Eliot.†

BOSTON, September 16, 1775.

MY DEAR SON, — I have only a moment's time to inform you that I am in health, though low in spirits. I have been denied a pass, which deprives me of the opportunity of seeing you at present. I hope the difficulty will be soon removed, and that I shall have liberty to come out before winter. In the mean time, I commit you to the divine protection. I lately heard that your mother and family were well. You have seen a good deal of the instability of earthly things. I hope you have made it your great concern to secure an interest in a better world. My warmest regards to Mr. Belknap, his wife, and all friends. I saw an advertisement in the paper, calling on all to apply for their

* The following sentences are erased in the original letter: "I have in it mentioned Mr. Hancock's marriage. I suppose it is true. If it is not, desire your brother not to say a word of what I write on that subject." Mr. Hancock married Dorothy Quincy, 4 Sept., 1775. — Eds.

† This letter is addressed: "To the care of Mr. Jacob Treadwell, at Portsmouth, who is desired to forward it by his sincere friend, S. E." — Eds.

degrees by the first of October.* I think it will be best for you to apply, if it be not too late, and you can with any convenience. I suppose you cannot be there in person: if not, write to Samuel to apply, and to pay the dues. Wishing you every blessing, I am
Your affectionate parent.

Andrew Eliot to Samuel Eliot.

Boston, October 20, 1775.

MY DEAR SON,—I received your short billet at the end of Mr. B.'s letter. Omit no opportunity of writing. It is almost the only earthly consolation I have to hear of the welfare of my friends. I see no prospect of my having liberty to leave the town, and am preparing as well as I can to lay in for the winter. I am afraid your good mother will be distressed at this long separation. If ever I am so happy as to meet that dear woman again, nothing but death shall again separate us. I am concerned that you have heard nothing from Fairfield for so long a time. Write to your mamma as soon as you can. If I may judge her from myself, the least line to let her know that I am well will yield her some satisfaction. I sent a letter for her a few days ago to Betsey to be conveyed by you. Let her have it as soon as you can. I had time only to write a few words. O my son, I have gone through the most trying scenes that I ever did through my whole life. God knows what I am yet to endure. To him I refer myself, my dear consort, my children, and all my concerns. The great Lord of all doth all things well. You did not write me word whether you saw Mr. Stearns at Billerica, and whether you received the tickets from Fairfield. If you did, convey the money to your mamma. I wish I knew how to convey her more. Inquire of her what demands she has. I will do every thing I can to answer them. I would suffer myself rather than she should. Possibly I may get a draft on some person at New York. Your friend D. refuses to let me enter his yard to take away the coal according to your agreement, unless he has an order from Mr. G. A certain lawyer † demanded the keys to

* The College was broken up by the war, and, as is well known, after consultation of the Overseers, it was decided to open the academic year 1775-76 at Concord. This announcement was made September 6th, and published in the "Boston Gazette" (then printed in Watertown) on the 11th. Previous issues of the paper, however, beginning with August 28th, had contained a notice, signed by the President, that candidates for degrees must comply with the requisite conditions on or before October 1st, at which time the College would issue a general diploma. This is the notice Dr. Eliot saw. The "Gazette" of October 16th contains the general diploma in full, with the names of the recipients of degrees. Seventeen members of the class of 1772 (John Eliot one of them) received the Master's degree. It is, perhaps, worth notice that, although the names of the students had been printed alphabetically in catalogues since 1773, and the names of the Bachelors in this diploma are so arranged, those of the Masters follow the old style, and stand in the order of the rank of their respective families.—Eds.

† Over this word the name Danforth is written.—Eds.

attach it for some lottery-tickets. He demanded them of Josiah. He told him he should not have them. He threatened to force the door. I think he will not presume, although he declares he will, and run the chance of all consequences. I hope I shall do without it, but should be glad of direction from Mr. G. My regards to Mr. G. and lady, and your dear wife. God bless her and your dear little ones. I did not receive your letter in season, or I should have endeavored to convey a line by Mr. Ingraham. My compliments to his consort. I have much to say, but am obliged to forbear. You and yours are ever near the heart of

Your affectionate parent.

I desire to know whether you got John his degree. If you go to Cambridge, I wish you would see Dr. Appleton. Give my dutiful regards to him. Let him know that I think of him every day; should rejoice to see him, but hope he remembers me at the throne of grace. I never needed his prayers more than now, and never so much wanted to converse with him. Write me any thing about the College. Where is our little Molly? I would send our Betsey her winter clothes, if I knew how to convey them. See what she wants of necessaries (she must think of nothing else), and supply her. Did you receive what was sent after you passed the ferry? I have paid Thompson £5 10s. for 20 lbs. of candles at 5s. 6d. You mentioned paying him in pepper, but I had none in my hands.

Andrew Eliot to Samuel Eliot.

[No date.]

Hannah carries some winter things for your sister. You must take care of them. Do not let your sister suffer. I purpose to procure an order from Mr. Amory on Mr. Pain for money, which I hope you can send to your dear mother. Hannah carries, if she is permitted, some linen, which I would have you convey to Fairfield. I would have sent more, but was afraid it could not be carried. Did you send the chintz which was to go there? Give Hannah any advice or assistance she may need. I had written a long letter, but fear to send it. Douglas is confined, and a negro. The boxes must remain. I desire to commit myself to Providence. But, had I known what I was to endure, I should have been among the first that left the town, though I had lost all. Since that time, I have not been able to go. Had laid in provision for the winter; sold it again. Shall be miserably provided. If I had thought of tarrying, might have done well enough. But little is to be procured at this day.

Andrew Eliot to Samuel Eliot.

Boston, November 20, 1775.

MY DEAR SON, — I received five letters from you in September; none since. I have not heard from my dearest of all earthly friends since August. It gives me great pain. Oh, that I could once more see

that best of women! You, as well as I, must be in a distressed condition. Labor to make a religious improvement of all. I hope you will live to see better days. I hardly expect this for myself. Hannah thinks it necessary to leave me. I wish you would see her. She proposes to stay some time at one Mr. Payson's, who keeps a tavern, as she tells me, in Watertown. My respectful compliments to Mr. G. and family. Love to dear Betsey. Kiss the little ones in the name of their very affectionate grandpapa.

I wish you would as soon as possible procure from the College Book of Benefactors the whole that is written under the name of Hollis, and convey it to me very speedily by a flag when one shall come in, if no other boat should pass.

A gentleman desires me to inquire whether Judge Lynde and his wife, or Mr. A. Oliver of Salem, are there, or where. If you can without going out of your way send word, it would oblige him. It is of no great importance.

I have enclosed an order drawn by Mr. Thomas Amory on Mr. Pain for £20 sterling, which I desire you to get and to send as soon as you can to your mamma.

*Andrew Eliot to Samuel Eliot.**

BOSTON, December 9, 1775.

MY DEAR SON, — I received yours of the 30th of November by the flag, with the order for the coal, for which I am much obliged to Mr. G. Mr. Black kindly favored me with a quarter of a chaldron, which was a great relief. Yours of 30th just came to hand. I am surprised you have not received mine which I sent by Hannah. She intended to go to one Mr. Payson's, of Watertown. I enclosed an order drawn on Mr. Pain by Mr. Amory for £20 sterling. Inform him of it, lest there should be any mistake, and send it to your dear mamma by a safe hand when you receive it. You must see Hannah, if possible. Your brother expected to hear from you. Best regards to Mr. G. and family, Mr. and Mrs. Ingraham, and all friends. Love to Betsey and the little ones. I send enclosed a letter to your mamma and to Betsey E. I wrote to desire you to get from the College Book of Benefactors all under the name of Hollis. I want to send it to England, where they are preparing some memoirs of that excellent man. If Doctor Winthrop could add any thing, it might be of public utility.

Yours in haste.

Andrew Eliot to Samuel Eliot.

BOSTON, January 2, 1776.

MY DEAR SON, — I have only time to inform you that I received yours of December 6. Hope you have seen Hannah. Heard nothing

* This letter is addressed to Waltham, "To the obliging care of the Rev. Mr. Payson." — Eds.

of the things in your cellar till your last. You wrote nothing of good Dr. Appleton. I am in tolerable health. Josiah desires to be remembered to you, as do your Uncle and Aunt S——y. Love to your dear consort. May God preserve the little ones. My kind regards to all friends. May every blessing accompany you, whatever becomes of

Your affectionate parent.

P. S. Inform your brother John that I received his letter of December 8th, but heard nothing of any former letter: neither did I receive Mr. Barrett's. If I had, I should not have attempted to go to the lines.* I am glad John is settled at so good a place. Send my best regards to Mr. Cranch and his lady.

Andrew Eliot to John Eliot.

Boston, January 18, 1776.

MY DEAR SON, — A few days ago I received yours of December 8, but have had no opportunity of answering it until now. This evening your letter of the 11th inst. came to hand. I have received no other. I knew not that you were in these parts when I wrote to your sister. I wrote to Mr. Belknap where I thought you was. I conclude you had good reasons for leaving him. I heard nothing of Mr. Barrett's writing to me, or desiring me to come to the lines till I received yours of the 8th, a month after the appointment. I could not have met you, and I wish Mr. B. had not proposed it. I am extremely glad you are at Mr. Cranch's. You cannot have a better friend or a more prudent adviser. My best compliments to him and his good lady. Thank him for his kind invitation to me. What awaits me God knows. If I leave Boston, I should be glad to come to Braintree, but should be obliged to make the best of my way to Fairfield. My heart aches for your dear mother, my faithful companion, whose absence is my daily distress.

My dear son, you cannot have your father's assistance in this critical time of your life. Be so much the more careful of yourself. Make God your friend, and he will never leave you. Study to preach Christ Jesus and him crucified. Whether you hear from me or not, you are ever on my mind. I pray God to take you under his protection, to bless you and make you a blessing. I thank God my health is not impaired, but I have difficulties more than I can mention. I leave myself, you and all my children, with my heavenly Father, and am

Your affectionate parent.

I have a letter from Mr. Belknap, December 26. They were well there. He expects you in the spring. Josiah is well, and desires his love may be remembered to you.

* John Eliot's almanac contains this entry, Dec. 5: "Went to the lines with a flag of truce in hopes to see my father, but was disappointed." — Eds.

11 o'clock, evening.—Your friend Mr. Joy is in town, but I have not been able to see him. I read to his father and brother what you wrote relative to him. Be careful of your health: do not suffer your spirits to be depressed. I hope you will be reserved for better times, and will find it good that you have borne the yoke in your youth. Remember me to your sister and all friends. I long to see you, but know not when I shall be so happy. I have much to say, but am told the vessel will sail in the morning.

Andrew Eliot to John Eliot.

Boston, February 15, 1776.

MY DEAR SON,—Yours of February 10th I received yesterday. I am much surprised and grieved that you have not heard from me. I have written to you several times. The last went by the same hand that carried a letter to your brother Samuel, to your brother Andrew, and to Betsey, which three Samuel writes me he has received. It is very hard, not to say cruel, to keep back letters which contain nothing offensive. I received one from you of December 8th, one short one by the hands of Mr. W——w. I have received none other. I never received one from Mr. B[arrett]. Knew nothing of your coming to the lines. I suppose the mention of that prevented my receiving the letters. I could not have had liberty, I suppose, if I had asked it. You cannot well judge of the situation I am in. I am much pleased that you are with Mr. Cranch. You will find in him and his lady a sincerity and benevolence not commonly to be met with. He is a wise, prudent friend, whom you may consult with freedom. My best regards to him and Mrs. Cranch. If I had not so loud a call at Fairfield, I should with pleasure embrace his kind invitation. I do not know a family where I could reside more agreeably. God hath been, my son, your guide hitherto: trust him still, and be sure to make him your friend. Mrs. Dutton said she had no book of yours, but a volume of my sermons, and, as you mentioned in your letter to her husband her accepting a volume, she supposed you meant *that*, and carried it with her. Mr. Joy, your friend, is in town. I have not seen him. His father tells me he will call. You do not tell me whether you have had any stated preaching. Let it be your great ambition to be a gospel preacher. I had a letter from Fairfield, dated February 8. All well there. Respects to all friends.

Your affectionate parent.

In yours, you mention a letter enclosed, which you desired me to deliver. I received none.

*Andrew Eliot to Samuel Eliot.**

BOSTON, February 16, 1778.

MY DEAR SON, — Before the receipt of yours, dated January 29, I had not heard from you since the beginning of December. I had no information that you had seen Hannah, or of any of the particulars you mention. But, what concerns me most, I never received the account of Mr. Hollis's benefactions, by which means I am deprived of the opportunity of sending it to England, to be inserted in some memoirs of that excellent man which are preparing for the press. I wrote to John when I wrote last to you, but by a letter I received from him this week he had not received that nor any other from me. It is strange. Let him know that I have written several times to him. I send to him by this conveyance. Inform me in your next whether he preaches anywhere stately. I am sorry for Mr. Stearns. Mr. Wallis and lady are in town. I have written to you, I think, more than once, that they and their brother often inquire about you, and desire their affectionate regards may be mentioned to you.

My situation is full of cares and anxieties, and yet I bless God I have many mercies. I hope you and yours are in health. Remember me to your dear wife, and kiss the pretty babes for me. Present my respectful compliments to Mr. G. and family. Your uncle and aunts are well, and charge me to mention them with every expression of love and regard. I rejoice with our cousin at Haverhill. May God preserve the life of their babe, and bestow every blessing upon them pertaining to this life and that which is to come. I write at present with a view to convey it to you by Mrs. Pierce, who proposes to go to Waltham, and is obliging enough to undertake to deliver it to you. You must wait on that good lady, who will inform you of my welfare. You may meet with her, or at least hear of her, at Deacon Storer's. Your brother will do the best he can with your things. When shall I see you and my other friends in town? God is wise and good. I leave all with him. My heart is full; but I stop my pen, and am

Your affectionate parent.

Received a letter from Fairfield, dated February 8. Every thing there agreeable.

Andrew Eliot to John Eliot.†

BOSTON, February 19, 1778.

MY DEAR SON, — I have received three letters from you; one informing me of your coming to the lines, of which I had not the least notice (if I had, it would have answered no purpose, I could not have met you); one by Mr. Winslow; one last week, — in all which you express your concern that you have not heard from me. You cannot

* This letter is addressed: "To the obliging care of Mrs. Pierce." — Eds.

† This letter and the preceding one to John Eliot are addressed: "At Mr. Cranch's, Braintree." — Eds.

be more surprised than I am at your not hearing. I never failed answering every letter. I like your being at Mr. Cranch's very much, as I am sure you will find him a sincere friend. My most affectionate regards to him and his lady. Remember me to Betsey when you see her. I had a comfortable letter from Fairfield, dated February 8. I hope you have before this received some of my other letters. My time now is very short. I only write that you may not think I have forgotten you. I wish it were possible for me to see you. Since this is denied for the present, I can only express my earnest desires of your best good. Let me hear from you as soon as may be, and let me know whether you officiate stately in any place. Your happiness lies very near the heart of

Your affectionate parent.

Josiah sends love.

A serial of the Proceedings containing the record of the meetings for April, May, and June, was laid upon the table by the Recording Secretary.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1878.

The stated monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th inst., at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the previous meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library, making special mention of Miss Elizabeth E. Dana, who had presented a copy of her "Diary of a British Officer in Boston, in 1775," with additional MS. notes, and had deposited the original MS. of the diary and other papers.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Hon. John Lowell had accepted his election as a Resident Member.

The President then announced the death of Judge Thomas, and said:—

The tidings of the serious illness of our Associate Member, the Honorable Benjamin Franklin Thomas, took us all by surprise not many weeks ago. It terminated fatally on the 27th ult., at Beverly Farms, in this State, where he had his summer residence; and his funeral took place at the First Church, in this city, on Tuesday, the 1st inst. I regretted sincerely to be compelled to go to New York at the very hour for which it was appointed. But our Society was amply represented by Mr. Adams, Dr. Ellis, and others, in the throng of mourners on that occasion.

The numerous and just tributes which have already been paid to his character and services, by the Press and by the Pulpit, by the American Antiquarian Society, of which he was the senior Vice-President, and by the Bars both of Worcester and of Suffolk, of which he was so distinguished a member, have left little, if any thing, to be added here to-day. Nothing more, certainly, is needed to his own commemoration. But we owe it to ourselves, if not to him, that one of such eminent ability and excellence, who has been associated with us for eighteen years, and whose genial tributes to his friends Governor Clifford and Governor Washburn have so recently found a response in all our hearts, should not go down to his grave himself without some immediate expression of our respect and of our sorrow. A Boston boy by birth, yet having been removed at six years of age to the old home of his grandfather,—the patriot printer and historian of printing, and the founder of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester,—and having been graduated, eleven years later,

at Brown University, of which he was Chancellor at the time of his death, — he owed no part of his education to Boston schools or Massachusetts colleges. The public services, too, and the professional practice of his earlier life, were in the heart of the Commonwealth. He represented the town of Worcester in the State Legislature in 1842, and was for several years afterward the Judge of Probate for Worcester County. But, at forty years of age, he took his seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and his labors and reputation thenceforth ceased to be local. After six years' service in this high office, he established himself in the neighborhood of Boston, now a part of it, for the practice of the law, and was soon afterward sent to Congress to represent the West Roxbury District, within which he then resided, as the successor of our Vice-President, Mr. Adams, on his appointment as Minister to England. A nomination to the Chief Justiceship, which met the approval of the community though not of the Executive Council, completes the record of his relations to public office.

But a good and great man is, in some sense, never without office. "*Nulla vitæ pars vacare officio potest.*" Judge Thomas was of a peculiarly independent spirit, and, having ample occupation in his own profession, had little concern for the favors or the frowns of those by whom public station is bestowed. With a strong sense of duty to himself and to his fellow-men, to his country and to his God, he never swerved from his own conscientious convictions, in order to conciliate popular support. He was a zealous member of the old Whig party of Massachusetts, as long as that party had any existence; and I should hardly be excused for not remembering that it was from his hand, as President of the Whig Convention, in 1851, that I received the nomination for Governor. He said to me playfully, not many months ago, that the only time he was ever angry with me, was when I refused to run a second time. His service in Congress was during the earlier years of the Civil War; and after the close of that service, and his failure to be re-elected, he published a volume of more than two hundred pages, containing all his speeches, in Congress or out of Congress, during the period of his holding that position. He had not yielded to the idea, that the support of the war, and the support of the country, necessarily involved the support of all the measures of the actual Administration; and he had been bold in criticising and opposing some parts of its policy. In speaking of his principles, in the Preface to this volume, he says: "That they are unpopular

at this moment, does not disturb me: the more imperative is the duty of standing by and upholding them. The citizen owes to the country, in the hour of her peril, honest counsel, calmly given, but with the 'love that casteth out fear.' Never were freedom of thought and of the lips and pen so necessary as now. They have become not only the most precious of rights, but the most religious of duties."

He had an earnest and deep conviction that under the exigencies and strains of Civil War we were drifting away from the Constitution, — not for the moment only, not exceptionally, but permanently and irrecoverably. That conviction was by no means wholly changed in later years; and he told me, not long ago, that he was meditating, and, as I understood him, preparing, a history of parties in their relation to the Constitution, to vindicate this view. It will be the subject of deep regret if such a work is to be entirely lost. A political history of this sort, written by an eminent lawyer and a sincere patriot, would be hailed with interest and eagerness, even by those who might differ from its conclusions.

The last formal discourse of Judge Thomas was his Centennial Oration at Worcester, on the 4th of July, 1876, which abounds in expressions of patriotic and fervent hopefulness for the future of our land, and maintains that we have no right and no cause to despair of the Republic.

I will not prolong this announcement. Of his efforts and successes in the Courts of Law, to which his life was mainly devoted, others have spoken most felicitously elsewhere. I have said enough to show the appreciation which we all have of the excellent qualities of our departed friend, and to manifest our sense of the great loss, not only to the institutions and associations with which he was connected, but to the whole community, which such a death involves. Younger than many of us, he seemed to have a physical as well as mental vigor and vivacity which promised to outlast us all. There was an energy, too, in his nature, which would never have allowed him to be idle or unprofitable while his life and health were spared. There is no adequate measurement for such a loss, coming, as it has come, when our Commonwealth and our Country can least afford to bear it. He would have been less missed at other periods of our history.

It only remains for me, as the organ of the Council, to submit the customary Resolution: —

Resolved, That we have heard with sincere sorrow of the death of our able and accomplished associate, Benjamin

Franklin Thomas, and that the President be requested to appoint one of our number to prepare a Memoir for our Proceedings.

The Rev. E. E. HALE, in seconding the Resolution, spoke as follows:—

I will ask your leave, Sir, to say a single word, were it only to express my own personal obligations to our friend. There is no person to whom I owe more than to him, and for the whole course of my active life I have had no kinder friend. I am tempted to say, therefore, that very deep down in the series of remarkable qualities which have given to him that leading position which you have so well described are the tenderness and affection which have characterized his intimacy with all around him, and are especially to be noticed in his dealings with those younger than himself. An admirable notice of his life in the "Advertiser" called attention to his eager habit of bringing young men forward, and the encouragement which he gave to them. If the record of his life could be fully made up, I think it would prove that, in that sympathetic welcome to those younger than himself, he has rendered even larger service to this community than in any single effort among his wider public duties. Certainly this sympathy accounts for the enthusiasm, I am willing to say the fanaticism, with which we, who are younger than he, find ourselves speaking of him now that he cannot silence our eulogies.

The truth is, Sir, that, as in every life of a really first-rate man, all these triumphs of his,—his wonderful eloquence, all his persistent industry, all this absolute elevation, truly judicial, above the passions of the hour, all this sweet command of his own temper, to which you have referred,—these and all the rest belong to his all-controlling moral purpose, and to that steady habit of his soul to maintain at the closest his communion with God. Without a particle of cant, ridiculing, in all the joyous heartiness of his exuberant life, each and all of those pretences which are well enough characterized by the word "religiosity," he was none the less, in the very heart of his life, an eager child of God, always rejoicing in his communion with his Father. Were this the place, I could illustrate what I say, by I know not how many stories of the simple way in which his mind ran back of course to that great reality of a man's being, that he is a child of God. I remember going into his private office, not many years ago, at the most crowded hour of the day, about some matter where I

needed his help. I apologized for interrupting him, and said I would take but a minute of his time. "Stay as long as you will," he said cheerfully, and he handed me the book which he was reading. It was the rare old English translation of Saint Augustine's *Meditations*. "I knew the *Confessions*," he said, "but this book, till last week, was new to me." And we sat and talked, I dare not say how long, about the great books of Christian devotion and the Christian mystics. That little incident has been a great comfort to me. When men tell me that society is going to destruction, when they tell me that its leaders are governed by avarice or petty ambition only, I like to think of the moment when, by mere accident, I found this leader among leaders, this favorite in all society, this successful lawyer, this Judge called on for counsel by every one, this busiest man in Boston, reading quietly in his private office, at the very noon of his active day, from the prayers of Saint Augustine. What you have said so well, Sir, and what this distinguished assembly and this community know, are testimony that from such habits of life and thought there grew nothing sickly or fantastic. They belonged simply, as I tried to say, to the fearless intimacy of a child with his Father.

You will find, his life through, public or private, that he was an idealist, governed by his own convictions of duty, and absolutely — as men said, curiously — indifferent to the convictions formed at the moment by other men. He was, for instance, an anti-slavery man at a time when that was not popular. Yet, when the time came, he, who had in fact drawn up, I think, the first statute which ever emancipated a slave, threw away his popularity, almost with indifference, rather than drift with a popular sentiment.

Such qualities, as you have justly said, made up a character on which every one had learned to rely; and it is the unexpected loss of such a man which makes everybody grieve.

The Hon. E. R. HOAR said : —

I would add a word to what has been so well said by you, Mr. President, more for the indulgence of my own feelings than for the benefit of the Society. There has hardly occurred within my knowledge the death of an eminent man in this community that has brought with it so strong and so wide-spread a sense of personal loss as this death of Judge Thomas. My acquaintance with him began nearly forty years ago, when I was a law student in Worcester, and he was a young lawyer, with very little business, and apparently

without much prospect of any. He was studious, but his studies were in philosophy, literature, and poetry, with a considerable taste for historical and antiquarian researches. It was with some surprise that I learned soon afterward that he was beginning to take high rank as a lawyer. But limited means and the needs of an increasing family had supplied the required stimulus, and he rapidly assumed the position of a leader of the bar, which he retained to the end of life. He was learned and laborious in the preparation of cases, but capable also of a persuasive and lofty eloquence. As a judge, he was perhaps open to the criticism of too strong a tendency to philosophizing, and to questioning many things which had been regarded as settled; a quality which suggested the only doubt of his eminent fitness to be at the head of the judiciary of the Commonwealth. But it was certainly true of him, as was said of John Hooker Ashmun in his epitaph, that "he went behind precedents to principles, and that books were his helpers, never his masters." He loved and honored his profession, which he regarded as the natural ally of honesty and honor, and gave to all its interests a brave and loyal support. His manly, generous, and affectionate nature endeared him to all his brethren, and he has left no animosities to be forgotten or forgiven.

Something has been said of his kindness to young men, and readiness to afford them encouragement and help. But he had a temperament upon which time made no impression, and which did not permit you to think whether he was old or young. In early youth, he was the peer of men of established fame; and he carried the spirit of youth into advanced years. He was the cheeriest of men, whom it was an exhilaration to meet, and his merry laugh was irresistible. He loved his country, his State, his friends and neighbors, and was always ready to serve and help them. Few men have had greater capacity of service, none have given it from a larger heart.

Mr. CHARLES W. TUTTLE had prepared the following remarks, but refrained from delivering them, in order to allow the Society to pass on to the usual business of the meeting: *—

MR. PRESIDENT, — It was my fortune to be among the latest guests in the family of the late Judge Thomas prior to his fatal illness. For a whole week, I was with him every after-

* Mr. Tuttle has kindly yielded to our request to place his remarks in the printed record of the meeting. — Eds.

noon and evening at his very charming summer residence at Beverly Farms. He then appeared to be in his usual health, such as I had known it in former years. Little more than a week elapsed after my departure, before he was stricken down with the disorder of which he soon died.

I never had seen him on any occasion when his intellect was clearer, his conversation more brilliant, or his social qualities more engaging. Looking at the sad event which so quickly followed my visit, it seems to me that this may have been a temporary culmination of his powers, that mental fullness which sometimes precedes a final dissolution.

The weather was fine, and we sat late in the evening — long after the family left — on his broad piazza, facing the ocean and a clear star-lit sky, conversing on a wide range of subjects. His quick perception of the humorous, and the exquisite enjoyment it gave him, were manifested by those unique and sudden peals of laughter which no one can ever forget who had any acquaintance with him. With feelings of mingled sadness and pleasure, I remember how often the peaceful stillness of the night was interrupted by his merry laughter, and by the voice of the waves playfully breaking and running along the beach not far away, producing a kind of rhythmical effect. His vivacity and cheerfulness, his wit and pleasantry, made him the delight of every social and domestic circle. These traits were so marked in him as to make one forget his Puritan origin, or that he was other than a young man.

I never was more impressed than during these free conversations that he was a man who knew every thing of something and something of every thing. He had a truly enlightened mind, capable of taking the broadest and most comprehensive views of any subject presented to it. An early bias for historical studies led him to store his memory with events and characters of past times. He was thoroughly alive to all that was passing in the world, and found real enjoyment in the present. He had a favorite maxim, often on his lips, that there never was a better time than the present; that people were never wiser, better, or happier than now. Acting on this theory, he always had the best periodical literature of England and America on his table, and was constantly making accessions to his large and well-selected library.

His professional employments prevented his taking any active part in the work of this Society. I have often heard him declare that he hoped to find time to become a useful member, as he expressed it. His interest in the Antiquarian Society was fixed by inheritance as well as by choice. He

regarded that society with parental fondness, and spoke enthusiastically of its aims and purposes.

I desire here to add my humble suffrage to that large number of enlightened suffrages which have united in placing him among the greatest lawyers of Massachusetts. That he represented the highest standard of professional eminence and character, is known wherever his name has gone. Of his great capacity, learning, and eloquence, there is abundant proof in the literary annals of Massachusetts. His juridical and his professional career shine with equal lustre.

He regarded with no blind veneration the opinions and judgments of former ages. He believed in human progress; and he believed that the light of the present age afforded better means of arriving at just and accurate judgments in human affairs than at any previous time. He did not hesitate to examine for himself any question, no matter how many nor how able the judgments pronounced on it. He tested every thing by his own enlightened understanding, and he fearlessly maintained his conclusions. His manly independence in this, as well as in other acts of his life, deserves the applause of his fellow-men. For this trait he paid the penalty exacted by republics of high-minded public men; but his name and memory will live evermore in honor among the worthiest and best of his race.

Judge Thomas was more than a great lawyer and a great jurist. He rose above that sphere. His capacity, his learning, his firmness, his independence, his lofty integrity, his eloquence, his large heart and generous impulses, stamp him with pre-eminence among men.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

The President stated that he had just noticed in the newspapers the death of Erastus Smith, Esq., of Hartford, Connecticut, whose name stood first on the Society's Roll of Honorary and Corresponding Members elected under the original act of incorporation. He was elected in December, 1835, and had been for some time the senior member of the Connecticut bar.

M. Henri Martin, of France, was elected an Honorary Member, and Messrs. Joseph F. Loubat, LL.D., of New York, and Charles Henry Hart, LL.B., of Philadelphia, Corresponding Members.

The President then spoke of Dean Stanley's visit to Boston, and to the Rooms of the Society, of which he has been an Honorary Member for some years. He presented for the

Library a copy of the sermon preached by the Dean in Trinity Church, Boston, on the morning of the 22d of September, and remarked that its title, "The East and the West," was justly given, for the first part of the sermon was understood to have been written in Cairo, the second on board a man-of-war in the Bosphorus, and the conclusion in his (Mr. Winthrop's) house in Brookline.

It was voted to place twenty copies of the forthcoming volume of Judge Sewall's Diary at the disposal of the Committee on the Sewall Papers.

A bust of the late Hon. Edward Everett, made by Thomas Ball in 1865, was presented to the Cabinet by Mr. William Everett, for which the thanks of the Society were ordered.

The Rev. BARNAS SEARS, D.D., the General Agent of the Peabody Education Fund, an Honorary Member, was then introduced to the meeting by the President, who spoke of him as for seven years the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, and for twelve years the President of Brown University. Dr. Sears responded as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT, — I meet with you to-day for the first time since my appointment as an Honorary Member of your Society. As you have kindly called upon me to say a few words *impromptu*, I must beg you to allow me some latitude in my remarks. And, first, I know you will permit me to yield for a moment to an impulse which I cannot well resist on beholding before me the portrait of a familiar face, which I recognized the moment I entered the room as that of Humboldt. While attending the lectures of Böck on Plato in the University of Berlin, in the winter of 1834–35, I sat in the same room with him during the whole *semester*. It was to me a novel sight, accustomed as I was to observe the dignity of an American professor, to see the first scientist of Europe taking his seat among a throng of students, with portfolio and pen in hand, to take notes just like the rest of us. To his insatiable thirst for all kinds of knowledge were added a simplicity and modesty of demeanor which men of less celebrity might well imitate. Nor was he alone among the most distinguished scholars of Germany in exhibiting this trait of character. Before going to Berlin, I had spent a year in the Universities of Halle and Leipsic, and observed the same peculiarity in the great Hebraist, Gesenius, and in the master of Greek Metre, Hermann. In his *Seminar*, or class of twelve select students who received a special stipend from the government, whose exercises I was invited to attend, Gesenius, who quoted He-

brew as glibly as a Frenchman speaks, was the liveliest and gayest of the company. Intellectually, the instruction was like the conversation of Mackintosh, with a stroke of wit whenever he thought more vivacity was desirable. I will give but one instance of his familiarity with his students. After my removal to Leipsic, where I was a perfect stranger, and when I was on my way to attend one of Hermann's lectures, I heard a voice far behind me, calling out, "Sears! Sears!" In turning back, I saw to my astonishment that it was Gesenius who was calling me. He chatted familiarly a few moments, and then bid me good-by. Had he been a fellow-student, I should have felt no surprise. But to see the first Hebrew scholar in the world thus free and companionable would be a wonder to any one who did not know that this was his way.

I attended all Hermann's lectures, and sometimes saw him at his *Museum*, as he called his study. At one time, he proposed to present me copies of his occasional Latin addresses and poems, but would not permit me to take them with me. A few days after, as the young Professor Sponberg of Upsala and myself were leaving my lodgings for a walk, we saw Hermann approaching us with a large bundle of books under his arm, which he handed me, saying, "Here are the books I promised you." After he left us, my Swedish friend clasped his hands, looked upward, and exclaimed, "Mein Gott! Ist das Hermann?" Pardon these reminiscences which rush upon me as I look upon the picture before me.

If I am expected to represent Virginia here to-day, I can say little that is pertinent to the occasion. Nearly all that the Virginians are now doing by way of historical research relates to the events of the late Civil War. A Southern Historical Society has been formed in Richmond for the purpose of collecting and publishing, under the care of my friend, Dr. Jones, authentic documents and personal narratives relating to that unfortunate struggle. It will do no harm to the North to read what can be said on the other side; and the future historian will welcome light from any quarter.

As to the various classes of schools and institutions in which the Virginians have been educated, and with which I may be expected from my position to be somewhat familiar, I must speak very briefly, as I have already taken up so much of your time. Of public schools, the people of Virginia have known nothing till quite recently. The wealthier families employed governesses and private tutors. Then there were the "Old Field Schools," which the children of the poor might attend for so many cents a day, paid by the State. A

description of these schools would afford amusement, but little instruction except that of teaching us what to avoid. The primitive log school-houses, with slab benches and big fire-places; classes with one book, passed from reader to reader; teachers who had all the "sums" ciphered out by others and copied in a large manuscript book, enabling them to say promptly "yes" or "no," when the pupils showed their slates, — indicate sufficiently the character of these schools.

Notwithstanding the radical defects of the few elementary English schools that were maintained, there has been no want of higher education in Virginia. The proportion of liberally educated men in the State is said to be larger than in Massachusetts. For half a century, the University of Virginia, towering above all the other literary institutions of the South, has given a higher tone to education. If any thing pertaining to it is to be regretted, it is the obstacles that are in the way of fully carrying out Jefferson's plan, which was to place it above all the colleges, and to make these its tributaries. The trustees and the faculty have steadily kept this end in view. But the colleges, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Lutheran, instead of being subsidiary to the University, have aimed to be its rivals. It has therefore been necessary for the latter to depend largely for its entering classes on private schools established for the purpose by its own graduates. The popularity of the Washington and Lee University at Lexington, of which the late General Lee was made President, and the endowment of professorships in it by most of the Southern States, have drawn to it many students who would otherwise have gone to the State University. When the new Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore offered a certain number of scholarships for Maryland and Virginia, the Legislature, partly perhaps by way of reprisal, appropriated \$30,000 annually to make the tuition of its own University free to all Virginians. Against this measure, the supporters of the various colleges remonstrated, as being unfair to them and prejudicial to their interests. As the University and the Military Institute at Lexington (which is but little more than a college) are the only literary institutions endowed by the State, and as the University gives to a large number of its students nothing but a collegiate education, and as the Military Institute is said not to be needed in so far as it is a college, there is a prospect of a contest on this subject of pecuniary support and assistance in a future legislature. It is to be hoped that a solution of this question will be found in placing the University in its true position.

Mr. GEORGE DEXTER called attention to the volume entitled "Cartas de Indias publicadas por primera vez," presented at the last meeting, and said: —

This sumptuous volume, a large quarto, prepared by a royal commission presided over by the Director-general of public Instruction, and published under the auspices of the Ministry of Fomento of the Spanish government, contains a large number of hitherto unpublished letters and reports relating to the discovery and early history of America. These documents, drawn from the National Historical Archives of Spain, the commissioners have separated into six classes. The first class consists of two letters of Columbus, one of Vespuccius, two of Bishop Las Casas, and two of Bernal Diaz del Castillo. The second class or division contains sixty-five documents relating to New Spain, which are classified again under the heads of Friars, Prelates, Clergy, Viceroy, Governors, Caciques, Officers of justice and administration, and Individuals. Here we find letters or communications from various missionaries, bishops, governors, and others connected with the colony. The third class, under the title of Central America, contains letters from the Bishops of Guatemala and Chiapa; the fourth, Peru, papers of the Licenciados Cristóbal Vaca de Castro and Pedro de la Gasca. The fifth division contains documents relating to the province of Rio de la Plata during the administration of Martinez de Irala (1555-56). The sixth class consists of a petition of the Bishop of Manilla to the President of the Council of the Indies, giving an account of the state of the Philippine Islands in 1585, and their religious needs. There are in all one hundred and eight documents in the volume.

The work is enriched with critical notes, a geographical vocabulary, short biographical sketches, a glossary of foreign and little used words; and, as a fit crown of its merits, photo-lithographic *fac-similes* of some of the more important documents printed in it. There are also twenty-two sheets of reproductions of signatures and seals, and three maps, printed in colors, which, although having no immediate relation to the text of the work, are curious and of great interest. The volume is beautifully printed, upon paper made especially for the purpose, and with new types cast for the work. The preface states that the greatest care and labor have been used to secure accuracy. His Excellency the Count de Toreno, the Minister of "Fomento," has presented this copy to the Library of the Society through our own State Department at Washington.

I have caused translations to be made of the letters of Columbus and Vespuccius, which I beg leave to submit to the Society. They may, perhaps, be thought worthy of a place in our printed Proceedings. The first letter of Columbus is without date. The editors of the volume, having in mind the instructions given to Columbus, April 23d, 1497, "for the peopling of the islands and *terra firma* discovered and to be discovered in the Indies,"* are of opinion that this letter must have been written toward the end of the year 1496, or the beginning of 1497. I felt confident on first reading the letter that it must be of earlier date, and subsequent examination has confirmed me in this opinion. The matters of which it treats are those that would naturally be attended to and defined quite early in the history of the colonization of a new-found country. Columbus returned from his first voyage in the spring of 1493, reaching Palos on the 15th of March, and was received by Ferdinand and Isabella at Barcelona about the middle of April. But the plans for a second voyage and the establishment of a colony did not wait even his formal reception. Navarrete prints a letter from their Majesties, dated March 30th, congratulating him on his discovery, and charging him to hasten to the Court to give orders for the preparation for his return to the New World.†

The papal bulls of concession had been sought at once from Alexander VI., and bear date of May 3d and 4th. Royal grants to Columbus, and royal selection of proper officers for revenue and colonization, followed rapidly. The nineteenth document in Navarrete's second volume, dated May 7th, appoints Gomez Tello to go to the Indies with Columbus, to receive and send to Castile what belongs to their Highnesses.‡ On the 23d of May, many requisitions for things needed for the new voyage were signed; all persons were forbidden to go to the Indies or to send goods there, without the royal sanction or that of Columbus and Juan de Fonseca, by a decree of the same date;§ and Alvaro de Acosta was appointed *alguacil* to administer justice on the voyage and in the islands,

* Printed by Navarrete, in his *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, vol. ii. pp. 182-185. Spotorno had, in 1823, published an Italian translation from a copy found among the "Charters and Grants" sent by Columbus to his friend Nicolo Oderrigo for safe keeping, then lately obtained by the Genoese government. These instructions are Spotorno's Document, No. VI. An English translation of this work was published in London the same year.

† Navarrete, *Coleccion*, vol. ii. p. 21.

‡ Gomez Tello did not go out with Columbus. See Navarrete, vol. ii. p. 86.

§ Navarrete, *Coleccion*, &c., vol. ii. p. 51.

the next day.* Columbus was confirmed in his title of "Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor of the islands and *terra firma*, both what he had discovered and what he might discover," on May 28th; and his instructions, "as well for the voyage which he is to make as for the good government of the new colony," † were signed on the 29th. These instructions seem to me to cover all the ground, and to settle the question of the date of this letter. After impressing upon Columbus the necessity of treating the natives well, and of striving to convert them to the true faith, for which purpose Father Buil and other clergy are sent with him, and giving particular directions for the choice of vessels, enrolment of crews, and registration of armament and goods, the instructions proceed in the eighth section to lay down the regulations and order of landing and discharging at the end of the voyage. Each ship is to declare and show all that it carries,—men, arms, ammunition, provisions, &c.; "and because no person is allowed to carry merchandise to open trade for gold or other things in all the said islands and *terra firma* without the order of their Highnesses, as has been said, if it happens that they arrive with more than was manifested at the time of departure from Cadiz, as was set down in the book which the lieutenant of the aforesaid accountant-general who is to reside in the said islands has brought with him, let it be condemned, and let the said Admiral and Viceroy, or whoever holds the power from him, cause it to be taken and give it to the person who is appointed to keep goods, which their Highnesses send there, in presence of the said lieutenant of the accountant, that he may take charge of it." ‡

The ninth section lays down regulations for trade in the islands; the tenth appoints courts of justice. The fourteenth provides that, immediately upon arrival, a custom-house shall be established where merchandise shall be entered before the proper officials and registered in two books. The seventeenth article recounts the formalities required at the port of Cadiz, whence all articles are to go to the islands, and where all re-

* Navarrete, vol. ii. p. 54.

† Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 57-62, 66-72.

‡ "E porque ninguna ni algunas personas non han de llevar mercaderias algunas para facer rescate alguno de oro ni de otras cosas en todas las dichas islas é tierra-firme, sin mandamiento de sus Altezas, como dicho es, si acaesiere llevaren mas de lo que manifestaron al tiempo que de Castilla partieron, segun fuere asentado en el libro que ha de llevar el que fuere por Teniente de los dichos Contadores mayores, que ha de residir en las dichas islas, que lo pierdan, é ge lo faga tomar el dicho Almirante é Visorey, ó quien su poder hobiere, é lo entregue á la persona que por sus Altezas ha de tener allá la mercadería que sus Altezas envian, en presencia del dicho Teniente de los Contadores, porque él le faga cargo dello." — Navarrete, vol. ii. p. 69.

turning vessels are to discharge. These instructions, apart from their bearing on the question under discussion, are interesting, and, so far as I have been able to inform myself, have never been printed except by Señor Navarrete.

If further testimony be needed, we have in the forty-seventh, forty-eighth, and forty-ninth documents of Navarrete's second volume, under date of June 7th, 1493, the appointment of Bernal Diaz de Pisa as Deputy Accountant-General, a grant of salary to him, and his instructions. These last exhibit many minute details of the regulations for trade and manner of keeping accounts. Again, the fifty-ninth document, dated August 4th, informs Columbus that Sebastian de Olano is to go out as their Majesties' receiver (*Receptor*).

Columbus sailed from Palos, on his second voyage, September 25th, 1493. He had a large fleet, seventeen vessels in all; a company of about fifteen hundred souls, having been obliged to refuse many who offered; a supply of provisions, seeds for harvest, some animals and other necessities of colonization.* At the Island of Gomera, he took in many live animals with which to stock Hispaniola, and seeds of various fruits.† It was on this voyage, too, that he did what would be expected from this letter, — built a city or town which he called Isabella, and laid the foundations for a regular colony, with trade to the mother country and the neighborhood. So much is stated by nearly all his biographers.

There would seem to be little room for doubt, then, that this letter was written some time during the interval between the return of Columbus from his first voyage and his departure on the second; that is, between March 15th and September 25th, 1493.

The National Historical Archives possess two copies of this letter, which, with the exception of the signature, is not in the handwriting of Columbus. The variations between these copies — so slight as scarcely to be worth noticing — are carefully enumerated by the editor of the "*Cartas de Indias*" in a note. In another note on the signature of Columbus, he calls attention to the variation between the signatures of these letters and Columbus's signature, as given by Navarrete and Washington Irving. The signatures given by these authors, however, do not pretend to be *fac-similes*, but are printed in ordinary type. There are many *fac-simile* reproductions of Columbus's signature; but they are all, or nearly

* *Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo*, chap. xlv.

† *Irving's Columbus* (London, 1828), vol. ii. pp. 3, 4.

all, derived from the letters now preserved in the receptacle prepared for them by the Genoese authorities in 1821. Lithographs of two of these letters were published by Spotorno in his "Codice Diplomatico," in 1823. Bossi's "Vita di Cristoforo Colombo," Milan, 1818, has as a frontispiece the De Bry portrait with the signatures of these letters, then in Turin, annexed. Marmocchi's "Viaggi al Nuovo Continente," Prato, 1840, contains the portrait that appeared with the French translation of Navarrete, to which is added one of the Spotorno signatures. Mr. Goodrich, in his "Life of Columbus," New York, 1874, gives several *fac-similes*, all of which can, I think, be traced back to Spotorno. Columbus himself, in his will, describes how his signature is to be written, and orders his heirs to sign with it.* One peculiarity, new to me, is stated by the Spanish editor, and is perhaps worth noticing. He says that he has examined various autographs of Columbus, including some of the letters to his son Diego, published by Navarrete, and finds that Columbus made a distinction between letters written by another hand and only signed by himself, and holograph letters. To the signature of the last he was accustomed to add a rubric or flourish. This distinction will be easily noticed in comparing the signatures to the first and second of the letters here printed. I do not remember to have seen elsewhere any allusion to a rubric connected with Columbus's signature.†

Toward the close of the second letter, Columbus alludes to the bad weather when the Spanish Court was at Burgos. This must have been early in the year, for the Court was then awaiting the return of the fleet from Flanders. This fleet had carried out the Infanta Joanna, who was to be married to the Archduke Philip, and was bringing back the Princess Margaret, the Emperor Maximilian's daughter, the destined bride of the heir of the Spanish monarchies. The fleet arrived early in March, and the wedding was solemnized April 8d.‡

The letter of Vespuccius offers nothing that demands remark. The signature shows plainly the name spelled Amerigo. It may be compared with the *fac-simile* of a signature given by F. A. de Varnhagen, in his "Amerigo Vespucci," Lima, 1865, p. 68, n., as the genuine signature of Vespuccius.

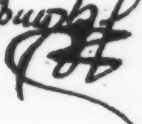
* Navarrete, vol. ii. p. 229. Irving's Columbus (Lond. 1828), vol. iv. p. 421.

† The Cabinet of our Society contains photographs of three letters preserved in Genoa, two of them being those published by Spotorno. The third is the letter, of which an Italian translation was read to the Maryland Historical Society as the original, by Mr. Robert Dodge, in 1851. The colon before the Xpo appears in neither signature, nor is there any sign of a rubric.

‡ See Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, Part II. chap. iv.

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A Letter of Christopher Columbus to their Catholic Majesties concerning the colonization and commerce of Hispaniola, and of the other Islands, discovered and to be discovered. Without date.

MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY SOVEREIGNS,—In obedience to your Highnesses' commands, and with submission to superior judgment, I will say whatever occurs to me in reference to the colonization and commerce of the Island of Española, and of the other islands, both those already discovered and those that may be discovered hereafter.

In the first place, as regards the Island of Española: Inasmuch as the number of colonists who desire to go thither amounts to two thousand, owing to the land being safer and better for farming and trading, and because it will serve as a place to which they can return and from which they can carry on trade with the neighboring islands:

Item. That in the said island there shall be founded three or four towns, situated in the most convenient places, and that the settlers who are there be assigned to the aforesaid places and towns.

Item. That for the better and more speedy colonization of the said island, no one shall have liberty to collect gold in it except those who have taken out colonists' papers [*tomaren vecindad*], and have built houses for their abode, in the town in which they are, that they may live united and in greater safety.

Item. That each town shall have its *alcalde* or *alcaldes*, and its notary public, as is the use and custom in Castile.

Charta de Cristóbal Colon á los Reyes Católicos, acerca de la poblacion y negociacion de la Española y de las otras islas descubiertas y por descubrir. Sin fecha.

MUY ALTOS Y PODEROSOS SEÑORES,—Obedesciendo lo que vuestras altezas me mandaron, diré lo que me ocurre para la poblacion y negociacion, asy de la Ysla Española como de las otras, asy halladas como por hallar, sometendome á mejor parescer.

Primeramente, para en lo de la Ysla Española, que vayan hasta en número de dos mill vecinos, los que quisieren yr, porque la tierra esté más segura y se pueda mejor grangear é tratar, y servirá para que se puedan revolver y traten las yslas comarcanas.

Yten, que en la dicha ysla se hagan tres o quatro pueblos é repartidos en los lugares más convenientes, é los vecinos que allá fueren, sean repartidos por los dichos lugares y pueblos.

Yten, que porque mejor y más presto se pueble la dicha ysla, que ninguno tenga facultad para cojer oro en ella, salvo los que tomen vecindad é hicieren casas para su morada en la poblacion que estovieren, porque vivan juntamente y más seguros.

Yten, que en cada lugar é poblacion haya su *alcalde* o *alcaldes* con su escribano del pueblo, segun uso é costumbre de Castilla.

Item. That there shall be a church, and parish priests or friars to administer the sacraments, to perform divine worship, and for the conversion of the Indians.

Item. That none of the colonists shall go to seek gold without a license from the governor or alcalde of the town where he lives; and that he must first take oath to return to the place whence he sets out, for the purpose of registering faithfully all the gold he may have found, and to return once a month, or once a week, as the time may have been set for him, to render account and show the quantity of said gold; and that this shall be written down by the notary before the alcalde, or, if it seems better, that a friar or priest, deputed for the purpose, shall be also present.

Item. That all the gold thus brought in shall be smelted immediately, and stamped with some mark that shall distinguish each town; and that the portion which belongs to your Highnesses shall be weighed, and given and consigned to each alcalde in his own town, and registered by the above-mentioned priest or friar, so that it shall not pass through the hands of only one person, and there shall be no opportunity to conceal the truth.

Item. That all gold that may be found without the mark of one of the said towns in the possession of any one who has once registered in accordance with the above order shall be taken as forfeited, and that the accuser shall have one portion of it and your Highnesses the other.

Item. That one per centum of all the gold that may be found shall be set aside for building churches and adorning the same, and for the support of the priests or friars belonging to them; and, if it should be thought proper to pay any thing to the alcaldes or notaries for their

Yten, que haya iglesia y abades o frayles para adminystracion de los sacramentos y cultos divinos y para conversion de los yndios.

Yten, que ninguno de los vezinos pueda yr á cojer oro, salvo con licencia del gobernador o alcalde del lugar donde biviere, y que primero haga juramento de volver al mysmo lugar de do saliere, á registrar fielmente todo el oro que oviere cogido y avido, y de volver una vez en el mes o en la semana, segun el tiempo le fuere asygnado, á dar quenta é manifestar la cantidad del dicho oro, é que se escriba por el escrivano del pueblo por ante el alcalde, y sy paresciere, que haya asy mesmo un frayle o abad deputado para ello.

Yten, que todo el oro que asy se traxere, se aya luego de fundir y marcar de alguna marca que cada pueblo señalare, y que se pese y se dé y se entregue, á cada alcalde en su lugar; la parte que pertenesciere á vuestras alteças, y se escriba por el dicho abad o frayle de manera que no pase por una sola mano, y asy no se pueda çelar la verdad.

Yten, que todo el oro que se hallare syn la marca de los dichos pueblos en poder de los que ovieren una vez registrado por la orden susodicha, le sea tomado por perdido, é haya una parte el acusador y lo ál para vuestras alteças.

Yten, que de todo el oro que oviere, se saque uno por ciento para la fábrica de las yglesias y ornamentos dellas é para sustentacion de los abades o frayles dellas; y sy paresciere que á los alcaldes y escrivanos se dé algo por

services, or for ensuring the faithful performance of their duties, that this amount shall be sent to the governor or treasurer who may be appointed there by your Highnesses.

Item. As regards the division of the gold, and the share that ought to be reserved for your Highnesses, this, in my opinion, must be left to the aforesaid governor and treasurer, because it will have to be greater or less according to the quantity of gold that may be found. Or, should it seem preferable, your Highnesses might, for the space of one year, take one half, and the collector the other, and a better arrangement for the division be made afterward.*

Item. That if the said *alcaldes* or notaries shall commit or be privy to any fraud, punishment shall be provided, and the same for the colonists who shall not have declared all the gold they have.

Item. That in the said island there shall be a treasurer, with a clerk to assist him, who shall receive all the gold belonging to your Highnesses, and the *alcaldes* and notaries of the towns shall each keep a record of what they deliver to the said treasurer.

Item. As, in the eagerness to get gold, every one will wish, naturally, to engage in its search in preference to any other employment, it seems to me that the privilege of going to look for gold ought to be withheld during some portion of each year, that there may be opportunity to have the other business necessary for the island performed.

Item. In regard to the discovery of new countries, I think permission should be granted to all that wish to go, and more liberality used

su trabajo y porque agan fielmente sus oficios, que se remita al gobernador y thesorero que allá fueren por vuestras alteças.

Yten, quanto toca á la division del oro é de la parte que ovieren de aver vuestras alteças, esto, á my ver, deve ser remitido á los dichos gobernador y thesorero, porque averá ser más o menos segun la cantidad del oro que se hallare; o sy pareciere, que por tiempo de un año ayan vuestras alteças la mitad y los cojedores la otra mitad, ca despues podrá mejor determinarse cerca del dicho repartimiento.

Yten, que sy los dichos *alcaldes* y escrivanos hiçieren o consintieren algun fraude, se le ponga pena é asy mismo á los veçinos que por entero non manifestaren todo el oro que ovieren.

Yten, que en la dicha ysla haya thesorero que reciva todo el oro perteneciente á vuestras alteças y tenga su escrivano que lo assiente, é los *alcaldes* y escrivanos de los otros pueblos, cada uno tome conocimiento de lo que entregaren al dicho thesorero.

Yten, porque segun la codicia del oro, cada uno querrá más ocuparse en ello, que en haçer otras grangerias, pareçeme que alguna temporada del año se le deva defender la liçencia de yr'á buscar oro, para que haya lugar que se hagan en la dicha ysla otras grangerias á ellas pertenescientes.

Yten, para en lo de descobrir de nuevas tierras, pareçeme se deva dar liçencia á todos los que quisieren yr, y alargar la mano en lo del quinto,

* The sovereigns demanded two-thirds of all the gold found as early as 1495. See Navarrete, vol. ii. p. 166. — Eds.

in the matter of the fifth, making the tax easier, in some fair way, in order that many may be disposed to go on voyages.*

I will now give my opinion about ships going to the said Island of Española, and the order that should be maintained; and that is, that the said ships should only be allowed to discharge in one or two ports designated for the purpose, and should register there whatever cargo they bring or unload; and when the time for their departure comes, that they should sail from these same ports, and register all the cargo they take in, that nothing may be concealed.

Item. In reference to the transportation of gold from the island to Castile, that all of it should be taken on board the ship, both that belonging to your Highnesses and the property of every one else; that it should all be placed in one chest with two locks, with their keys, and that the master of the vessel keep one key and some person selected by the governor and treasurer the other; that there should come with the gold, for a testimony, a list of all that has been put into the said chest, properly marked, so that each owner may receive his own; and that, for the faithful performance of this duty, if any gold whatsoever is found outside of the said chest in any way, be it little or much, it shall be forfeited to your Highnesses.

Item. That all the ships that come from the said island shall be obliged to make their proper discharge in the port of Cadiz, and that no person shall disembark or other person be permitted to go on board until the ship has been visited by the person or persons deputed for that purpose, in the said city, by your Highnesses, to whom the master

moderandolo en alguna buena manera, á fin de que muchos se dispongan á yr.

Ahora diré mi parescer para la yda de los navios á la dicha Ysla Española, é la orden que se deva guardar, ques la siguiente: Que no puedan yr los dichos navios á descargar, salvo en uno o dos puertos para ello señalados, y ende registren todo lo que llevaren é descargaren; y quando ovieren de partir, sea de los mismos puertos, é registren todo lo que cargaren, porque no se encubra cosa alguna.

Yten, que cerca del oro que se oviere de traer de las yslas para Castilla, que todo lo que se oviere de cargar, asy lo que fuere de vuestras alteças, como de cualesquier presonas, todo ello se ponga en una arca que tenga dos cerraduras con sus llaves, y quel maestro tenga la una, y otro presona quel governador y tesorero escogeren la otra; é venga por testimonyo la relacion de todo lo que se pusiere en la dicha arca, é señalado, para que cada uno aya lo suyo: y sy otro oro alguno se hallare fuera de la dicha arca en cualquier manera, poco o mucho, sea perdido, á fin que se haga fielmente y sea para vuestras alteças.

Yten, que todos los navios que vinieren de la dicha ysla, vengan á haçer su derecha descarga al puerto de Cadiz, y no salga presona dellos ny entren otros, hasta que vayan á los dichos navios la presona o presonas que para ello por vuestras alteças fueren deputadas en la dicha cibdad, á quien los maestros manifesten todo lo que traen y muestren la fe de lo

* Perhaps some light is thrown upon this tax of one-fifth by the documents Numbers V. and VI. of the Appendix to Navarrete's second volume. — Eds.

shall show all that he carries, and exhibit the manifest of all the cargo, that it may be seen and examined if the said ship brings any thing hidden and not known at the time of lading.

Item. That the chest in which the said gold has been carried shall be opened in the presence of the magistrates of the said city of Cadiz, and of the person deputed for that purpose by your Highnesses, and his own property be given to each owner. — I beg your Highnesses to hold me in your protection; and I remain, praying our Lord God for your Highnesses' lives and the increase of much greater States,

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que ovieren cargado, para que se pueda ver é requerir sy los dichos navios traen cosa alguna encubierta é non manifestada al tiempo del cargar.

Yten, que en presençia de la justiçia de la dicha cibdad de Cadiz é de quien fuere para ello deputado por vuestras altezas, se aya de abrir el arca en que se traxere el dicho oro, y dar á cada uno lo suyo. — Vuestras alteças me ayan por encomendado, y quedo rogando á Nuestro Señor Dios por las vidas de vuestras altezas y acresçentamiento de muy mayores estados.

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A Letter of Christopher Columbus to their Catholic Majesties, laying before them certain observations on the art of navigation. From Granada, February 6, 1502.

MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY SOVEREIGNS AND LORDS,— I should wish to be the cause of pleasure and gratification to your Highnesses rather than of pain and displeasure; and, knowing the attraction and charm that new and interesting things possess for you, I will write, in obedience to your commands, whatever occurs to my memory of such things; and surely let them not be judged by my carelessness, but by my intention and good will, for in all things relating to the service of your Highnesses I have to learn of no man what I know how to do of my own self; and though my strength were to fail, and my labors exhaust me, in my soul the will would never be wanting, for I am so deeply your debtor.

Navigators and other people who trade upon the sea have always a better knowledge of those particular parts of the world where they are accustomed to make their voyages with least interruption, and for this reason each one of them knows better what he sees every day than what he sees only from year to year; and thus we receive with pleasure the accounts they themselves give us of what they have seen and collected, as certainly we derive greater knowledge from a thing which we learn by our own experience.

If we admit that the world is spherical according to the opinion of many writers who affirm this, or that science makes us lay down any other principle by its authority, it must not be understood that the

Carta de Cristóbal Colon á los Reyes Católicos, exponiendo algunas observaciones sobre el arte de navegar. Granada, 6 de febrero de 1502.

MUY ALTOS Y MUY PODEROSOS REYES Y SEÑORES,— Yo querria ser cabsa de plaszer y holgura á Vuestras Alteças, que no de pesadumbre y hastio; mas como sé la afizion y deleyte que tienen á las cosas nuevas y dalgún ynterese, diré de unas y otras, compliendo con su mandamiento, aquello que agora me venga á la memoria; y cierto non judguen dellas por el desalñio, mas por la intinzion y buen deseo, ya que en todo lo que fuere del servizio de Vuestras Alteças, non he de deprender de ningun otro lo que yo sé fazer por my mesmo; que ay me faltaren las fuerzas y las fatigas me ryndieren, non desfallezerá en my ánima la voluntad como el más obligado y debdor que soy.

Los navegantes y otras gentes que tractan por la mar, tienen syempre mayor conoscimiento de las partidas particulares del mundo donde vsan y fazen sus contractaciones más continuo, y por esto cada vno destos sabe mejor de lo que vee cada día, que no lo otro que viene de años há años: y asy reszebimos con delectazion la relazion aquellos mesmos nos fazen de lo que vieron y collejieron, como cierto allegamos más grande enseñaanza de aquello que deprendemos por nuestra propia espirenzia.

Si resconozemos el mundo ser espérico, segun el sentir de muchos escriptores que ansy lo afirman, o que la scienzia nos faga asentar otra cosa con

temperature of a zone is always even, for the diversity is great both at sea and on land.

The sun spreads its influence and the earth receives it in conformity with the formation of its valleys and mountains; and although the ancients have written enough concerning this, as Pliny, for instance, who says that under the north pole the climate is so mild that the people who live there never die except through vexation and disgust with life, when they hurl themselves from precipices and voluntarily kill themselves. *

We see here in Spain such diversity of temperature, that there is no need of testimony upon this point from any antiquity whatsoever. We see here in Granada the sierra covered with snow all through the year, which is a sign of great cold, and at the foot of this sierra are the Alpujarras, where the temperature is always very pleasant, without excessive cold or heat; and as it is in this province, so is it in enough others in Spain, which I refrain from mentioning by reason of their great number. I say that the same thing happens at sea, and particularly in those parts of the sea bordering on the land; and those who continually traffic there have better knowledge of this than those who trade in other parts.

In Andalusia in summer, after the sun has attained some height, the virazon, which is a wind that rises from the west, is regarded as certain for every day. This wind is very gentle, and lasts until evening. And as this virazon continues in that season in that region, so there are other winds in other parts and in other regions different in summer and in winter. Those who make a practice of sailing from Cadiz to Naples

su auctoridad, no se deve entender que la tenplanza sea yqual en un clyma, porque la diversidad es grande asy en la mar como en la tierra.

El sol syembra su ynfluencia y la tierra la rezibe segun las concavidades o montañas que son formadas en ella, y bien que harto hayán scripto los antiguos sobra esto, asy como Plinio, que dize que debaxo del norte ay tan suave tenplanza, que la gente que ally está jamas se muere, salvo por enfadamiento o aborrimiento de vida, que se despeñan y voluntariamente se matan.

Nos vemos aquy en España tanta diversitydad de tenplanza, que non es menester el testimonio sobre esto de ninguna antigüedad del mundo: vemos aquy en Granada la syerra cubierta de nyeve todo el año, ques señal de gran frio, y al pie desta syerra son las Alpujarras donde es siempre suavissima tenplanza syn demasiado calor ny frio, y asy como es en esta provinzia, es en otras hartas en España, que se deja de dezir por la prolixidad dellas. Digo que en la mar acaesze otro tanto y en espezial en las comarcas de las tierras, y desto es en mayor conoscimiento los que continuo ally tractar, que no los otros que tractan en otras partes.

En el verano, en l'Andaluzia por muy cierto se tiene cada dia, despues de ser el sol altillo, la virazon, ques viento que sale del poniente, esta vien muy suave y dura hasta la tarde; asy como esta virazon continúa en aquel tiempo en esta region, ansy continúa otros vientos en otras partes y en ostra regiones diferentes el verano y el ynvierno. Los que andan con-

* Pliny, Hist. Nat., lib. iv. c. xxvi. — *Note in Cartas de Indias.*

know when they pass the coast of Catalonia, according to the season, what wind to expect there; and the same when they pass through the Gulf of Narbonne. Those who go from Cadiz to Naples, if it is winter time, pass within sight of Cape Creo in Catalonia, through the Gulf of Narbonne: there the wind is very strong, and sometimes the ships are compelled to yield to it, and through its force are blown away to Barbary, and on this account they hug Cape Creo in order to keep further on the tack, and to reach the Pomegas of Marseilles or the Islands of Hyères, and after that they never leave the coast until they reach their destination. If they are going from Cadiz to Naples in summer time, they sail along the coast of Barbary as far as Sardinia, in the same manner as has been said of the northern coast.* For these voyages, there are marked men who have made the passage so often, that they know all the ways and what weather to expect according to the season of the year. We commonly call such men pilots, which name is equivalent to guide on land; for, although one may know the road from here to Fuentarabia well enough to lead an army over it, he may not know that from here to Lisbon. It is the same at sea: some are pilots for Flanders, others for the Levant, every man for the country to which he is most accustomed.

The voyage and passage from Spain to Flanders is much frequented: there are great sailors who go on this service. In Flanders, in the month of January all the ships are ready to return home, and in this month it rarely happens that there are not some gusts of brysa, which is an east-north-east and north-north-east wind. These winds at this sea-

tinuo de Cadiz á Napoles, ya saben cuando pasan por la costa de Catalunia, segund la sazón, el viento que han de hallar en ella, y asimismo cuando pasan por el golfo de Narbona. Estos que han de yr de Cadiz á Napoles, si es tiempo de ynvierño, van á vista de cabo de Creo en Catalunia, por el golfo de Narbona: entonzes vienta muy rezio, y las vezes las naos conviene le obedezcan y corran por fuerza hasta Berueria, y por esto van más al cabo Creo, por sostener más la bolina y cobrar las Pomegas de Marsella o las ysias de Eres, y despues jamas se desabarcán de la costa hasta llegar donde quier. Si de Cadiz ovieren de yr á Napoles en tiempo de verano, navegan por la costa de Berueria hasta Cerdena, ansy como está dicho de la otra costa de la tramotana. Para estas navegaciones ay hombres señalados, que sean dado tanto á ello, que conoszen todos estos caminos y qué temporales pueden esperar, segund la sazón del año en que fueren. Vulgarmente, á estos tales llamamos pylotos, que es tanto como en la tierra adalid; que bien que uno sepa muy bien el camino daqui á Fuentarabia para llevar una hueste, ni lo sabe daqui á Lisbona. Esto mismo acaesze en la mar, que unos son pylotos de Flandes y otros de Levante, cada uno de la tierra donde más usa.

El tracto y tránsito d'España á Flandes mucho se continúa; grandes marineros ay que andan á este uso. En Flandes, en el mes de enero, están todas las naos despachadas para volver á sus tierras, y en este mes, de raro sale que no haya algunos estirones de brysa, ques lesnordeste y nornordeste. Estos vientos, á este tiempo, no vienen amorosos, salvo salvajes y

* He means that the coast is hugged, as in the winter voyage.—Eds.

son are not gentle, but fierce and cold, and almost dangerous: the distance of the sun and the condition of the earth are the causes that produce this. These brysas are not steady, although they do not fail to occur at the right season: those who sail with them are persons who are willing to run a risk, and they almost always get home with their hands in their hair. These persons, if the brysa fails them and some other wind blows against them, take refuge in the ports of France or England until another tide comes, and they can leave these harbors.

Sailors are greedy for money and eager to get home, and will risk every thing without waiting to see that the weather is settled. On another such occasion as this, when I was confined to my bed, I told your Highnesses what I could of the time of greatest safety for this voyage, which is after the sun has entered Taurus, and that the starting in the height and most dangerous time of winter should be abandoned. If the winds are favorable, the voyage is very short, and one ought not to start without some good certainty of the passage; and an opinion about that can be made here when the sky is seen to be very clear, and the wind rising from the north star and lasting several days, always with the same pleasant weather. Your Highnesses know well what occurred in the year ninety-seven, when you were at Burgos, in such anxiety because the weather continued bad and one storm followed another that you were going in disgust to Soria; and after the whole court had gone one Saturday, your Highnesses remained to start on Monday morning; and for a certain purpose on that night I said in a letter that I sent to your Highnesses; on such a day the wind began to blow, on the next day the fleet will not sail, waiting to see if the wind is steady; it will sail on Wednesday, and on Thursday or Friday it

frios y fasta peligrosos: la distancia del sol y la calidad de la tierra son cabsa que se enjendre esto. Estas brysas no son estables, bien que asy no yerren el tiempo; los que navegan con ellas son personas que se ponen á ventura y lo más de las veces llegan con la mano en los cabellos. A estos, sy la brisa les falta y les haze fuerza otro viento, ponense en los puertos de Franzia o Ynglaterra, hasta que venga otra marea que puedan salir de los puertos.

La gente de la mar es cobdiziosa de dyneros y de volver á su casa, y todo lo aventuran syn esperar á ver quel tiempo sea firme. Cativo como estaba en cama, en otra tal ocasion dixé á Vuestras Alteças lo que pude de mayor seguridad desta navegacion, que era despues de ser el sol en Tauru, y renegar de fazer esta partida en la fuerza y más peligroso de yvierno. Sy los vientos ayudan, muy corto es el tránsito, y non se debe de partir hasta tener buena certeza del viaje; y de acá se puede judgar dello, ques cuando se viere estar el cielo muy claro y salir el viento de la estrella de la tramotana y durar algunos dias, syempre en aquella alegria. Saben bien Vuestras Alteças lo que aconteció el año de nouenta y syete, quando estaban en Burgos en tal congoxa por quel tiempo perseveraba crudo y se suçedian los estirones, que de enfadados se yban á Soria; y partida toda la corte un sabado, quedaron Vuestras Alteças para partir lunes de mañana; y á un cierto proposito, en aquella noche, en un escripto mio que envié á Vuestras Alteças, dezia: tal dia comenzó á ventar el viento: el otro dia no partirá la flota, aguardando sy el viento se afirma; partirá

will be abreast the Island of Huict,* and if it does not put in will reach Laredo next Monday, or the science of seamanship is entirely lost. This writing of mine, and your desire for the coming of the Princess, moved your Highnesses to change your minds and not go to Soria, but to try the opinion of the sailor; and on Monday a ship appeared off Laredo, which had refused to enter Huit, because it had few provisions.

The opinions in similar cases, both on sea and on land, are and have always been various, and now there will be many who will desire to sail to the discovered islands; and, if the road is known, those who have to trade and traffic, by the perfection of instruments, and the improved rigging of ships, will have greater knowledge of things and countries, winds, and seasons most convenient for their services, and more experience for the security of their persons.

May the Holy Trinity guard your Highnesses, as I pray and we have need, with all your great estates and lordships. From Granada, the 6th of February, 1502.

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el miercoles, y el jueves o viernes será tant avant como la isla de Huict, y seno se meten en ella, serán en Laredo el lunes que viene, o la razon de la marineria es toda perdida. Este escripto mio, con el deseo de la venida de la Prinzeza, movió á Vuestras Alteças á mudar de proposito de no yr á Soria y espirmentar la opinion del marinero; y el lunes remaneszió sobre Laredo una nao que refuso de entrar en Huit, porque tenia pocos bastimentos.

Muchos son los juizios y fueron syempre en la mar y en la tierra en semejantes casos, y agora han de ser muchos los que hayan de navegar á las yslas descubiertas; y sy el camino es ya conoszido, los que hayan de tractar y contractar, con la perfizion de los ystrumentos y el aparejar de las naos, habrán mayor conoszimiento de las cosas y de las tierras y de los vientos y de las epocas más convenybles para sus usos, y más espirenzia para la seguridad de sus presonas.

La Sancta Treynidad guarde á Vuestras Alteças como deseco y menester habernos, con todos sus grandes estados y señorios. De Granada, á seys de hebrero de mill y quinientos y dos años.

· S ·
· S · A · S ·
X M Y

: Xpo FERENS./

* The Isle of Wight is the only island that answers the requirements of the text. The Spanish language has no W, and perhaps Huict or Huit represents Wight in phonetic spelling. I hazard this conjecture with some diffidence. — G. D.

A Letter of Amerigo Vespucci to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo (Ximénes de Cisneros), giving his opinion about the goods that ought to be carried to the Antilles. From Seville, December 9, 1508.

VERY REVEREND AND MAGNIFICENT SIR, — I feel obliged to show my gratitude for the confidence which your most reverend lordship has shown me, and I will not fail to declare my opinion, without allowing any interest to influence me, although I could have no desire to speak of that; and now I am to answer in regard to what is to be carried to the islands, whether it is better that it should pass through one person's hands, and that your Highness should derive a profit, as the King of Portugal does from the trade with the Mina del Oro, or, as I think I have heard is your Highness's opinion, whether every one should have liberty to go and carry what he wishes.

I find a great difference between the traffic of the King of Portugal and that which we are considering; inasmuch as the first consists of sending to the country of the Moors, and to one single place, a few kinds of goods appraised at a fixed price; and for these the factors whom he has there are responsible for the amount of the valuation, or for the goods themselves. The exact contrary is our case, as what has to be taken out to the islands consists of a diversity of all sorts of things that persons there may be in need of, as, for instance, clothes to clothe themselves with, and many things necessary for their buildings and farms, of which no account can be kept. So that I should think it very difficult and almost impossible for your Highness to order the business to be done in that manner, especially as many things that are needed in the islands can be procured more conveniently from other

Carta de Amerigo Vespucci al Cardenal Arzobispo de Toledo (Ximénes de Cisneros), dándole su parecer sobre las mercancías que hubieran de llevarse á las islas Antillas. — Sevilla, 9 de diciembre de 1508.

MUY REVERENDO É MAGNIFICO SEÑOR, — Tengo pues de agradecer la confianza que debo á vuestra reverendísima señoría, que non dexaré de dezirle my pareszer, syn que me mueva ynterese alguno, avnque non oviera gana de hablar dello; ya que agora he de responder sobre lo que háse de llevar á las yslas, sy es bien que vaya por vna mano y que Su Alteza lleve el provecho, segun que lo haze el rey de Portugal en lo de la Mina del Oro, ó sea, como creo aver entendido ser la manera de pensar de Su Alteza, que cada vno tenga lybertad de yr i llevar lo que quisiere.

Yo hallo grande diferenzia del tracto del rey de Portugal á este acá, por quel vno es enviar á tierra de moros i á vn solo lugar vna ó dos mercaderías apreziadas á zierto prezio, y de aquellas le responde los fatores que allá tiene, con el valor del mismo prezio ó con la ropa; y acá es al contrario, porque lo que se ha de llevar á las yslas es diversidad de todas cosas que las personas puedan aver menester, asy de vestyr como vestidos i muchas cosas nezesarias para edifyzios i grangerías, que no tienen quenta ny razon: de manera, que yo averia por muy dificoitoso i casy imposyble que Su Alteza lo pueda mandar hazer desta manera, en espezial que muchas de las cosas que son menester para las yslas, cumple más llevarlas

countries than this. For instance, from the Canaries and the Portuguese Islands, from which they get live stock and provisions, and other necessary articles. And there would have to be an agent for each thing, and of many things no account could be given, for some are consumed, others damaged, and still others spoiled. For this reason, in my opinion, the business cannot be transacted in that way; and, if the attempt shall be made, I think time will show that I am right.

By either of two ways it seems to me possible that your Highness may always derive a profit from the importation of goods that are carried to the islands, without trouble or expense on your part. The first is to lay a fixed tax on all that is taken to the islands, as it may seem right to your Highness, and to allow everybody to go freely and carry whatever he chooses: the other is to commit the traffic to merchants who shall share the profit with your Highness, they furnishing all that is needed without your Highness giving any care to the matter. In such a partnership, this arrangement would have to be made: that in the said islands the treasurer of your Highness and the agent of the merchants should be charged jointly with the business of receiving and selling all goods sent thither, each of them keeping his book in which, by the hands of two persons, every thing that was sold would be set down.

And there should be a statement of the cost of all the goods that are sent in each ship, signed by the merchant and the treasurer, or some other agent for your Highness appointed to be in Seville or Cadiz, in order that, by means of this account, those in the islands can correct their accounts of all that each ship brings, and that each person may take his share of the profit, the merchant receiving back the cost of the

de otras partes que destas, asy como de las yslas de Canaria y las de Portugal, de las quales sacan ganados y vituallas y otras cosas nezesarias; i para cada cosa seria menester vn fator, i ay muchas dellas de que non se podria dar cuenta, porque dellas se comen, dellas se dañan y otras se pierden; y desta causa, á my ver, non se podria llevar este negocio por la dicha manera, i sy en espienzia lo pusyere, el tiempo doy por testygo.

Syempre que Su Alteza tenga algun provecho en la entrada de las ropas que á las yslas se llevaren syn cuidado ny costa, ocurremte vno de dos camynos: el uno, poner vn zierto derecho en todo lo que á las yslas se llevase, qual á Su Alteza paresziere, i que cada vno pudiese libremente yr i llevar lo que quisyere; el otro, es encargar esta negociacion á mercaderes que respartiesen el provecho con Su Alteza i forneciesen todo lo que fuese menester, sin que Su Alteza toviese dello cuidado. I en esta tal compañía seria de tener esta orden: que toviese en las dichas yslas cargo de entender en el rezibir i vender de las ropas que allá se enviaren el thesorero de Su Alteza, en compañía del fator de los mercaderes, tenyendo cada vno dellos su libro en que, por dos manos, se asentase todo lo que se vendiese.

Y de todas las ropas que se enviasen en cada navio, fuese la cuenta de lo oviesen costado, firmada del mercader y del thesorero, o bien de otro fator por Su Alteza deputado á estar en Sevilla o en Cadiz, para que, segun aquella, pudiesen en las yslas soldar cuenta de todo lo que llevare cada navio sobre sy, i tomar cada vna su parte de la gananzia, entregandose el mercader del costo de la ropa con costa y fletes, porque desta manera

goods with the charges and freight. And in this way there would be order and agreement, and no opportunity for fraud or deceit. In reference to the things that would be carried from other countries than our own, or from the islands above mentioned, and to their cost, the merchant and the agent of your Highness, who resided in Seville or Cadiz, could intrust this to some person who seemed to them suitable.

This is my opinion with due submission to those who know more. From Seville, the 9th day of the month of December, 1508.

I humbly kiss the hands of your most reverend lordship.

AMERRIGO VESPUCCI,
Chief Pilot.

[Addressed] To the most reverend and magnificent Lord, Cardinal of Spain Archbishop of Toledo.

[Indorsed on the back] From Amerrigo Vespucci, about carrying goods to the islands.

Replies with his opinion, December 9th, that my lord the Cardinal may see it. (Rubric.)

averia orden y conzierto, ny podria aver fraude ny engaño alguno; i para las cosas que se oviesen de llevar de fuera dacia y de las yslas de suso nombradas y saber el costo dellas, el mercader y fator de Su Alteza que estoviesse en Sevilla o Cadiz, podria dar el cargo á alguna presona que á ellos paresziere.

Este es my pareszer, remityendome á los que más saben.

De Sevilla, á ix dias del mes de diziembre de mill é quinientos é ocho años.

De vuestra reverendisima señoria humylmente beso las manos.

AMERRIGO VESPUCCI,
Piloto Mayor.

[Sobre] Reverendisimo é magnifyco Señor [el Señor] Cardenal d' España, Arzobispo de Toledo.

[Anotacion al dorso] De Amerrigo Vespucci, sobre llevar cosas á las islas.

Responde con su pareszer de ix diziembre, para que lo vea m señor el señor Cardenal. (Rúbrica.)

The Rev. Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, presented, as a gift to the Society from Edward Burnham, Esq., of Cambridgeport, the Orderly Book of Colonel Israel Hutchinson, from August 13th, 1775, to July 8th, 1776, remarking that it contained, in addition to the General Orders, a descriptive list of five hundred and twenty-two soldiers engaged for the service. He called attention to the interesting fact that on the 3d of July, 1776, the parole was "Independence," and the countersign "Prosperity," and on the 4th itself the parole was "Colonies," and the countersign "Free." He stated that the Book, which has been remarkably well preserved, was now presented by

Mr. Burnham, the executor of the will of Mrs. Eunice H. Kenny, widow of John Kenny, and grand-daughter of Colonel Hutchinson. Her maiden name was Eunice Hutchinson; she was born in Danvers, and died in Gloucester, at the house of Mr. Burnham, who was then residing in that place, and who married Susan P. Davenport, daughter of Mehetabel, another grand-daughter of Colonel Hutchinson. He also gave a brief notice of Colonel Hutchinson, condensed from a biographical sketch in the "History of Danvers," pp. 185-187. Israel Hutchinson was born in Danvers in 1727. During the French War, he was one of a scouting party in Maine, under Captain Israel Herrick, in 1757; lieutenant at Lake George and Ticonderoga, in 1758; and captain, under Wolfe, at the Plains of Abraham, in 1759. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, he was captain of a company of sixty minute-men, with whom, on the memorable 19th of April, 1775, he met the British troops on their retreat from Lexington, and pursued them to Charlestown. He was soon commissioned lieutenant-colonel and colonel, and was stationed on Winter Hill. After the evacuation of Boston by the British, he was at Fort Hill and Dorchester Heights until October, when he went to New York, commanded at Fort Lee and at Fort Washington, and was with Washington at the famous crossing of the Delaware. After the war ended, he was elected by his townsmen as their Representative in the General Court, in which office, and as councillor, he served them twenty-one years. He died in Danvers, March 16th, 1811, leaving thirteen children.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Burnham for his acceptable and valuable gift, and the volume was referred to the Committee on the Proceedings.*

* Colonel Hutchinson's Orderly Book comprises three sets of orders: first, Washington's orders as Commander-in-chief, from Aug. 13, 1776, until his departure for New York, April 4, 1776; second, the brigade orders issued by General Sullivan from Winter Hill during nearly the whole of the same period; and, third, the orders of General Greene, and afterward of General Ward, while in command in Boston, from the evacuation down to July 8, 1776. Washington's orders down to Sept. 26, 1776, were printed in Colonel Henshaw's Orderly Book in the Proceedings for October, 1876; and the later orders may be found in 4 Force's American Archives, vols. iii.-v. The orders of General Sullivan relate mainly to matters of discipline or to movements subordinate to the general operations of the army; and it has not, therefore, been thought desirable to print them. But the third set of orders throws considerable light on the condition of the town of Boston after it was evacuated by the British troops, and also on the condition of our own army while garrisoning the town; and these orders are printed here at length, with such notes as seemed desirable for their proper elucidation. The descriptive list of men belonging to Colonel Hutchinson's regiment shows that they were mostly young men; and a very large number are classed as laborers. — Eds.

Boston, 20th March, 1776.

GENERAL GREENE'S ORDERS.—A subaltern and twenty men to parade immediately and assist Major Frazer, Deputy Quartermaster-General, in storing the provisions. All the officers of the different guards to be at head-quarters at the British Coffee House, at six o'clock this evening, with the number of guards and where stationed, and also whose orders they have received upon an alarm. At the beating the tattoo, all officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers to retire to their quarters, and not stir out again till the beating the reveille. All officers of whatever rank are desired to exert themselves in preventing the troops from plundering or abusing any of the inhabitants. Any officer or soldier detected in those kind of offences will be punished to the extent of the law. A fatigue party of twenty-five men that have had the small-pox, from each Colonels Whitcomb, Phinney, and Hutchinson's regiments, to cleanse the barracks, under the inspection of the selectmen, or the person they appoint for that purpose. The guards to be relieved at eight o'clock in the morning. Upon an alarm, Colonel Phinney and Colonel Hutchinson's regiment to man Fort Hill, four companies of Colonel Whitcomb's on Beacon Hill and Mount Whoredom, two companies upon Copp's Hill, and two companies to be a reserve to form in King Street below the town house, there to wait for orders. Colonel Whitcomb to appoint the captains to their several posts. A fatigue to work upon Fort Hill to-morrow, of one hundred and thirty men from Phinney's, Hutchinson's, and Whitcomb's regiments. Colonel Phinney field-officer of the day. Colonel Hutchinson officer of the day to-morrow. The captains to examine daily the arms and ammunition of the troops, that are brought upon the grand parade to mount guard. King Street is the grand parade. The adjutant to apply to-morrow morning, seven o'clock, to the brigade-major.

Detail for Colonel Whitcomb, 1. 3. 6. 6. 3. 3.—113.

Phinney, 1. 4. 5. 5. 3. 3.—113.

Hutchinson, 4. 5. 5. 3. 3.—113.*

GENERAL GREENE'S ORDERS.—Colonel Learned is directed to man six whale-boats every night while the enemy remain in the harbor, whose duty it is to row about, and make discoveries of any movement of the enemy that the garrison may be apprised thereof. The garrison already stationed in this town is to remain here, as there is not men sufficient in the army that have had the small-pox to relieve them. The commanding officers of the different corps are directed to send such a number of men for so much baggage as they may necessarily want while here. It is the General's express orders that no officer or soldier attempt to take up or be aiding or assisting in taking up any persons which may be suspected of being inimical to the country, and that no insult or abuse be offered to them. The captains and subaltern

* These figures represent the assignment of officers and men to each detail, namely, captains, lieutenants or subalterns, sergeants, corporals, drummers, fifers, and privates.—Eds.

officers to examine the men to mount guard, and see that their arms and ammunition are in good order, and that their men are dressed as decent as their apparel will admit, their face and hands washed clean, and their hair combed. Any adjutant that brings any men upon the grand parade, that are not prepared as above, may expect the censure due to their negligence. The captain of the main guard to keep two patrolling parties, commanded by subaltern officers, every night patrolling the streets in every part of Boston, and take up all stragglers after tattoo beating, that can't give a good account of themselves, or have not the countersign. Any persons discovered in plundering to be sent prisoners to the main guard. The officers of the different guards to report all occurrences happening while they are on guard: 'tis expected that the officers keep good orders on guard, and prevent any of the soldiers from insulting or abusing any of the inhabitants or passengers that come into town upon business. The officers will be answerable for all the misconduct of their guards. All General Orders to be read once at least to the men, and all standing orders three times. All guards under fifty men, not more than one man to be absent at a time, and not more than two from any guard under a hundred; and none without leave from the commanding officer of the guard. The provisions to be carried to the guards by their messmates.

21st March, 1776.

GENERAL GREENE'S ORDERS.—A larger fatigue party will be wanted than can be furnished, if the guards are relieved. The guards are to stand till to-morrow morning, and the whole of the three regiments, besides enough to cook, to go on fatigue. Machin of the artillery to oversee the fatigue and mark out the ditch, &c.

23d March, 1776.

GENERAL GREENE'S ORDERS.—All the boats except the ferry-boats at Charlestown ferry to be collected under the care of the officer of the boat-guard now in Boston, and that no boat be permitted to be taken away unless by an order from the town major, and that four boats be constantly kept out every night while the enemy lies below to ply across from Dorchester to Noddle's Island, and take up all boats going out or coming into Boston after dark. Lieut.-Colonel Holden officer of the day to-morrow.

Detail for guards to-morrow, 0 C. 4 S. 7 S. 7 C. 3 D. 3 F.—113 P.

Detail for boat-guards, one sergeant and seven privates.

23d March, 1776.

GENERAL GREENE'S AFTER ORDERS.—The guards to be left standing another day, and all that are off duty in Colonel Phinney's, Colonel Whitcomb's, and Colonel Hutchinson's regiments, except enough for cooking, to go upon fatigue to-morrow upon Fort Hill. The General flatters himself that both officers and soldiers will cheerfully submit to the necessary duty required for guarding and fortifying

the town. The situation of the enemy below, and the defenceless state of the town, renders it absolutely necessary for the troops to do double duty for a time, until the town is put in a better situation. The General has great reason to suspect the enemy may be meditating an attack by surprise. He therefore wishes the guards may be vigilant on their posts, with their arms and ammunition in good order. The captains are enjoined to examine the arms and ammunitions of their companies daily. Every soldier to fasten his accoutrements to his gun every night, that they may be prepared at a moment's warning upon an alarm.

Boston, 25th March, 1776.

All officers and soldiers in this garrison are hereby strictly enjoined to afford any assistance and protection John Thomas may demand, at any time, and at all times, whenever he demands it, for the apprehending and securing such person or persons as he shall point out, and for protecting the said Thomas against any personal insult or abuse that the said Thomas may subject himself to by pointing out and apprehending persons suspected of acting as spies upon the army.

Given under my hand the day and year above.

N. G.

27th March, 1776.

GENERAL GREENE'S ORDERS.—The quartermasters, to-morrow morning, to make return of the victualling list of each of the regiments to which they belong to the Deputy Quartermaster-General, that they may receive an order to draw beer for the troops. The General once more warns the soldiers against plundering; and, at the same time, acknowledges he feels a singular pleasure in reflecting that there never has been more than one or two complaints, and those only suspected. If any should be base enough to commit any acts of plunder and attempt to conceal the effects, their messmates, not discovering the same to the commanding officer of the regiment, will be considered as accessory to the crime; and, should it be afterwards discovered, they will be punished accordingly. If there should be a fire in town, not a man is to stir from his guard or quarters unless ordered by the General, at the request of the selectmen or the inhabitants. The General strictly prohibits any of the soldiery from insulting any of the inhabitants with the odious epithets of "Tory," or any other indecent language, it being ungenerous, unmanly, and unsoldierlike, and cannot fail (if indulged) of disgracing both officers and soldiers.

29th March, 1776.

GENERAL GREENE'S ORDERS.—A general court-martial to sit to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, to try the prisoners now in confinement. The court to consist of one field officer as president, eight captains, and five subalterns. All evidences and persons concerned to attend the court. Colonel Sargeant is appointed president of the above court-martial, who will appoint the place where the court will

set. Colonel Hutchinson to furnish two captains and one subaltern. The fatigue-party on Fort Hill to begin to work at eight o'clock in the morning and work till twelve, then to have a recess of two hours, and then work till five in the afternoon. The captain of the main guard to plant, as the committee appointed by this province court may demand, for security of Tory property, the sentries, by order of the captain of the main guard, is to permit any persons to enter those houses having Mr. John Brown's warrant for so doing.*

Boston, 31st March, 1776.

Major-General Ward having, by order of his Excellency General Washington, taken the command of the troops in Boston, he directs that the guards and fatigue parties be continued as they now are until further orders. The General earnestly wishes that good discipline and sobriety may prevail in all the regiments and corps, and commands all officers to exert themselves to promote the interest and happiness of the troops, and other inhabitants. Adjutant Tuckerman is to do the duty of brigade-major until further orders, and is to be obeyed as such.

Boston, 31st March, 1776.

GENERAL WARD'S ORDERS. — Hutchinson's regiment to furnish the guards to-morrow.

The adjutant of the day, Colonel Phinney's.

Officer of the day, Major Putnam.

Boston, 1st April, 1776.

GENERAL WARD'S ORDERS. — That a guard, consisting of one subaltern, one sergeant, one corporal, and fifteen privates, parade immediately to relieve the magazine guard at W. Hill,† and continue until further orders.

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Major Austin.

Adjutant for the day, from Colonel Whitcomb's regiment.

Colonel Phinney's regiment to furnish the guards to-morrow.

Men off duty to go upon fatigue as usual.

Boston, 2d April, 1776.

It is General Ward's orders that Colonel Hutchinson sends from his regiment one subaltern, one sergeant, one corporal, and twenty privates, to Castle Point early to-morrow morning, likewise one sergeant, one corporal, and twelve privates, as a quarter guard, at the store in the barn, who are to place sentries in the forts, on the hill, and at the store. Colonel Sargeant's regiment is to march this day to Charlestown,

* By Washington's General Orders of this date (4 Force's American Archives, vol. v. p. 756), Greene was assigned to the command of one of the brigades ordered to march for New York at sunrise on the following Monday, — April 1st. — Eds.

† The reference in this order is undoubtedly to Winter Hill. — Eds.

and garrison Breed's and Bunker's Hill. Colonel Hutchinson's regiment to march to-morrow morning, at sunrise, to Dorchester Point, and relieve Colonel Learned's regiment now there. A subaltern, one sergeant, one corporal, and fifteen privates are to march this day to Medfield, and relieve the guard there belonging to Colonel Parsons's regiment (which is under marching orders), and are to guard the provision store.

Boston, 2d April, 1776.

SIR, — You are directed by Major-General Ward to march, to-morrow morning, to relieve Colonel Learned's regiment, at Dorchester Point, where you will keep such guards as shall appear necessary to preserve the forts, abatis, barracks, houses, trees, and fences entire, and to watch the motion of the enemy's fleet, &c., and to transmit a return of such occurrences as may happen daily.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

P. WADSWORTH, *Aide-de-camp*.*

Boston, 5th April, 1776.

Parole, "AMERICA"; countersign, "LIBERTY."

Colonels Whitcomb, Hutchinson, Phinney, Sargeant, and Glover are to give in their pay abstracts for their respective regiments, as soon as possible for the month of February.

Colonel Gridley is directed to construct and superintend all works that are begun, or shall be resolved on, for the defence of the harbor. He will apply to the quartermaster for all the materials, whether old or new, that may be used in those works. The quartermaster is directed to keep an exact account and particular valuation of all the materials, whether old or new, which he shall deliver to Colonel Gridley for those works, to be ready whenever it may be called for. This is by no means to be neglected. The commissary or conductor of artillery stores for this department is directed to collect and deposit them in the magazine at Boston, and to make a return of them as soon as may be, and to deliver nothing without an order from the commanding officer.

The commanding officer of artillery will forthwith give in a return of all the ordnance and ordnance stores in this department, and where lodged. A guard consisting of a sergeant, corporal, and twelve privates, to be kept over each powder magazine till they shall be collected into one.

Captain Scott, of Colonel Sargeant's regiment, is appointed to officiate as judge-advocate to the general court-martial, of which Colonel Sargeant is president. The quartermaster is to take an account of the vessels which were left in Boston by the enemy, some with and some without cargoes, which are not to be delivered to any claimant until he has given proper security to abide the determination of Congress respecting them, and in that case take an exact inventory in order to

* A considerable space was left blank here, apparently for the orders of the 3d and 4th April. — Eds.

ascertain the value, which security is to be kept by the quartermaster until called for. The quartermaster will take an account of all the stores which the enemy left in Boston, and secure them, together with the barracks and materials which are found in their works.

Head-quarters, 6th April, 1776.

Parole, "MASSACHUSETTS"; countersign, "BOSTON."

Lieut.-Colonel March is desired to officiate as muster-master for the division of the Continental Army remaining in this colony till further orders. Colonel March will keep a muster-roll of the names, time of enlistment, company, regiment, towns, and counties to which they belong, and age of all he shall muster. The regimental surgeon is to send the soldiers taken with the small-pox to a hospital at Lechmere's Point, instead of New Boston, any orders to the contrary notwithstanding.

P. W., A. D. C.

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Major Frazer.

Colonel Whitcomb's regiment furnishes the guards to-morrow.

The company in town belonging to Colonel Sargeant's regiment to parade immediately, with proper officers sufficient for every division, and repair to Fort Hill and take directions from the superintendent of the works there. The officers will be answerable for the men of their respective divisions. The officers will govern themselves by the General Orders of the 2d instant.

Amos Brown tried at a general court-martial for profane swearing, getting drunk, and insulting language. The court adjudge him to receive fifteen lashes. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be put into execution at five o'clock this afternoon.

Head-quarters, 8th April, 1776.

Parole, "WARREN"; countersign, "HERO."

Head-quarters, 9th April, 1776.

Parole, "DUTY"; countersign, "HONOR."

As the number of troops is small for the important posts we have to defend, and for erecting necessary works, the General expects the utmost vigilance and exertion in all the officers to promote discipline, and to carry into execution every general order which has been or may be issued: without the constant attention of the officer to every part of duty, it is vain to expect order in an army; and, therefore, any officer who shall neglect this duty may expect to be arrested and tried for disobedience of orders.

Each officer commanding a regiment is to appoint a drum-major and fife-major in his regiment, and they are carefully to instruct the drums and fifes their duty, and to see that their part of regimental duty be regularly performed. This is by no means to be neglected, as martial music is always pleasing to a soldier, and gives lustre and dignity to every corps.

Head-quarters, 10th April, 1776.

Parole, "ARTS"; countersign, "ARMS."

The regimental surgeons are to give in to the major of brigade a weekly return, every Friday, of all the sick unfit for duty. The adjutants are, personally, to bring their men detailed for guard on the grand parade precisely at nine o'clock in the morning, at which time the guards are to be relieved till further orders: the adjutants first to see their men drawn on the regimental parade; to examine their arms and ammunition; and to see that they are shaved, clean, and neat as their clothes will admit; and they are to desire their orderly sergeants not to bring a soldier on the regimental parade in a slovenly habit. Any soldier refusing to comply with this order shall be confined by the orderly sergeant. The field-officer to attend on the grand parade to see the guard march off to their post. The commanding officers of regiments are to exert themselves to see their men provided with suitable clothing as soon as may be.

Head-quarters, 11th April, 1776.

Parole, "WADSWORTH"; countersign, "MASSACHUSETTS."

Head-quarters, 12th April, 1776.

Parole, "HONOR"; countersign, "VIRTUE."

Colonel Hutchinson is directed to complete the abatis round the works on Dorchester Heights with the trees already fallen on the westerly side of the hill. No new ones are to be cut on any pretence. When the abatis are there completed, the greatest care is to be taken that not a single twig be taken from it. The spears are to be greased and rubbed up, and placed round the works in the neatest manner, and to be preserved in the same good order. The *chevaux-de-frise* are to be conveniently placed before the avenues, so as to be hauled in at a moment's notice. The colonel is directed to take such fatigue-parties from his regiment as shall effect this work with the greatest despatch. The quartermaster will furnish axes and ropes for the business, which must be returned when the work is done.*

Head-quarters, 16th April, 1776.

Parole, "WARREN"; countersign, "PRESCOTT."

The following prisoners, belonging to Colonel Hutchinson's regiment, tried by a general court-martial whereof Colonel Sargeant was president, for mutinying and disobedience of orders, assaulting and entering the main guard, were sentenced as follows: John Digner, to suffer death, agreeably to the fifth article; James Peirce, thirty-nine lashes for mutiny, thirty-nine for disobedience of orders, and thirty-

* A space of more than two foolscap pages was left blank here, probably for the orders of the 13th, 14th, and 16th April which were not copied.—Ems.

nine for snapping his gun at an officer, and one week's imprisonment in the dungeon of the provost; John Conner, Thomas Rudford, John Frost, John Deacons, George Milborne, Solomon Day, Richard Gayer, thirty-nine lashes each, and one week's imprisonment in the dungeon of the provost; John Partee, thirty-nine lashes; Scipio Freeman, fifteen lashes; Thomas Davis, acquitted; Joseph Allen, thirty-nine lashes; John Gilbert, to suffer death; Nathaniel Ramsdell, thirty-nine lashes; Windsor Thorpe, thirty-nine lashes; Joseph Peirce, thirty-nine lashes, and one week's imprisonment in the dungeon of the provost; Michael Smothers, thirty-nine lashes; Joseph Procter, fifteen lashes; William Chandler and Samuel Moore, both acquitted; Alexander Grant, thirty-nine lashes for mutiny, and thirty-nine for abusing his officer, and one week's imprisonment in the dungeon of the provost; John Copp, thirty-nine lashes for mutiny, thirty-nine for disobedience of orders, and thirty-nine for insulting an officer, and fourteen days' imprisonment in the dungeon of the provost. The General approves the above sentences, and orders it to take place immediately, in the following manner: John Partee, Scipio Freeman, Joseph Allen, Nathaniel Ramsdell, Windsor Thorpe, Michael Smothers, and Joseph Procter, in the front of their regiment, at Dorchester Point, — Colonel Hutchinson is directed to send a guard for them for this purpose. James Peirce, John Conner, Thomas Rudford, John Frost, John Deacons, Solomon Day, Richard Gayer, Joseph Peirce, Alexander Grant, and John Copp are to be whipped on Wednesday morning, at six o'clock, on the Common, before the regiments in town, which are to be drawn up for that purpose. The other two are to suffer in such time and manner as the General shall order. Mr. Joseph Otis is appointed provost-master until further orders, and he is to be obeyed as such. Colonel Hutchinson's regiment is to erect the new works which are laid out at Dorchester Point, next to Castle Island, and the colonel is to appoint a proper officer to superintend the work, under the direction of Colonel Gridley, and exempt him from other duty while thus employed. The prisoners under sentence to be whipped to-morrow morning are not to receive their punishment then if the weather is stormy, but on the first fair day.

Head-quarters, 17th April, 1776.

Parole, "ACTIVITY"; countersign, "VIGILANCE."

Henry Reemer, a soldier of Captain Spears's company, Colonel Hitchcock's regiment, tried by a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Sargeant is president, for taking a bed belonging to the province from General Lee's quarters, and keeping the same, was found guilty of the charge, and sentenced to pay four pounds within one week from the date hereof, or receive thirty-nine lashes on his naked back; the above sum to be paid to Major Frazer for the use of the province, and to discharge Ensign Gould from the same. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to take place.

Head-quarters, 18th April, 1776.

Parole, "[blank]"; countersign, "[blank]."

It is the General's express orders, the adjutants are very punctual in bringing in their full detail of men, both for guard and fatigue, upon the parade, every morning, as any neglect of this sort will not pass unnoticed. The weekly returns to be given to-morrow before noon.

Head-quarters, 19th April, 1776.

Parole, "COMMON SENSE"; countersign, "INDEPENDENCE."

Mr. Isaac Tuckerman is to act as wagon-master for this department till further orders. The general court-martial whereof Colonel Sargeant was president is dissolved.

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Major Brown.

Head-quarters, 20th April, 1776.

Parole, "INDUSTRY"; countersign, "WEALTH."

Mr. John Butterfield is appointed wagon-master for this department instead of Mr. Isaac Tuckerman, appointed in yesterday's orders through misunderstanding. As the number of men is small in proportion to the works that are to be accomplished by this part of the army, the General desires and expects that every man off guard should cheerfully turn out every day for work, and earnestly recommends it to the officers that they detain no more than one man of a company waiters (field-officers excepted) for their own waiters, and that only one man to a room be left to cook for the soldiers till the present hurry of work be over. Officers and soldiers will do well to consider the importance of, as well as what the public expects from, our despatch; and how ridiculous our situation would be, should an enemy arrive whilst we are defenceless through our own neglect. It is in the power of officers greatly to promote and accelerate this matter.

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Major Frazer.

Head-quarters, 21st April, 1776.

Parole, "ATTENTION"; countersign, "ORDER."

The colonels or commanding officers of regiments and corps are to see that their men are constantly provided with ammunition, and their arms and accoutrements always in good order, fit for action, as we know not how soon we may be attacked. The General positively commands all officers and men to pay the strictest attention to these orders, as he will not excuse the least neglect in matters of such importance to the safety to our country. Complaints having been made to the General that many of the soldiers frequent grog-shops and tippling-houses, whereby they waste their time and money, and destroy their health and reputation, the General, therefore, positively forbids all such practices, and commands all officers to exert themselves to prevent such evil among the men.

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Cranston.

Head-quarters, 22d April, 1776.

Parole, "[blank]"; countersign, "[blank]."

Peleg Wadsworth is appointed major of brigade for this division of the Continental Army, and is to be obeyed as such.

Head-quarters, 23d April, 1776.

Parole, "FRUGALITY"; countersign, "INDUSTRY."

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Sargeant.

Head-quarters, 24th April, 1776.

Parole, "JUSTICE"; countersign, "HUMANITY."

Lieutenant Haffield White, of Colonel Hutchinson's regiment, is appointed adjutant to said regiment, and is to be obeyed as such

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Whitcomb.

Head-quarters, 25th April, 1776.

Parole, "BRAVERY"; countersign, "SOLDIER."

A general court-martial to sit to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock, to try such prisoners as shall be brought before them. Major Brown, president. Members from Colonel Hutchinson's regiment, two captains, two subalterns. The adjutant will bring no men on the parade for guard without being first accoutred, washed, shaved, and dressed as well as his clothes will admit; they will bring in their weekly returns on Friday, by twelve o'clock.

Head-quarters, 26th April, 1776.

Parole, "CONNECTICUT"; countersign, "NEW YORK."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Cranston.

Head-quarters, 27th April, 1776.

Parole, "[blank]"; countersign, "[blank]."

William Willey, John Kely, Francis Bennett, Jacob Smallwood, James Jeffers, John Andrews, of Colonel Sargeant's regiment, tried by a general court-martial whereof Major Frazer is president, for deserting, were found guilty of the charge and sentenced to be whipped, twenty stripes each on their naked backs, except Francis Bennett, who is to be reprimanded in the front of the regiment when the others are whipped. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be put in execution on Monday morning next, at six o'clock, on the regimental parade. Complaints having been made to the General that many invalids, who were left behind by the marching regiments, continue here after they are able to march, therefore the commissary is ordered not to supply any more invalids for the future without his express orders.

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel March.

The adjutants will give into the major of brigade to-morrow a return of the men on command of their respective regiments, expressing the particular command on which they are employed. Likewise a return of those on furlough, signifying by whom they were furloughed.

Head-quarters, 28th April, 1776.

Parole, "UNITED"; countersign, "COLONIES."

The colonels and commanding officers of regiments are to make returns immediately of the number of cartridges necessary to complete twenty-four rounds to each man, that they may be supplied. The commissary is not to supply any of the guards with rum without particular orders. Complaints having been made that the fatigue men drink the rum they draw as soon as they get it in the morning, whereby their health is impaired and other bad consequences follow, the General therefore directs the officers commanding the fatigue to see the rum drawn for the men be properly mixed with water, and served to them at such time as will do them most good; they may draw pails for that use of the commissary, and return them at night.

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Whitney.

The brigade-major will remove his office to General Ward's quarters, the room in the northerly corner of the house, where those who have business are directed to apply. The drums-and-fifes majors of the whole brigade are desired to meet at his office to-morrow at twelve o'clock precisely.

Head-quarters, Boston, 29th April, 1776.

Parole, "[blank]"; countersign, "[blank]."

By the returns, it appears that a number of men are on furlough, contrary to general orders. For the future, no officer is to presume to give any furlough to any man without leave from the General, and such as are now on furlough and all new recruits are to join their regiments immediately. The General expects the future returns of regiments and corps will be made out with the greatest care and exactness, that he may know the exact state of the troops, and where employed, to prevent idleness, fraud, and neglect of duty. The General observes with pleasure the improvement the drums and fifes have made in martial music, and their attention to duty. He hopes that the drum-and-fife majors will continue to exert themselves in instructing those under their care in every branch of their duty.

James McMann, of Colonel Phinney's regiment, tried by a general court-martial, whereof Major Frazer is president, for lodging out of camp, lying, playing cards, and other bad conduct, was found guilty and sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes on his naked back, at such time and place as his commanding officer shall appoint. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be put into execution.

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Phinney.

Head-quarters, Boston, 30th April, 1776.

Parole, "WISDOM"; countersign, "TEMPERANCE."

Hugh Rayner, of Colonel Sargeant's regiment, is appointed chief drum-major of this division of the army until further orders, and is to be obeyed as such. John Whiting of the same regiment is appointed chief fife-major till further orders, and is to be obeyed as such.

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Sargeant.

Guards and fatigue, as usual.

All the drums and fifes in town are to attend the stated exercises at the time and place appointed. All the drums-and-fifes majors of this division of the army are to meet twice a week, on Tuesday and Friday, on the bottom of the Common, for practice. The drums and fifes of each regiment off duty are to practise separately, under the direction of their respective majors, till the chief drum-and-fife majors shall think them sufficiently instructed to join in one body. It is recommended the musicianers of each regiment that they emulate each other in striving to excel in this pleasant part of military discipline.

Head-quarters, Boston, 1st May, 1776.

Parole, "MARTIAL"; countersign, "MUSIC."

James Haven, of Colonel Whitcomb's regiment, tried by a general court-martial for desertion, was found guilty of the charge, eighth article, and sentenced to be mulct two months' wages, to be appropriated agreeably to the fifty-fifth article. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to take place.

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Major Brown.

Guards and fatigue, as usual.

The adjutant will bring no man for guard to-morrow that is not neat and powdered.

Head-quarters, Boston, 2d May, 1776.

Parole, "GEORGIA"; countersign, "YORK."

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Major Frazer.

With the weekly returns, the adjutant will give in a separate one, showing on what command those they shall so return are employed: this will be continued weekly.

Head-quarters, Boston, 3d May, 1776.

Parole, "NEATNESS"; "countersign, "GENTILITY."

The General has this day received intelligence that sixty sail of British ships, with 12,000 troops on board, are on their way to Boston, and may soon be expected. He therefore expects that all officers and men will be willing to do extraordinary duty at this critical time. The salvation of this town, this colony, and the continent is now eminently depending: therefore, duty, honor, the love of God and our country call upon every man for his utmost exertion.

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Cranston.

Head-quarters, Boston, 4th May, 1776.

Parole, "WAR"; countersign, "VICTORY."

John McCoy, of Colonel Sargeant's regiment, tried at a general court-martial for striking the corporal of the guard while in the execution of his office. The court are of opinion that the prisoner is guilty of a breach of the seventh article of the Rules and Regulations of the Army, and adjudge him to receive fifteen lashes on his naked back, when and where his commanding officer shall think fit.

William Seres, of Colonel Whitcomb's regiment, tried by the same court-martial for desertion. The court are of opinion that he is guilty of a breach of the eighth article, and adjudge him to receive thirty-nine lashes on his naked back, at such time and place as his commanding officer shall order. The General approves the sentences, and orders them to be put in execution.

Upon application being made in favor of John McCoy by his colonel and other officers of the regiment, the General has pardoned the prisoner. None may presume upon a pardon, who are guilty of a breach of orders, in future.

Head-quarters, Boston, 5th May, 1776.

Parole, "SOBRIETY"; countersign, "VIRTUE."

The General hears with great concern that profane swearing is shamefully practised by many in the army, and even by some officers: he therefore solemnly warns all officers and men against this and every other impiety, and hopes the officers will set an example before the men worthy their imitation. Unless we pay a sacred regard to the duty of sobriety and virtue, we cannot expect the blessing of Heaven, nor the approbation of the wise and good among men.

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Haynes.

Head-quarters, Boston, 6th May, 1776.

Parole, "FORTIFICATION"; countersign, "DEFENCE."

The court-martial whereof Major Frazer was president is dissolved.

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Sargeant.

Guards and fatigue, as usual.

A pocket-book was lost near Tileston's Wharf lately, with twenty-two dollars and other papers, valuable to the owner: whoever will bring the same with the full contents to the major of brigade shall have five dollars reward and no questions asked.

Head-quarters, Boston, 7th May, 1776.

Parole, "HONESTY"; countersign, "FAME."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Ballard.

Guards, as usual. Fatigue: all officers and men off duty.

Head-quarters, Boston, 8th May, 1776.

Parole, "PRIVATEER"; countersign, "TUCKER."
Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Prescott.

Head-quarters, Boston, 9th May, 1776.

Parole, "HANCOCK"; countersign, "ADAMS."
Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Soul.

Head-quarters, 10th May, 1776.

Parole, "CASTLE"; countersign, "CANNON."
Officer of the day, Captain Ballard.
Guards and fatigue, as yesterday.

AFTER ORDERS. — Major Austin, with three companies of Colonel Sargeant's regiment, is directed to take Boston Castle Island to defend, and forward the work there.

Head-quarters, Boston, 11th May, 1776.

Parole, "[blank]"; countersign, "[blank]."
Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Watkins.
Guards and fatigue, as usual.

Head-quarters, Boston, 12th May, 1776.

Parole, "[blank]"; countersign, "[blank]."

Lieut.-Colonel Jackson is to employ the troops in Charlestown in completing the fortress on the Point with all expedition.

Major Austin, stationed on Castle Island, is to keep a proper guard for the security of that post, and assist the committee of the General Court with the men off duty in completing the works there. Colonel Hutchinson's regiment is to furnish one hundred men for fatigue, properly officered, to assist in carrying on the works at Castle Island, in lieu of the one hundred men which were heretofore ordered there as a guard. The commissary is to supply every one hundred men with three pounds of candles per week for guards. The men are to be supplied with milk and other provisions in the same proportion and manner they were last summer.

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Wilder.
Guards, as usual. Fatigue: all officers and men off duty.

Head-quarters, Boston, 13th May, 1776.

Parole, "[blank]"; countersign, "[blank]."
Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Tyler.
Fatigue and guards, as usual.

Head-quarters, Boston, 14th May, 1776.

Parole, "COURAGE"; countersign, "CONDUCT."
Captain Pope, officer of the day, to-morrow.
Guards and fatigue, as usual.

The adjutants are desired to have their men paraded for fatigue by eight o'clock, and the guards brought on precisely at nine, that there may be no delay on the parade.

A general court-martial to sit to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock, at the president's chamber. Colonel Whitcomb, president.

Members from Colonel Whitcomb's, two captains, four subalterns.

Members from Colonel Sargeant's, two subalterns.

Members from Colonel Phinney's, one captain, three subalterns.

Captain Scott, judge-advocate.

The adjutants will give in the names and ranks of their respective officers before ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

Head-quarters, Boston, 15th May, 1776.

Parole, "FREEDOM"; countersign, "HAPPINESS."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Scott.

Fatigue, as usual. Fatigue to parade at six o'clock in the morning, and work till twelve; again at two o'clock, and work till six. Guards to parade at eight o'clock.

Head-quarters, Boston, 16th May, 1776.

Parole, "[blank]"; countersign, "[blank]."

To-morrow being the day appointed by the Honorable Continental Congress for a general fast throughout the United American Colonies, the General, being desirous of a strict observance of the day for fasting, humiliation, and prayer, exempts the army from all fatigue, and enjoins a suitable deportment on all ranks, remembering that success alone depends on the God of armies.

— Nutt, of Colonel Sargeant's regiment, tried at a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Whitcomb was president, for desertion, was found guilty and sentenced to be whipped, thirty-nine lashes on his naked back, at the pleasure of the commanding officer of the regiment.

Philip Bass, of Colonel Knox's regiment, tried by the same court-martial, for abusing his officer and some women, was found guilty, and sentenced to be whipped, fifteen lashes for abusing his officer, and thirty for the women, at such time and place as his commanding officer thinks best. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be put into execution.

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Haynes.

Guards, as this day; no fatigue.

The reveille is to beat at four o'clock in the morning, at Charlestown, Fort Hill, Dorchester Heights, and Castle Island. The troop is to beat off from the grand parade so as to return just at eight o'clock. Retreat at eight. Troop as usual. The drummers are reminded not to practise in town. The troop and retreat is to be omitted on Sundays.

Head-quarters, Boston, 17th May, 1776.

Parole, "[blank]"; countersign, "[blank]."

Captain Ballard, officer of the day, to-morrow.

Guards and fatigue, as usual.

Head-quarters, Boston, 18th May, 1776.

Parole, "[blank]"; countersign, "[blank]."

Captain Prescott, officer of the day, to-morrow.

Orderly sergeants, and corporals, quartermaster-sergeants, officers, waiters, and cooks, for the barracks, barbers, bakers, tailors, or any other soldier not imputed by the General Orders, are not to be returned on command. Detail as usual.

Head-quarters, Boston, 19th May, 1776.

Parole, "INDEPENDENCE"; countersign, "WAR."

Caleb Barrett, of Colonel Phinney's regiment, tried at a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Whitcomb was president, for sleeping on his post. The court sentence the prisoner to receive twenty lashes on his naked back, at such time as his commanding officer shall think fit. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to take place accordingly.

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Soul.

Head-quarters, Boston, 20th May, 1776.

Parole, "HERO"; countersign, "MUGFORD."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Hill.

Head-quarters, Boston, 21st May, 1776.

Parole, "HONESTY"; countersign, "PROSPERITY."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Watkins.

Head-quarters, Boston, 22d May, 1776.

Parole, "[blank]"; countersign, "[blank]."

It has been intimated to the General that some persons in the army have been inoculated for the small-pox, and then have gone into the hospital under pretence that they have taken the distemper the natural way. All officers and men are to remember such conduct is against General Orders, and contrary to the law of this colony: therefore every one who may be found guilty of being inoculated for the small-pox may depend on being punished with severity. The General is surprised to hear that some officers have presumed to go out of camp, and also to give furloughs to their men contrary to repeated General Orders. Such officers will be duly noticed. When any man is tried by a regimental court-martial, his sentence is to be read to him as soon as his trial is finished, that he may have opportunity to appeal, if he thinks proper, to a general court-martial. A court of inquiry to sit to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock, to examine into a complaint exhibited against Lieutenant Daniel Morril, by Colonel Varnum, for enlisting a number of men into Colonel Phinney's regiment who, Colonel Varnum asserted, were previously enlisted into his regiment. The court is also to examine into the complaint of William Sears, of Colonel Whitcomb's regiment, against said colonel and against Adjutant Tuckerman, of said

regiment, and make report as soon as may be respecting both the above complaints.

Head-quarters, Boston, 23d May, 1776.

Parole, "WASHINGTON"; countersign, "FRANKLIN."

Fatigue, as usual.

The retreat is to beat at six o'clock; tattoo at eight o'clock in the evening.

Head-quarters, Boston, 24th May, 1776.

Parole, "LOOKOUT"; countersign, "SHARP."

No officer is to go out of camp on the recruiting service without the general's express orders, and those already out are to return immediately and join their regiments. Lieutenant Jonathan Sawyer, of the late Captain Hart's company, of Colonel Phinney's regiment, is to do duty as captain; Lieutenant Jonah Jenkins, as first lieutenant; Ensign Archelaus Lewis, as second lieutenant; Sergeant Joseph Harts, as ensign of said company; and are to be obeyed as such.

The fatigue-party are to turn out at seven o'clock in the morning and two o'clock in the afternoon, and work four hours each half-day. Men for guard are to be warned the preceding day at noon, and are to be exempted from fatigue the afternoon that they may have opportunity of brightening their guns and bayonets, preparing their accoutrements, cleaning and mending their clothes, shaving, &c. The adjutant will examine their arms over night, to see if they will answer the orders, as no other will be accepted on the parade. There must be no borrowing and lending arms.

Captain Haynes, for the day, to-morrow.

Guards and fatigue, as usual.

Head-quarters, Boston, 25th May, 1776.

Parole, "HARMONY"; countersign, "LOVE."

Fatigue, as usual. Those of Colonel Whitcomb's fatigue who are for guard will work on Fort Hill, under proper officers, the forenoon preceding their mounting guard, to save the trouble of coming from the castle at noon.

Head-quarters, Boston, 26th May, 1776.

Parole, "MAGNANIMITY"; countersign, "VALIANT."

The commanding officers of regiments are to recruit their respective regiments to the establishment. Each officer is allowed one dollar and a third for every man he recruits and musters.

Michael Berry, of Colonel Sargeant's regiment, tried at a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Whitcomb was president, for being absent without leave and neglect of duty, was found guilty, and sentenced to receive thirty-nine stripes on his naked back, at such time and place as his commanding officer shall think proper. The General approves the sentence.

Captain Ballard, officer of the day, to-morrow.

Fatigue, as usual.

Head-quarters, Boston, 27th May, 1776.

Parole, "UNION"; countersign, "STRENGTH."

The court of inquiry, whereof Colonel Sargeant was president, for inquiring into the complaint of Willard Sears against his colonel and adjutant, also into the complaint of Colonel Varnum against Lieutenant Morrill, are of opinion that Colonel Whitcomb is not culpable, and that Adjutant Tuckerman did no more than his duty; and that Willard Sears is guilty of contempt of authority and disobedience of orders. The court are also of opinion that the charge of Colonel Varnum against Ensign Morrill is not supported. The General approves the above proceedings of the court of inquiry.

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Danforth.

Fatigue, as usual.

Head-quarters, Boston, 28th May, 1776.

Parole, "TRUTH"; countersign, "VIRTUE."

Ensign Peter Brown, of Captain Watkins's company, in Colonel Phinney's regiment, is to do duty as second lieutenant in said company, in the room of Lieutenant Lyon, deceased. Sergeant Robert Watkins is to do duty as ensign in said company. In the company commanded by the late Captain Rice, Lieutenant Bartholomew York is to do duty as captain; Lieutenant Crispin Graves, as first lieutenant; Ensign Austins Holden, as second lieutenant; Sergeant Ebenezer Hoggans, as ensign; and are to be obeyed as such.

Captain Farrald for the day, to-morrow.

Head-quarters, Boston, 29th May, 1776.

Parole, "ELECTION"; countersign, "COUNCIL."

The court-martial of which Colonel Whitcomb was president is dissolved, the complaint against Captain Putnam being withdrawn, and all parties desire leave of the court-martial to settle all difference in peace. The court consented. Captain Putnam is therefore released from his confinement.

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Wilde.

Guard and fatigue, as usual.

Head-quarters, Boston, 30th May, 1776.

Parole, "[blank]"; countersign, "[blank]."

The commanding officer at Dorchester Neck is to see that no injury be done to the inhabitants, by any belonging to the army, by feeding horses or cattle. The men must be very careful not to tread down the grass, nor travel through the fields. If owners of houses in which officers live want them, the officers must apply to the barrack-master for quarters. The fort on the Point must be completed with the utmost expedition, and every thing ready for defence as soon as possible. The abatis round the fort on the Heights must be kept in good order, and the barrels all kept in good order for defence. Those that are rolled round the hill must be brought up in order. If the enemy should

come this way, it is possible they will make their first attack on Dorchester Heights, therefore the commanding officer there is to be very attentive to have every thing in readiness, and in the best posture of defence.

Head-quarters, Boston, 31st May, 1776.

Parole, "CANNONADE"; countersign, "QUEBEC."

Captain Pope, officer of the day, to-morrow.

Head-quarters, Boston, 1st June, 1776.

Parole, "REPUBLIC"; countersign, "AMERICA."

All officers and men belonging to the Continental Army are, in future, to pay their ferriage, unless they have a pass from the General, except the commanding officer at Charlestown, and such of his men as may come to Boston on command, and they may have a pass from him.

The commanding officer of regiment will order the state of their ammunition to be examined strictly, and such cartridges as are much worn or damaged to be collected and returned to the commissary, and replaced immediately.

Captain York, for the day, to-morrow.

Each regiment will exempt one company a day from all regimental duty, beginning, on Monday next, with the oldest company, and continue in rotation till further orders. These companies are exempted from duty for the sake of discipline. The officers of said companies will exert themselves to this purpose.

*Head-quarters, Boston, 2d June, 1776.**

Head-quarters, Boston, 3d June, 1776.

Parole, "GATES"; countersign, "MIFFLIN."

A general court-martial to sit to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, to try all such prisoners as may be brought before them. Colonel Phinney, president; Captain Scott, judge-advocate. The adjutant will give in the names of the members in season to the president, and notify the prisoners and evidences of their respective regiments.

Captain Whiting, officer of the day, to-morrow.

From Colonel Hutchinson's regiment, for members, one captain, two subalterns.

Three men that understand building whale-boats, belonging to the army, may find employ by applying to the brigade-major.

Head-quarters, Boston, 4th June, 1776.

Parole, "FRUITFUL"; countersign, "SEASON."

Colonels or commanding officers of regiments are to make pay abstracts for their respective regiments, for the months March and April.

Captain Haynes, for the day, to-morrow.

Guards as this day, except drum and fife.

* Colonel Hutchinson left a blank space for the orders of this day, apparently for the purpose of copying them at some other time. But this was not done. No blank was left in most of the cases where no orders are recorded.—Eds.

Head-quarters, Boston, 5th June, 1776.

Parole, "WEST"; countersign, "INDEPENDENCE."

John Love, of Colonel Sargeant's regiment, tried at a general court-martial for desertion. The court find the prisoner guilty of the charge, and adjudge him to receive twenty lashes. Miles Bailey, of Colonel Whitcomb's regiment, tried by a late regimental court-martial for leaving his post and getting the worse for liquor, was found guilty, and sentenced to receive thirty lashes; from which judgment he appealed to a general court-martial, which, after hearing the evidence, confirm the above sentence. The General approves the sentences, and orders them to be put in execution.

Captain Ballard, for the day, to-morrow.

Head-quarters, 6th June, 1776.

Parole, "BRAVERY"; countersign, "HERO."

Andrew Gardner, drum-major of Colonel Whitcomb's regiment, tried by a general court-martial for neglect of duty. The court is of opinion he is guilty of neglect of duty, and adjudge that he shall be severely reprimanded by his colonel and return to his duty. John Tucker, of the same regiment, tried at the same court-martial for theft. The court are of opinion the prisoner is guilty, and adjudge him to receive thirty lashes, at such time and place as his commanding officer shall think proper. The General approves the sentences, and orders them to take place.

For the day, to-morrow, Prescott.

Head-quarters, Boston, 7th June, 1776.

Parole, "INDEPENDENCE"; countersign, "AMERICA."

Captain Williams, of Colonel Phinney's regiment, is exempted from regimental duty while he superintends the works carried on by said regiment, as an assistant engineer, in order to forward the works with all possible despatch. The general court-martial, of which Colonel Phinney was president, is dissolved.

Captain Soul, for the day, to-morrow.

Sergeant Watts, of Captain Williams's company, in Colonel Phinney's regiment, is to do duty as ensign in said company.

Head-quarters, Boston, 8th June, 1776.

Parole, "OTIS"; countersign, "PATRIOT."

The men being obliged, from necessity, to work on Sundays, for some time past, the General directs that they be exempted from fatigue to-morrow, and that the officers lead their men to the place of public worship without arms or music.

Head-quarters, Boston, 9th June, 1776.

Parole, "RIGHTEOUSNESS"; countersign, "SUCCESS."

As Colonel Whitcomb's and Colonel Phinney's regiments are em-

ployed upon works out of town, they cannot get their milk in the morning before they march off to fatigue, therefore the commissary will supply those regiments with provision in the same manner as he did last winter, so long as they shall be employed out of town, or until further orders.

Captain Danforth, for the day, to-morrow.

The adjutant of the sixth and eighteenth regiments will deliver their fatigue to M. B., at Wheelwright's wharf, at 7, and the guards will shave and powder, and be on the parade at 8. The quartermaster of said regiments will see fatigue rum and provisions seasonably shipped off to them. The cooks of the barracks are to send their messmates on guard their provisions, as no officer in future will allow a single man to leave his guard, but in case of absolute necessity.

Head-quarters, Boston, 10th June, 1776.

Parole, "HIGHLANDERS"; countersign, "TAKEN."

Captain Farnald, for the day, to-morrow.

The tattoo will beat off half after eight o'clock.*

Head-quarters, Boston, 11th June, 1776.

Parole, "SOLDIER"; countersign, "WAR."

The three companies off duty to-morrow in town will meet at nine o'clock precisely, in the Common, to be exercised by the brigade-major, in order to get a uniformity of discipline through the brigade. This is not meant to hinder the companies from being exercised separately by their own adjutants and officers at any other time in the day.

The reveille will beat at the dawning of the day.

Captain Hill, for the day, to-morrow.

Head-quarters, Boston, 12th June, 1776.

Parole, "TRACY"; countersign, "VALIANT."

Head-quarters, Boston, 13th June, 1776.

Parole, "EXPEDITION"; countersign, "SUCCESS."

Five hundred men, properly officered, are to parade this day at four o'clock, on Wheelwright's wharf, with arms and ammunition complete, with two days' provisions ready dressed, and are to be under the command of Colonel Whitcomb. Two hundred men with proper officers are to parade at Dorchester Point, at five o'clock this day, with arms and ammunitions complete, and two days' provisions ready dressed, and are to be under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Holden.

Captain Tyler, for the day, to-morrow.

All the men in camp will have one meal of provisions ready cooked

* The parole and countersign for this day were no doubt selected with reference to the capture, on the 8th of June, of a British transport, from Scotland, having on board a company of Highlanders. See General Ward's letter to General Washington in 4 Force's American Archives, vol. vi. p. 771. — Eds.

by this evening. Colonel Hutchinson's adjutant will have paraded at four o'clock this afternoon; one lieutenant-colonel, two captains, six sub-alterns, eight sergeants, one drummer, one fifer, and one hundred and eighty rank and file, one quartermaster, one surgeon, with two days' provision ready dressed, with blankets slung, and canteens filled with water. The quartermaster will have in readiness at the same time and place seventy-five spades and shovels, seventy-five picks, six hand-barrows, six axes, six pails, one barrel of rum, two barrels of beer or cider, loaded in a good flat-boat, of which he will have the care of, coming, delivering, and returning; also, five flat-boats with oars. The rest of the regiment will fatigue as usual. Colonel Hutchinson will turn out all the men on Dorchester Point to-morrow morning, half an hour before daybreak, all complete in arms, with ammunition, and be ready for any movement that may be necessary, and draw his men up in sight of the enemy's ships. The commanding officer at Dorchester will keep such a picket guard as he may judge necessary for the safety of the post until further orders.

Head-quarters, Boston, 14th June, 1776.

Parole, "EXPEDITION"; countersign, "SUCCESS."

Head-quarters, Boston, 15th June, 1776.

Parole, "BOSTON"; countersign, "PORT."

The Commander-in-chief thanks Colonel Whitcomb, Lieut.-Colonel Holden, and Colonel Jackson, and the officers and soldiers under their command, for their spirited and soldier-like conduct yesterday in carrying on the expedition against the enemy, and in conjunction with the colony troops, and driving them out of the harbor. Such noble exertions give proof of the spirit and magnanimity of freemen in the cause of liberty, and afford the pleasing prospect that by the smiles of Heaven America will rise superior to all the tyrants of the earth. The General thanks the citizens and volunteers who gave their assistance on this occasion.

Captain York, for the day, to-morrow.

No fatigue to-morrow.

Colonel Hutchinson's quartermaster will return the boat and oars, and utensils for the expedition. All officers and others who received boats in the late expedition are desired to return them immediately to the boat guard. No persons are to go on to Long Island without orders from the General, for fear of spreading the small-pox which is there.

Head-quarters, Boston, 16th June, 1776.

Parole, "SUCCESS"; countersign, "AMERICA."

Sergeant Joseph Killam, of Colonel Hutchinson's regiment, is to do duty as second lieutenant in Captain Kimball's company, in said regiment. As it has been repeatedly suggested to the General that some officers and men have been privately inoculated for the small-pox, whereby the lives of others are endangered, and the public service

injured, the General once more therefore positively forbids all inoculation, and is determined to punish with the utmost rigor every one who shall dare to a violation of law and orders; and, if an officer, his name shall be published with the infamy due to so ruinous a crime.

Captain Pope, for the day, to-morrow.

Head-quarters, Boston, 17th June, 1776.

Parole, "BUNKER HILL"; countersign, "WARREN."
For the day, to-morrow, Captain Scott.

Head-quarters, Boston, 18th June, 1776.

Parole, "PRIVATEERS"; countersign, "VICTORY."

The General has full information that some men and some officers have been inoculated for the small-pox in violation of the law of this government, and against the most positive orders. Such high hand transgressors must expect to be punished equal to the enormities of their crime. All others are to take warning, and all those against whom these complaints are lodged will be tried by a general court-martial.

The Highland Major, who was slain in the last engagement on board the ship, is to be buried this afternoon from the State House. The Scotch officers will walk as mourners, and all the officers in town off duty are desired to walk in procession.*

Captain Cranston, for the day, to-morrow.
Fatigue, as usual.

Head-quarters, Boston, 19th June, 1776.

Parole, "ARTILLERY"; countersign, "BURBECK."
For the day, to-morrow, Captain Haynes.
Guards and fatigue, as usual.

Head-quarters, Boston, 20th June, 1776.

Parole, "CONGRESS"; countersign, "ADAMS."
Captain Ballard, for the day, to-morrow.†

Head-quarters, Boston, 21st June, 1776.

Parole, "PRIZE"; countersign, "PRIVATEER."

It is observed that many of the soldiers appear with dirty linen, which is very unhealthy and hurtful. The General therefore directs all officers to see that their men keep clean, and that their barracks are clean and wholesome. No officer is ever to neglect an attention to this important part of duty.

Captain Prescott, for the day, to-morrow.

The two companies at Bunker Hill will relieve the magazine guard at Winter Hill, with a corporal and six privates. Colonel Phinney

* The officer referred to was Major Menzies. See Frothingham's History of the Siege of Boston, p. 314, note. — Eds.

† Colonel Hutchinson left a blank space for the additional orders of this day. — Eds.

will relieve the magazine guard at Jamaica Plain, with a sergeant, corporal, and ten privates. Colonel Whitcomb will relieve the guard at Watertown, with a sergeant, corporal, and ten men. The two latter guards will march to-morrow morning, from the grand parade, at eight o'clock.

Head-quarters, Boston, 22d June, 1776.

Parole, "HUMANITY"; countersign, "JUSTICE."

Last evening the General received information from the Congress that Ebenezer Hancock, Esq., is appointed paymaster-general for the troops stationed here, and that the money is on the way for this place, to pay off the troops.

No fatigue to-morrow.

For the day, to-morrow, Captain Soul.

Head-quarters, 23d June, 1776.

Parole, "BOSTON"; countersign, "SUCCESS."

A general court-martial to sit to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock.

Fatigue: all off duty properly officered.

The commanding officers of regiments will turn out their regiments to a man this evening, at seven o'clock, to review the state of their arms and ammunition, and to hold themselves in readiness to turn out at the shortest notice.

Captain Ballard, for the day, to-morrow.

Head-quarters, Boston, 24th June, 1776.

Parole, "ARMS"; countersign, "AMERICA."

The late court of inquiry, of which Colonel Sargeant was president, Captains Pope, Hill, Haynes, Vinton, Barry, Terrington, Lowe, Lieutenants Holmes, Massers, Hirrick, Munro, and Ensign Mills, members, is to sit again to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock, for a rehearing of the complaint of Colonel Varnum against Lieutenant Morrill, for re-enlisting Sargeant Thompson and fifteen privates who belonged to Captain Lane's company in Colonel Varnum's regiment, as he saith; and the court is to make a very pertinent return of the evidences, with the judgment of the court, to the General as soon as possible, to be transmitted to General Washington.

Guards, as usual.

Captain Danforth, for the day, to-morrow.

Head-quarters, 25th June, 1776.

Parole, "MONEY"; countersign, "DUTY."

The money has at length arrived for the payment of the troops; commanding officers of regiments, that have not received their wages for the months of March and April, may apply for it to-morrow.

The men who have their guns at the armorer's are to call for them as soon as mended, and not neglect to take them from week to week, as the General is informed is the case with some. A new armorer is appointed to the northward of the first market, by Mr. William

Thomas, for the use of the Continental service; this, with the other before established, it is expected will soon put the arms of this brigade in good repair.

As the base practice of stealing ammunition from the soldier's cartridge-boxes has prevailed of late, any soldier who shall discover a theft of this sort, or give information of firing in camp, contrary to General Orders, so that the offender be convicted of the crime, shall have one dollar reward for each information.

Fatigue, as usual.

Head-quarters, Boston, 26th June, 1776.

Parole, "OTIS"; countersign, "FREEDOM."

Captain Hill, for the day, to-morrow.

Head-quarters, Boston, 27th June, 1776.

Parole, "LANGDON"; countersign, "WENTWORTH."

Guards, as usual. Fatigue: all off duty.

Captain Williams, for the day, to-morrow.

Head-quarters, Boston, 28th June, 1776.

Parole, "ORDER"; countersign, "OBEDIENCE."

Commanding officers of regiments are to make out pay abstracts for month of May.

Thomas Summer, of Colonel Sargeant's regiment, tried at a general court martial for disobedience, and insulting his captain, upon his appeal from a regimental court martial. The court are of opinion that he is guilty, and sentence him to receive thirty-nine lashes. Thomas Cashman tried by the same court-martial for getting drunk, profane swearing, and abusing the inhabitants. The court are of opinion he is guilty, and sentence him to be kept twenty-four hours under confinement, and then discharged from the army. William Dow and Martha Doyle tried at the same court upon suspicion of setting the barrack on fire. The court acquit them, there being no evidence to support the charge. Caleb Cummings tried for theft. No evidence appearing, the court acquit him. Moses Baker, of Colonel Whitcomb's regiment, tried for stealing a spade and selling it for rum. The court sentence him to receive thirty-nine lashes. William Jackson, of Captain Burbeck's company, tried for stealing and abusing James Wade. The court sentence him to receive fifteen lashes. The General approves the judgment, and orders them to be put into execution.

Captain Watkins, for the day, to-morrow.

Head-quarters, 29th June, 1776.

Parole, "NEW YORK"; countersign, "WASHINGTON."

The colonel or commanding officers of regiments and corps are to make a report next Monday morning, to the brigade-major, the number of men in the respective corps who have had the small-pox, also the number of men that now have that distemper. Notwithstanding

the repeated General Orders against wasting ammunition, the General is informed that, in a party of men lately returning from Long Island, an officer was so lost to a sense of duty as to discharge his gun, and set an infamous example before the men. Whoever shall produce evidence against this or other like offenders, so that he be convicted, shall have two dollars reward, and one dollar for every soldier so convicted, that we may either reform such wretches or drum them out of the army with the infamy they deserve.

Captain Wilde, for the day, to-morrow.

No fatigue to-morrow. There will be no companies exempted the following week for the sake of discipline, as it is of the utmost importance to complete the works on Dorchester Heights.

Head-quarters, 30th June, 1776.

Parole, "MONTGOMERY"; countersign, "THOMAS."

For the day, to-morrow, Captain Sawyer.

Head-quarters, Boston, 1st July, 1776.

Parole, "SULLIVAN"; countersign, "PORTER."

The Congress have been pleased to appoint that the Assistant Quartermaster-General should have captain's pay; that the pay of regimental surgeons be augmented to thirty-three and one-third dollars per month. An exact alphabetical return of the names of the officers, with their rank and the date of their commissions in each regiment and corps, is to be made immediately. The commissary of the artillery is to make return of the arms, ammunition, and warlike stores belonging to the United Colonies, and the place where lodged. The commanding officer of the train is to make return of the cannon and ordnance belonging to the United Colonies, and where lodged. The Assistant Quartermaster-General is to make out a return of the intrenching tools, boats, and every thing in his department belonging to the United Colonies. All the returns are to be made next Thursday morning, with great accuracy, and duplicates of the same, in order to be sent to Congress.

Head-quarters, Boston, 2d July, 1776.

Parole, "HEATH"; countersign, "SPIRITS."

All the returns mentioned in yesterday's orders are to be made out the first day of every month: this is by no means to be neglected. Colonel Sargeant's regiment is to be stationed on Castle Island, and proceed to that place with all expedition.

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Pope.

Head-quarters, Boston, 3d July, 1776.

Parole, "INDEPENDENCE"; countersign, "PROSPERITY."

Captain Soul tried by a general court-martial, of which Colonel Whitcomb was president, for defrauding the public, and breach of General Orders. The court are of opinion that he is guilty of a breach of General Orders; but, as he has heretofore borne the character of a good

officer, the court only order him to be severely reprimanded by his colonel in presence of the commanding officers of the regiment to which he belongs, as a punishment for his crime, and warning to other officers. Sergeant Hill, Sergeant Parker, Corporal Marvell, and Samuel Wood, of Captain Danforth's company, tried by the same court-martial for fraud. The court are of opinion the prisoners are guilty, and order them severally to return what they have taken by unjust methods to the right owner, and pay each one month's pay for the use of the sick in the regiment to which they belong, and be reduced to the ranks. The General approves the above sentences, and orders them to take place accordingly.

Colonel Whitcomb, for the day, to-morrow.

Head-quarters, Boston, 4th July, 1776.

Parole, "COLONIES"; countersign, "FREE."

No officer is to bear a man on his return till he is regularly mustered. The commanding officer of each regiment is to appoint an officer to receive the fines that may be inflicted on said regiment for the use of the sick and other purposes, and make a return of their names on Saturday morning.

Colonel Phinney, for the day, to-morrow.

AFTER ORDERS. — As the small-pox now prevails in Boston, the commanding officers at Dorchester and Castle Island are not to suffer any of their men to come to this town, except those who have had the small-pox; and the utmost care must be taken to prevent any of the men from taking the distemper, as it will be a very dangerous consequence to have those posts infected, for, in case of an attack by the enemy, the country people would not come to their assistance. If any man should be taken with that distemper, he is immediately to be sent to the hospital; and, if any should be so vile as to inoculate without order therefor, his commanding officer is to collect all possible evidence against him, that he may in due time be punished for his heinous crime. The General gives permission for the two regiments stationed in Boston to receive the distemper by inoculation. The utmost care must be taken to prevent the distemper from being communicated to any person out of town, and the regiments and corps stationed out of Boston are by no means to take the small-pox until they have been therefor ordered by General Orders.

Head-quarters, 5th July, 1776.

Parole, "INOCULATION"; countersign, "HEALTH."

The commanding officers of regiments in town are to send those men in their respective regiments who do not incline to be inoculated (if there should be any) to Dorchester, under proper officers, there to be employed in completing the works on the Heights. No man is to inoculate in Boston after to-morrow; therefore, all those that intend to take the distemper are to be inoculated immediately, that the town may be cleansed as soon as possible. The commissary is to supply the

men who have the small-pox with Indian meal, rice, and other necessaries, in the room of their common allowance.

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Captain Cranston.

Head-quarters, Boston, 6th July, 1776.

Parole, "NEW YORK"; countersign, "TROOPS."

Colonel Phinney's quartermaster will inform the commissary to-morrow morning early what part of the regiment will draw rice, &c., instead of meat. Colonel Whitcomb's quartermaster will do the same on Monday morning.

Head-quarters, Boston, 7th July, 1776.

Parole, "ARMS"; countersign, "WAR."

Captain Ballard, for the day, to-morrow.

Guards, as this day.

Those surgeons of regiments in town who have not sufficient medicine for the troops under the operation of small-pox are to apply to Dr. Rand, surgeon of the small-pox hospital. The surgeons of regiments and their mates must exert themselves to take the best care of the men under the operation of the small-pox. The General expects and orders that the utmost attention be paid to this important concern.

Head-quarters, Boston, 8th July, 1776.

Parole, "MAGNANIMITY"; countersign, "HONOR."

The commissary is to supply the hospital with necessary provisions. The commissary will pay the back rations due to the officers for the last quarter. The commanding officers of regiments and corps in town are to turn out their men every morning before sunrise for exercise: this must not be neglected, as their health greatly depends upon their taking the morning air and moderate exercise. All the officers are to take the best care of their men, and see that they do not go into any practice injurious to their health whilst under the operation of the small-pox. They must not sleep in their barracks in the daytime, expose themselves in the hot sun, nor to the fire, or any hot place, heat being very injurious, but keep themselves clean and cool, and attend carefully to the directions given them by their surgeon.

Captain Prescott, for the day, to-morrow.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1878.

The stated monthly meeting was held in the Society's rooms, in Tremont Street, Boston, on Thursday, the 14th instant, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

After the reading of the records, the Librarian, Dr. S. A. Green, reported the accessions to the Library. He made special mention of an elegant volume (privately printed, edition of one hundred copies), entitled "William Dawes and his Ride with Paul Revere," the gift of the author, Mr. Henry W. Holland, of Cambridge. Mr. Holland gives an interesting account of the famous ride to Lexington and Concord. He agrees with Dr. Watson and Mr. Deane in placing the signal lights in the steeple of Christ Church, and prints heliotype views, one from an old engraving in the Society's Cabinet, showing the places of worship at the North End of Boston. An elaborate genealogy of the Dawes family, illustrated with many portraits, adds to the value of the book.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters from Messrs. Charles Henry Hart and Joseph Florimond Loubat, accepting membership in the Society.

The President then said:—

During a journey of three weeks, since our last meeting, I was in the way of seeing a few things which are not unworthy of being noticed in our Proceedings.

At Stockbridge, in our own State, my attention was attracted to a Monument which had been somewhat recently set up on the site of the old burying-place of the Stockbridge Indians, originally known as the Housatonic Tribe. This tribe was Christianized by the efforts of John Sergeant* and the celebrated Jonathan Edwards, about one hundred and thirty years ago. After the Revolution, when it is said to have numbered about four hundred, it migrated to Western New York, and from there to Green Bay, in Wisconsin, and

* An interesting account of "The Aborigines of the Housatonic Valley" appeared in "The Magazine of American History" (New York, December, 1878) soon after these remarks were made, and "the spot where stood the little church in the Wilderness, in which John Sergeant preached to the Stockbridge Indians, in 1739," has been marked by a Bell-Tower, erected at the expense of the Field family.

from there to Kansas, where the remnant of it is still to be found near Fort Leavenworth.

Nothing could be more appropriate than the design of this Monument,—a pile of rough rock for its base, surmounted by a shaft of unhewn, weather-stained stone, with the simple inscription:—

THE ANCIENT BURIAL PLACE
OF THE
STOCKBRIDGE INDIANS
1734
THE FRIENDS OF OUR FATHERS.
1877.

I wish the designs of some other monuments were as successful.

In Stockbridge, too, I saw an admirable portrait, by Gilbert Stuart, of the first Theodore Sedgwick,—one of our most eminent Massachusetts statesmen,—a member both of the Continental and Federal Congress, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States in 1799,—the year of Washington's death,—and Judge of our Supreme Court for eleven years, to his own death, in 1813.*

As a work of art, it seemed to me worthy of being placed by the side of Stuart's noble portraits of Fisher Ames and Samuel Dexter. I cannot help hoping that at some future, and not too far distant day, there may be a public and permanent Portrait Gallery of the Worthies of Massachusetts. There ought to be a National Portrait Gallery at Washington, like that at Kensington, in England. But that is beyond our sphere. A State Portrait Gallery might well be undertaken by our own Society one of these days, and our own Gallery upstairs would form the nucleus around which it could be gathered.

I may allude to one other object of interest. In company with my old friend, Governor Fish, I visited the Beverly-Robinson House, as it is called, where Benedict Arnold had his head-quarters at the time of his treason. I found that our friend, Dean Stanley, who seems to have left nothing unexplored, had been there just before me. It was there that Washington was to have breakfasted on the morning next

* The portrait was at the house of Rev. Dr. Parker, who married a granddaughter of Sedgwick.

but one, I believe, after that on which André was captured. The breakfast waited on the table, but Washington did not arrive, and Arnold had fled.

On the wooden mantel-piece of one of the chambers of this old house, one may see cut roughly, in large letters, the name, "George Wallis, VI Mass^{ts} Regt"; and there is a certificate from our own Adjutant-General's Office that there was a Lieutenant of that name, then in the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, on duty there at the time of the treason. I am not aware that he made any mark anywhere except on this chimney-piece, and he thus owes his celebrity more to his penknife than to his sword.

I could not fail to be reminded by the associations of the place of the striking story I had more than once heard my father tell of what he witnessed at this precise time. He was just graduating at Harvard, with the Class of 1780, and owing to the delicacy of his health had been ordered to make a tour on horseback, with a servant to accompany him. He had ridden along through our own State, and had crossed over into New York. He had breakfasted at the Fishkill Inn, or, it may have been, the Inn at Fishkill Landing, and was just ready to mount his horse again, when a party of officers rode up and alighted, and sat down to the same table from which he had risen. They were Washington and his Staff. After a brief interval, my father rode on, and, in the course of the day, met a negro soldier coming through the woods. "What news, Sambo?" said my father. "Great news!" exclaimed the negro. "General Arnold, he gone off!" "Why, if you dare to tell such a story, you will be hung on the next tree." "My Captain, he close behind, and he will tell you it is true." And the Captain and his company soon appeared, and confirmed the tidings. Of course all was confusion along the line of the Hudson. But my father always spoke of the calm composure of Washington that morning. He was still, however, to be informed of the startling tidings of André's capture and Arnold's treason.

Let me turn, now, to one or two treasures on our own table:—

We have here a sumptuous volume, entitled "Contributions to the Centennial Exhibition, by John Ericsson." It comes to us from the author, the eminent mechanic and inventor, now in his seventy-sixth year, if I mistake not, to whom our country owed the "Monitor" in 1862, with all its marvellous exploits.

His greatest celebrity, before that time, had resulted from his hot air or caloric engine applied to propelling a ship bearing his own name, in 1852-53. I happened to be in Washington in February, 1853, passing a week with my friend, John P. Kennedy, then the Secretary of the Navy. Washington Irving was Mr. Kennedy's only other guest. Ericsson had brought his ship round to Washington for exhibition to the Navy Department, and we had a grand frolic on the occasion. President Fillmore, who was just going out of office, and General Franklin Pierce, who was just coming in, were of the party; and I remember that Fillmore and Pierce and Irving and Kennedy and myself stood on the drum of the engine with Ericsson, and were swayed up and down together by the force of the hot air. We all had a vivid sense, approaching the ludicrous, of the ups and downs which other engines than Ericsson's had already produced, and which were more enduring even than some of his.

A Swede by birth, Ericsson has been identified from his youth with American science, and our country may fairly claim him among its distinguished inventors. Only in last evening's "Transcript" I find the following record of his continued enterprise in the line in which he has been so distinguished: "Captain Ericsson's new torpedo boat 'Destroyer,' which cost \$50,000, and was invented and constructed to sink the stoutest ironclad, successfully made its first trial trip up the Hudson yesterday, — speed, twenty-two knots."

The thanks of the Society were voted to John Ericsson, LL.D., for his acceptable gift to our Library.

The President continued: —

The first volume of The Sewall Diary is on our table this morning, and we owe a grateful acknowledgment to the committee by whom it has been so carefully and laboriously edited. Whatever other estimation may be made of the value of the Diary, there are two views in which it will be warmly welcomed and highly appreciated: first and foremost, as giving a most vivid impression of the social condition of our Colony during the period which it covers, unveiling, as nothing else could have done, the way of life in Massachusetts for more than half a century. If that way of life was less interesting and eventful than might have been imagined, we at least see exactly what it was, and can judge of its daily course almost as if we had been eye-witnesses. And, secondly, we have here a perfect picture of one of the

leading men of that period, — his daily and hourly acts, his occupations, habits, self-communings, and social intercourse, with all the quaintnesses and queernesses of expression and description which characterized him, and with all the noble attributes which led him to acknowledge his own faults as well as to censure those of others.

For such a picture of so long a period, and of one of the men who made it notable, we cannot be too thankful.

The Rev. Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS said: —

MR. PRESIDENT, — In announcing the publication of the first volume of the "Sewall Papers," you have fitly stated the character of the original manuscripts, and the special historical value and uses of their contents. I will ask that the few words which I shall now speak may go substantially upon the record in connection with this announcement. My name appears as Chairman of the Committee of Publication. For that reason, I am anxious that my colleagues should have their full share of credit for their labors in adding to the value of the work as it now appears. Considerable care, industry, and research have been spent upon its annotation and illustration. Mr. Whitmore, the most capable and industrious man among us in the field of his special inquiries, is to be credited with furnishing the Introduction and Notes, the Genealogy, the explanations of family relationships between the Sewalls and others, the tracing out of the bounds and owners of estates, and many explanations of political events and complications. He has also furnished the Index of Names.

Professor Torrey, wishing to designate the literary resources and materials of the time, has made notes — provided by his own wide and thorough scholarship — upon many of the authors and works alluded to by Sewall, and upon contemporaneous European history. My helpers have been abler and more faithful than myself.

The following request from the Committee on the Sewall Papers was granted unanimously: —

Mr. Whitmore requests that he, or any other member of the Committee on the Sewall Papers, may have permission to have printed a number of copies, not to exceed twenty, of the first volume of the Sewall Diary; the member of the Committee to bear the expense of paper, press-work, and binding.

The President announced that he had appointed the Hon. William C. Endicott to prepare the Memoir of the late Judge Thomas for the Society's Proceedings.

The Corresponding Secretary, Mr. DEANE, said he had recently been looking over the early manuscripts of the Society, and had opened a large bundle of unarranged papers, which had lain for many years in one of the cupboards. This contained a mass of miscellaneous papers, much of it of no value, being the material of a number of the early printed volumes; that is, the "copy" as returned from the printing-office. Some of the papers had been returned to the Society by the family of the late Dr. Freeman, according to his direction, with a list accompanying them; and among them were several manuscripts marked "Papers of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences." He had selected these, and proposed that they should be transferred to the Library of that Institution. He thought that all or the most of them had been printed in their Transactions.

To a few letters in this package Mr. Deane wished to call the attention of the members. One related to the old clothes of Dr. Franklin, in the Cabinet of the Society, which some had supposed to be those worn by Dr. Franklin when he signed the treaty with France, in 1778. They were presented to the Society by Elkanah Watson, about January, 1803; and, to correct a wrong interpretation which had been given to the certificate which accompanied them, he wrote a letter to the President of the Society. This letter Mr. Deane had recently discovered. It is dated Albany, 14th April, 1803, and is to be published in the early Proceedings of the Society now in the press. It contains the following extract: "I beg you will please note in my certificate that the fact of his wearing these clothes related to the year, not the precise time, he signed that celebrated instrument." (See also Mr. Watson's *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 2d ed. p. 140.)

Mr. Deane said that he had discovered in this bundle the original letter of Paul Revere, describing his famous ride to Lexington on the night of the 18th of April, 1775, and the displaying of the signal lanterns in the North Church steeple. This was printed in the Society's *Collections*, vol. v. pp. 106-112, under the date of "Boston, January 1, 1798," as a letter from Colonel Paul Revere to the Corresponding Secretary. A number of corrections, chiefly verbal, were made in the letter as originally written; some of them apparently by the writer himself, in different ink, and some by Dr.

Belknap, who probably repunctuated it for the press. Also, a few introductory sentences were omitted in the printing. The whole letter, Mr. Deane thought, was of sufficient interest to be reproduced at this time in the Society's Proceedings.

The following vote was unanimously adopted:—

Voted, That the papers selected by Mr. Deane, belonging to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, be transferred to that Institution, the Librarian taking a receipt for the same from the Librarian of the Academy.

The letter of Paul Revere to Dr. Belknap here follows, containing the prefatory sentences previously omitted:—

DEAR SIR,— Having a little leisure, I wish to fulfil my promise of giving you some facts and anecdotes prior to the battle of Lexington, which I do not remember to have seen in any History of the American Revolution.

In the year 1773, I was employed by the Selectmen of the town of Boston to carry the account of the Destruction of the Tea to New York; and afterwards, 1774, to carry their despatches to New York and Philadelphia for calling a Congress; and afterwards to Congress several times. * In the fall of 1774 and winter of 1775, I was one of upwards of thirty, chiefly mechanics, who formed ourselves into a committee for the purpose of watching the movements of the British soldiers, and gaining every intelligence of the movements of the Tories. We held our meetings at the Green Dragon tavern. We were so careful that our meetings should be kept secret, that every time we met every person swore upon the Bible that they would not discover any of our transactions but to Messrs. Hancock, Adams, Doctors Warren, Church, and one or two more.

About November, when things began to grow serious, a gentleman who had connections with the Tory party, but was a Whig at heart, acquainted me, that our meetings were discovered, and mentioned the identical words that were spoken among us the night before. We did not then distrust Dr. Church, but supposed it must be some one among us. We removed to another place, which we thought was more secure; but here we found that all our transactions were communicated to Governor Gage. (This came to me through the then Secretary Flucker; he told it to the gentleman mentioned above.) It was then a common opinion, that there was a traitor in the Provincial Congress, and that Gage was possessed of all their secrets. (Church was a member of that Congress for Boston.) In the winter, towards the spring, we frequently took turns, two and two, to watch the soldiers, by patrolling the streets all night. The Saturday night preceding the 19th of April, about 12 o'clock at night, the boats belonging to the

* What precedes was omitted in the first printing; Dr. Belknap minuting on the letter, "Let the narrative begin here."—C. D.

transports were all launched, and carried under the sterns of the men-of-war. (They had been previously hauled up and repaired.) We likewise found that the grenadiers and light infantry were all taken off duty.

From these movements, we expected something serious was to be transacted. On Tuesday evening, the 18th, it was observed that a number of soldiers were marching towards the bottom of the Common. About 10 o'clock, Dr. Warren sent in great haste for me, and begged that I would immediately set off for Lexington, where Messrs. Hancock and Adams were, and acquaint them of the movement, and that it was thought they were the objects. When I got to Dr. Warren's house, I found he had sent an express by land to Lexington, — a Mr. William Dawes.* The Sunday before, by desire of Dr. Warren, I had been to Lexington, to Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who were at the Rev. Mr. Clark's. I returned at night through Charlestown; there I agreed with a Colonel Conant and some other gentlemen, that if the British went out by water, we would show two lanthorns in the North Church steeple; and if by land, one, as a signal; for we were apprehensive it would be difficult to cross the Charles River, or get over Boston Neck. I left Dr. Warren, called upon a friend, and desired him to make the signals. I then went home, took my boots and surt-out, went to the north part of the town, where I had kept a boat; two friends rowed me across Charles River, a little to the eastward where the Somerset man-of-war lay. It was then young flood, the ship was winding, and the moon was rising. They landed me on the Charlestown side. When I got into town, I met Colonel Conant, and several others; they said they had seen our signals. I told them what was acting, and went to get me a horse; I got a horse of Deacon Larkin. While the horse was preparing, Richard Devens, Esq., who was one of the Committee of Safety, came to me, and told me that he came down the road from Lexington, after sundown, that evening; that he met ten British officers, all well mounted, and armed, going up the road.

I set off upon a very good horse; it was then about eleven o'clock, and very pleasant. After I had passed Charlestown Neck, and got nearly opposite where Mark was hung in chains, I saw two men on horseback, under a tree. When I got near them, I discovered they were British officers. One tried to get ahead of me, and the other to take me. I turned my horse very quick, and galloped towards Charlestown Neck, and then pushed for the Medford road. The one who chased me, endeavoring to cut me off, got into a clay pond, near where the new tavern† is now built. I got clear of him, and went through Medford, over the bridge, and up to Menotomy. In Medford, I awaked the Captain of the minute men; and after that, I alarmed almost every house, till I got to Lexington. I found Messrs. Hancock and Adams at the Rev. Mr. Clark's; I told them my errand, and inquired for Mr. Dawes; they said he had not been there; I related the story of the two officers, and supposed that he must have been stopped, as

* Revere uniformly spells this name "Daws," in the letter. — C. D.

† Originally written, "Mr. Russell's Tavern." — C. D.

he ought to have been there before me. After I had been there about half an hour, Mr. Dawes came; we refreshed ourselves, and set off for Concord, to secure the stores, &c. there.* We were overtaken by a young Dr. Prescott, whom we found to be a high Son of Liberty. I told them of the ten officers that Mr. Devens met, and that it was probable we might be stopped before we got to Concord; for I supposed that after night, they divided themselves, and that two of them had fixed themselves in such passages as were most likely to stop any intelligence going to Concord. I likewise mentioned that we had better alarm all the inhabitants till we got to Concord; the young Doctor much approved of it, and said he would stop with either of us, for the people between that and Concord knew him, and would give the more credit to what we said. We had got nearly half way: Mr. Dawes and the Doctor stopped to alarm the people of a house: I was about one hundred rods ahead, when I saw two men, in nearly the same situation as those officers were, near Charlestown. I called for the Doctor and Mr. Dawes to come up; † in an instant I was surrounded by four; — they had placed themselves in a straight road, that inclined each way; they had taken down a pair of bars on the north side of the road, and two of them were under a tree in the pasture. The Doctor being foremost, he came up; and we tried to get past them; but they being armed with pistols and swords, they forced us into the pasture; — the Doctor jumped his horse over a low stone wall, and got to Concord. I observed a wood at a small distance, and made for that. When I got there, out started six officers, on horseback, and ordered me to dismount; — one of them, who appeared to have the command, examined me, where I came from, and what my name was? I told him.‡ He asked me if I was an express? I answered in the affirmative. He demanded what time I left Boston? I told him; and added, that their troops had caught aground in passing the river, and that there would be five hundred Americans there in a short time, for I had alarmed the country all the way up. He immediately rode towards those who stopped us, when all five of them came down upon a full gallop; one of them, whom I afterwards found to be a Major Mitchel, of the 5th Regiment, clapped his pistol to my head, called me by name, and told me he was going to ask me some questions, and if I did not give him true answers, he would blow my brains out. He then asked me similar questions to those above. He then ordered me to mount my horse, after searching me for arms. He then ordered them to advance, and to lead me in front. When we got to the road, they turned down towards Lexington. When we had got about one mile, the Major rode up to the officer that was leading me, and told him to give me to the Sergeant. As soon as he took me, the Major ordered

* "To secure the stores, &c., there," interlined in Dr. Belknap's hand. — C. D.

† "There were two, and we would have them," erased. — C. D.

‡ "I told him it was Revere. He asked if it was Paul? I told him yes." The last part erased. — C. D.

him, if I attempted to run, or anybody insulted them, to blow my brains out. We rode till we got near Lexington meeting-house, when the militia fired a volley of guns, which appeared to alarm them very much. The Major inquired of me how far it was to Cambridge, and if there were any other road? After some consultation, the Major rode up to the Sergeant, and asked if his horse was tired? He answered him, he was — (he was a Sergeant of Grenadiers, and had a small horse) — then, said he, take that man's horse. I dismounted, and the Sergeant mounted my horse, when they all rode towards Lexington meeting-house. I went across the burying-ground, and some pastures, and came to the Rev. Mr. Clark's house, where I found Messrs. Hancock and Adams. I told them of my treatment, and they concluded to go from that house towards Woburn. I went with them, and a Mr. Lowell, who was a clerk to Mr. Hancock. When we got to the house where they intended to stop, Mr. Lowell and myself returned to Mr. Clark's, to find what was going on. When we got there, an elderly man came in; he said he had just come from the tavern, that a man had come from Boston, who said there were no British troops coming. Mr. Lowell and myself went towards the tavern, when we met a man on a full gallop, who told us the troops were coming up the rocks. We afterwards met another, who said they were close by. Mr. Lowell asked me to go to the tavern with him, to get a trunk of papers belonging to Mr. Hancock. We went up chamber; and while we were getting the trunk, we saw the British very near, upon a full march. We hurried towards Mr. Clark's house. In our way, we passed through the militia. There were about fifty. When we had got about one hundred yards from the meeting-house, the British troops appeared on both sides of the meeting-house. In their front was an officer on horseback. They made a short halt; *when I saw, and heard, a gun fired*, which appeared to be a pistol. Then I could distinguish two guns, and then a continual roar of musketry; when we made off with the trunk.

As I have mentioned Dr. Church, perhaps it might not be disagreeable to mention some matters of my own knowledge, respecting him. He appeared to be a high Son of Liberty. He frequented all the places where they met, was encouraged by all the leaders of the Sons of Liberty, and it appeared he was respected by them, though I knew that Dr. Warren had not the greatest affection for him. He was esteemed a very capable writer, especially in verse; and as the Whig party needed every strength, they feared, as well as courted him. Though it was known that some of the liberty songs, which he composed, were parodied by him, in favor of the British, yet none dare charge him with it. I was a constant and critical observer of him, and I must say, that I never thought him a man of principle; and I doubted much in my own mind whether he was a real Whig. I knew that he kept company with a Capt. Price, a half-pay British officer, and that he frequently dined with him, and Robinson, one of the Commissioners. I know that one of his intimate acquaintance asked him why he was so often with Robinson and Price? His answer was, that he kept

company with them on purpose to find out their plans. The day after the battle of Lexington, I met him in Cambridge, when he shew me some blood on his stocking, which he said spirted on him from a man who was killed near him, as he was urging the militia on. I well remember, that I argued with myself, if a man will risk his life in a cause, he must be a friend to that cause; and I never suspected him after, till he was charged with being a traitor.

The same day I met Dr. Warren. He was President of the Committee of Safety. He engaged me as a messenger, to do the out of doors business for that committee: which gave me an opportunity of being frequently with them. The Friday evening after, about sunset, I was sitting with some, or near all that committee, in their room, which was at Mr. Hastings's house in Cambridge.* Dr. Church, all at once, started up — Dr. Warren, said he, I am determined to go into Boston to-morrow — (it set them all a staring) — Dr. Warren replied, Are you serious, Dr. Church? they will hang you if they catch you in Boston. He replied, I am serious, and am determined to go at all adventures. After a considerable conversation, Dr. Warren said, If you are determined, let us make some business for you. They agreed that he should go to get medicine for their and our wounded officers. He went the next morning; and I think he came back on Sunday evening. After he had told the committee how things were, I took him aside and inquired particularly how they treated him. He said, that as soon as he got to their lines, on Boston Neck, they made him a prisoner, and carried him to General Gage, where he was examined, and then he was sent to Gould's barracks, and was not suffered to go home but once. After he was taken up, for holding a correspondence with the British, I came across Deacon Caleb Davis; — we entered into conversation about him; — he told me, that the morning Church went into Boston, he (Davis) received a billet for General Gage — (he then did not know that Church was in town) — when he got to the General's house, he was told, the General could not be spoke with, that he was in private with a gentleman; that he waited near half an hour, when General Gage and Dr. Church came out of a room, discoursing together, like persons who had been long acquainted. He appeared to be quite surprised at seeing Deacon Davis there; that he (Church) went where he pleased, while in Boston, only a Major Caine, one of Gage's Aids, went with him. I was told by another person, whom I could depend upon, that he saw Church go into General Gage's house, at the above time; that he got out of the chaise and went up the steps more like a man that was acquainted than a prisoner.

Some time after, perhaps a year or two, I fell in company with a gentleman† who studied with Church; in discoursing about him, I related what I have mentioned above; he said, he did not doubt that he

* Now called the "Holmes House." It was at one time the head-quarters of General Ward. — C. D.

† "Dr. Savage, now of Barnstable," erased, and "a gentleman" inserted. — C. D.

was in the interest of the British ; and that it was he who informed General Gage ; that he knew for certain, that a short time before the battle of Lexington, (for he then lived with him, and took care of his business and books), he had no money by him, and was much drove for money ; that all at once, he had several hundred new British guineas ; and that he thought at the time, where they came from.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavored to give you a short detail of some matters, of which perhaps no person but myself has documents or knowledge. I have mentioned some names which you are acquainted with ; I wish you would ask them, if they can remember the circumstance I allude to.

I am, Sir, with every sentiment of esteem, your humble servant,

PAUL REVERE.*

Boston, Jan. 1, 1798.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH then said :—

In examining a few days ago the large mass of papers left by the late Hon. James Savage, and given to this Society by his daughter, Mrs. William B. Rogers, I discovered the original book of records of the Washington Benevolent Society. As we have also the records of the Standing Committee of that Society, given to us several years ago by Mr. John C. Pratt, as appears from the printed Proceedings for February, 1864,† it seems desirable to call the attention of members to the fact that we have now the records of the Society itself, in order that it may go into the report of this meeting. The Washington Benevolent Society was a political organization, composed of ardent Federalists, and was formed in 1812. At first, it exhibited great activity, and meetings were held twice a week for the admission of members, with regular quarterly meetings at which an address was delivered by some member, and a public celebration on the 30th of April, — the anniversary of the inauguration of Washington as President of the

* Paul Revere signed his name to the letter, and there it now stands ; but afterward, in a different ink, he wrote over the signature, "A Son of Liberty of the year 1775," with the caution, "Do not print my name." Dr. Belknap, however, erased all this, and wrote, "Col. Revere's Letter," — the running title in the Collections, — and "A Letter from Col. Paul Revere to the Corresponding Secretary," which is the heading of the letter as there printed. The original letter has no date, but the date it bears in the Collections may indicate the time at which it was communicated for printing. The letter may have been written some years before it was printed ; and, when Dr. Belknap proposed including it in the Collections, the corrections referred to may have been made. The ink in the body of the letter is much faded, while that in which the additions, erasures, and interlineations are made, is quite different. — C. D.

† In the notice in the printed Proceedings, and in Mr. Pratt's letter of presentation, the volume is incorrectly described as "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Benevolent Society," instead of "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Standing Committee" &c.

United States. This activity, however, did not last long. In 1819, the Society ceased to hold meetings; and, in 1824, it was dissolved. The funds remaining in the treasury were given to the Bunker Hill Monument Association; and the banners of the Society were also transferred to the custody of that Society.

Among the officers and members are many names familiar to us as members of our own Society. Judge Shaw was the first Secretary, and the Hon. Josiah Quincy and Mr. Nathan Appleton were also officers. Mr. Nathan Hale was chairman of the preliminary meetings out of which the Society took its origin, and secretary of the meeting at which it was dissolved. At one meeting, I notice that both Edward Everett and Alexander H. Everett were "initiated" as members; and William H. Prescott and Mr. Savage were likewise members.

A copy of the portion of the records of most interest to us, — that relating to the gorget of General Washington, — beautifully engrossed on parchment, is in the box containing the gorget. Beyond this, the volume contains nothing which it is desirable to print. It is the intention of the committee in charge of the Savage Papers to have the volume rebound, and placed in one of the cabinets of the Society.

MR. CHARLES W. TUTTLE made the following communication: —

It is surprising how little attention has hitherto been given to the study of the Indian geographical names of New England, almost the only monuments now left of the aboriginal inhabitants. For some reason, this subject has not been any more attractive to our scholars than it was to the first English settlers. Our immigrant ancestors were almost in daily communication with the Indians, and might easily have obtained from them the true meaning and application of every Indian geographical name. Unfortunately for us, they were not inquisitive that way. At this late period, we are left to grope our way through the phonetic changes of more than two centuries to find the original meaning and application of names that were household words with them.

In New England, two States, as well as nearly all the great rivers, bear Indian names; and they suggest nothing but their barbarous origin, except to a few persons skilled in Indian philology. Many of the geographical names now current first appear in Captain John Smith's Description of New England, printed in 1616. These names, about thirty, he obtained

from the Indians while exploring the coast between Penobscot River and Cape Cod, in the year 1614. Smith had been some years with the Indians in Virginia, and had some knowledge, at least, of the Indian method of forming and applying geographical names. He was therefore pretty well qualified to collect the Indian river names and place names in New England. He must have known that every aboriginal name describes the locality to which it is affixed; and that there is no name for an entire river or a large tract of country in an Indian's vocabulary.

There is one of these venerable Indian river names, which first appears in Smith's renowned work, whose origin and significance have long interested me. It is *Passataquack*, as Smith spelled it, hearing it from the lips of the savages. This name he uses to denote the river or harbor as well as the adjacent country of what is known as the Pascataqua River and the territory adjoining it, now divided between New Hampshire and Maine.

Several persons have attempted to find what *Passataquack*, now corrupted to Pascataqua, signifies. One is satisfied that it means "Great Deer Place"; another, that it is "Place of White Pines"; and a third, that it is formed of two Latin words, *piscis* and *aqua*. But none of these interpretations of the name is correct, the last being manifestly wrong.

Several years ago, J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., our Corresponding Member, and the highest authority on questions involving Indian philology, examined this geographical name, and found that it signifies, in the original, "divided tidal river place." He says that the roots of this name express a "division of the stream by some obstacle, near its mouth, which makes it a double river," and also that one meaning of the adjectival root is "to split, to divide *forcibly* or *abruptly*." This is pure deduction from the principles of the Indian language. Whether any of the rivers bearing this name had any such topographical features, he left others to find out.*

The late Rev. Dr. Ballard, well known for his acquaintance with the language of the Abenaki Indians, thought the name as interpreted by Mr. Trumbull applied to the various branches of the Pascataqua River.† Had he been familiar with the topography of the mouth of this river, he would have rec-

* Mr. Trumbull's learned memoir on "The Composition of Indian Geographical Names" is in the Collections of the Historical Society of Connecticut, vol. ii. pp. 1-50. The analysis of Pascataqua is on pages 10 and 11.

† United States Coast Survey Report, 1868, p. 257.

ognized at once the great natural features to which the Indians applied their descriptive name.

I desire to call the attention of the Society to the topography of that region as shown on a marine chart, as well as to some historical circumstances connected with the name Pascataqua, and to point out what has long seemed to me the true application of this name, as Mr. Trumbull interprets it.

The tide flows up the Pascataqua River through its whole extent. Great Island, on which is now the town of Newcastle, abruptly divides this river, at a point more than a mile from the little bay, lying between Odiorne Point and Gerrish Island, which might appropriately enough be called the Pascataqua Bay. This rocky barrier stands directly in front of the main channel of the river it cleaves, and sends the main stream to the eastward into Great Harbor, and the lesser stream to the westward into Little Harbor, thus making a double river. These two streams fall into the sea or bay full one mile apart.

Captain Smith visited these harbors in 1614, and there found the name Passataquack, which exactly describes that locality. The extension of this name to the whole river as well as to the surrounding country is the work of Captain Smith and his followers. The name gradually wore away from the land, but has always remained attached to the river.*

* Since the foregoing paper was communicated to the Society, I have made known to Mr. Trumbull my theory of the application of the name Pascataqua. He writes to me: "I am glad to learn that my analysis of the name of the Piscataqua is so well established by the natural features of the locality,—of which, previously, I was not informed. I have no doubt of the correctness of your application of the name."

DECEMBER MEETING, 1878.

The regular monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at 11 o'clock A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the previous meeting, and it was approved.

The Librarian reported the accessions to the Library by gifts during the month. He called attention to the third volume of Mr. Winthrop's "Addresses and Speeches," just published, containing his public orations and occasional discourses during the last ten years, and dedicated to our Honorary Member, the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, President of the Virginia Historical Society, a copy of which had been presented by the author, our distinguished President.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from M. Henri Martin accepting his election as an Honorary Member.

The Cabinet-keeper announced the gift, by Mr. John T. Clark, of a view of the Old Elm on Boston Common, lithographed upon a veneer from the wood of the venerable tree.

The President read the following extract from a letter he had received from George H. Moore, LL.D., of New York: "Referring to the Collections Mass. Hist. Soc., 4th Series, vol. ix. p. 11 (note), and note after p. 488 in the same volume, I beg leave, through you, respectfully to offer, for the acceptance of the Society, a copy of Pory's translation of Leo's Africa, which is complete with the exception of the map. The copy in the Library of the Society which is referred to as 'not complete, nor in good condition,' has the map; so that the Society will henceforth be in possession of the whole of this interesting publication, which has an additional interest for American historical scholars from the fact that it was so warmly encouraged by Hakluyt."

He read also the following letter from Mr. W. H. Swift, who was one of the engineers in the construction of the Western railroad from Worcester to Albany:—

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,

President Mass. Hist. Society.

NEW YORK, NOV. 11, 1878.

DEAR SIR,—I have among my books a volume of pamphlets of some 800 pages, containing a collection of reports and other documents relating to the history and construction of the Western Railroad of Massachusetts, from its beginning in 1836 to its completion in 1842,

and its consolidation with the Boston and Worcester Railroad in 1868.

These documents have been selected by me from a large number published by the corporation and others during the period above stated; and the selection has been made more with the desire of preserving and exhibiting the earlier history of the road and the principles upon which it was constructed than for any other purpose. Pamphlets of this description, being ephemeral in character, soon disappear, and are lost to public sight; but after a lapse of forty or fifty years, as in this instance, they sometimes possess a value for the antiquary.

Of the earlier efforts which were made to secure the construction of a "canal or railway from Boston to the Hudson River at Albany," a minute account will be found detailed in the "Historical Memoir of the Western Railroad," published by Mr. George Bliss in 1863, now included in the present volume, the record running back to 1791.

I propose, with your assent, to give the volume to the Society of which you are the President, and hope it may be found worthy of a place on the shelves of its library. It will serve to show to posterity how and by what methods this really great work of that day was initiated, and how successfully and economically the whole of it was accomplished.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SWIFT.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Moore and Mr. Swift for these acceptable gifts.

The President then announced the death of a Corresponding Member, Dr. John G. Kohl, which took place at Bremen on the 28th of October, and called upon Mr. DEANE, who spoke as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT, — The death of so distinguished a Corresponding Member as was Dr. Kohl in his special department of archæology should certainly excuse us for dwelling a few moments upon his labors. You kindly asked me, sir, to say a few words of him; and what I wish to say I have put down on a few sheets of paper, in order that I may not take up too much time.

Dr. John George Kohl was born on the 28th of April, 1808, in the old German city of Bremen, where his father was a merchant. He studied at Göttingen, at Heidelberg, and at Munich; and in 1832 he accepted the place of preceptor in the family of Baron de Manteuffel, and later in that of Comte Medem. In 1854, Dr. Kohl visited the United States, where he stayed three or four years, returning to Bremen in 1858. He then accepted the position of librarian of the

city library of Bremen, which I suppose he held at the time of his death.

Previous to visiting this country, Dr. Kohl had travelled extensively in Europe in pursuit of historical and geographical information, and subsequently in Canada and the United States; and the results of his observations he published in many volumes, too numerous to be mentioned here. I will speak more particularly of those labors which especially interest ourselves.

My first acquaintance with Dr. Kohl was made during his residence in our Cambridge, more than twenty years ago, when he was employed on an important work for the Coast Survey; viz., a History of Maritime Discovery from the time of Columbus to the advent of the "Mayflower" on our shores, illustrated by original maps. The study of maps, and particularly maps relating to the New World, may be said to have been a specialty with Dr. Kohl. For this work (for the Coast Survey) he employed a corps of assistants to reduce the larger maps and charts to the requisite size. He was a long time engaged on this labor, and I often saw him during its progress. He was a tall, spare man, of great energy of character, and full of enthusiasm on his special theme. During the winter that he spent in Cambridge, he would sometimes carry off from my own library armfuls of books, whenever he thought he could find in them a trace of a map which he had not seen, or a new fact bearing on his subject. I remember once on leaving my house he slung a large package of books over his shoulder, like a traveller's pack, and trudged off with them in a drifting snow-storm, making me almost tremble for my precious volumes.

The work to which I have referred was prepared by him with the full expectation that, when completed, it would be published by the United States Government. But the financial troubles of 1857 came on, the Government was almost bankrupt, and the publication of his work was delayed or abandoned; and Dr. Kohl went home to Germany almost broken-hearted. His beautiful maps, some of which I have seen at Washington, are now uncared for.

Dr. Kohl also prepared a history of the voyages made from the earliest period to the west coast of the United States, illustrated by maps in the same manner, but briefer and less elaborate than his work relating to the east coast. The manuscript, with the maps, yet unpublished, is now in possession of the American Antiquarian Society.

While in this country, Dr. Kohl prepared and published

a "Descriptive Catalogue of those Maps, Charts, and Surveys relating to America which are mentioned in vol. iii. of Hakluyt's Great Work, Washington, 1857."

He also delivered a lecture, at the Smithsonian Institution, "On the Plan of a Cartographical Depot for the History and Geography of the American Continent."

The importance of such a depot for historical investigation is learnedly and eloquently set forth by him.

He showed that the study of old maps as materials for a history of geography is of comparatively recent date, — not earlier than the present century. The distinguished map-makers of the sixteenth century, — Mercator, Ortelius, Hondius, and others, — and those of the two following centuries, were employed in producing the best maps possible from the latest and most authentic information, and not in reproducing old maps. A new map was always an object of interest, and was valued as a most precious thing; but it might be very soon superseded by another regarded as more accurate, and then it would be thrown aside as useless, and be forgotten. It is only by a knowledge of those old and "useless" maps that the history of geography and discovery can be written. By the labors of Humboldt, Baron Walckenaer, Ghillany, Jomard, D'Avezac, and others, who have recently produced copies of the earliest maps and globes, illustrated by a learned text, has it been possible to arrive at the opinions of the navigators themselves, and to elevate the study of geography into something like a science.

A briefer paper on "Lost Maps," contributed to the "National Intelligencer" at Washington, I remember interested me much.

He spoke of the maps of the Italian navigator, Palestrello, who, at his death, left to his wife his papers and maps of the islands and waters of the Atlantic Ocean. These she gave to Columbus when he married her daughter. How interesting it would be, he said, to have one of those maps by which Columbus was instructed! He also referred to the map constructed by the celebrated Toscanelli, the friend of Columbus, giving his idea of the size of the globe, and in what manner one could sail from Spain westward to Asia. The famous Bishop Las Casas had this map in his possession. It may yet be slumbering in the archives of Spain.

Columbus himself was once a map-maker, gaining his livelihood by composing maps. These are all lost. Bartholomew Columbus, the brother of Christopher, also made maps; but no one of them is extant. I will not enumerate others. By

such an interest, and by inquiries like these, is science indebted for the more recent discovery and rediscovery of the maps of Cabot and of Vesputius.

On his return home, Dr. Kohl published in 1860 an elaborate and beautiful edition of the celebrated map of the world made by the Spanish cosmographer Diego Ribero, in 1529, — one of the most important maps relating to our coast, minutely delineating the voyages of Gomez and Ayllon. The original is preserved in the collection of the Grand Duke of Weimar.

Dr. Kohl's last work, or that by which he is best known in this country, is his "History of the Discovery of the East Coast of North America, particularly the Coast of Maine, from the Northmen in 990 to the Charter of Gilbert in 1578. Illustrated by maps and charts." This book forms the first volume of the "Documentary History of Maine," published in 1869. Dr. Kohl was one year in preparing this work; but he embodied in it the results of a life of preparation. I regard it as one of the most valuable and trustworthy books on the subject of which it treats; and English scholars, like Mr. Major of the British Museum, bear testimony to its value. In one of his learned papers, he speaks of Dr. Kohl and the late M. D'Avezac as "two friends of mine of high distinction in the world of letters." He says of Dr. Kohl's book, published by the Maine Historical Society: "It is a most admirable work; and I am proud to think that it was at my suggestion that the proposal was made to my learned friend to undertake so responsible and difficult a task."

Dr. Kohl was never married. He was wedded only to his science. He had the enthusiasm, perseverance, and learning so characteristic of German scholars, united to the most beautiful simplicity of character. After the death of Humboldt, he was unquestionably the most distinguished geographer in Europe.

The last letter I had from Dr. Kohl was nine months ago. I will conclude these very imperfect remarks by reading some extracts from it: —

"The last essay which I have published is one on the discovery and geographical history of the Magellan Strait, of which I have sent and presented a copy to your Historical Society. Since that, I have worked again and again on the history of the North-west passage, from Cortes to Franklin and M'Clure, which comprises nearly the history of the geography of the entire North of America. The greatest part of this work I had finished and *prepared for print*, when about one and a half years' ago such a weakness and frailness

of my body befell me, that I was obliged to give up all working, studying, and writing. Some chapters or specimens of this work are printing in this moment in the "Ausland" of Cotta. But the entire work, at which I have been laboring for years, will never come out. I am so invalid in my legs that I am unable to walk from one table or room to the other; and that I can, like my dear Professor Woods,* enjoy nature and fresh air only in a carriage. How happy would I be if I could ride in his company through the lofty woods and picturesque scenery of Maine! Here, near my father-town, Bremen, the landscape is indeed extremely tame and uninteresting. I improve it a little on my excursions, thinking of my dear Professor Woods and his enjoyments. . . . Preserve me your friendship, and farewell. A great joy would it be for me if you would take the trouble to write to me a little more on your own life and doings, . . . and particularly of my dear, revered friend, Longfellow." . . .

Mr. Abbott Lawrence, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member; and John Hill Burton, D.C.L., the Historiographer Royal for Scotland, an Honorary Member.

Mr. AUGUSTUS T. PERKINS communicated the following sketches of the artists Blackburn and Smibert, with memoranda of the portraits painted by them, the result of his researches:—

Extended researches have failed to throw much light on the questions whence Jonathan B. Blackburn came and where he went on leaving Boston. He first appeared here, so far as we know, about 1750, and remained about fifteen years. Mr. H. W. French, who has devoted much time to this inquiry, thinks there is reason to believe that he came from Connecticut; and he has discovered that there was a travelling artist of the name of Blackburn, a generation before him, who may have been his father. There is no very good proof of this; but it seems well to mention the circumstance, so that it may be remembered, and perhaps a clew to his real ancestry be thus obtained. He was for the time certainly a very good portrait painter; and I cannot help feeling that he remained in Boston until, finding that his pupil, or imitator, Copley, had begun to paint better than himself, he removed from the town. The

* Dr. Kohl had learned that his friend, Dr. Leonard Woods, late President of Bowdoin College, — who has died since the above remarks were written, — had become an invalid, and quite unable to take exercise except in the way mentioned by Dr. Kohl.

fact that Copley had so improved as to be unquestionably the better painter when Blackburn retired cannot be questioned.

A list of such of his pictures as I have been able to trace, arranged alphabetically, is here submitted :—

JOSEPH ALLEN.—This picture, a three-quarters length, representing a fine-looking man, dressed in the fashion of the times, is painted with great skill, and shows conclusively how good an artist Blackburn was.

MRS. JOSEPH ALLEN.—This picture, a companion portrait to that of her husband, is equally well painted. Both are in Blackburn's best manner.

They are in the possession of Miss Andrews, Chestnut Street, Boston.

MR. AMORY.—There is a portrait of this gentleman, signed by Blackburn, in the possession of Mr. Edward Sohier, of Longwood.

CHARLES APTHORP.—He was born in England in 1698, married Grissilda Eastwick, Jan. 13, 1726, and died Sept. 11, 1758. This picture, a three-quarters length, painted in 1758, is fifty by forty inches, and represents Mr. Apthorp as an elderly gentleman, dressed in red broadcloth, with black silk stockings. He is sitting in his garden in Quincy, looking toward his house. In the background is a view of the old Adams mansion.

MRS. CHARLES APTHORP.—She was Grissilda Eastwick; was born in 1710, and died in 1796. This, being a companion picture to that of her husband, is three-quarters length, and fifty by forty inches in size. It represents a lady, dressed in a changeable salmon and green silk robe, cut square in the neck, the sleeves trimmed with lace.

These two pictures are in the possession of Mrs. Tasker Swett, Boston.

ATKINS PICTURE.—There was a very good picture in the possession of the late Mr. Atkins, of Boston, which he stated to be by Blackburn, and which represented a lady and a young girl.

COLONEL THEODORE ATKINSON.—He was the son of Hon. Theodore Atkinson; was born at Newcastle, N. H., in 1697; and was graduated at Harvard College in 1718. He married the daughter of Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth, in 1734. This portrait is of life-size, and represents Colonel Atkinson as dressed in a brown embroidered coat with ruffles around the hand, a white neckerchief, and full wig. His right hand, holding a pen, rests on a table. Near by are papers, one of which is entitled "Expenses of Government," another "Enlisted Returns for 1760," and, with them, the Seal of State.

MRS. THEODORE ATKINSON.—She was one of the sixteen children of Lieutenant-Governor John Wentworth and Sarah, daughter of Mark Hunking, of Devonshire, England, and sister of Governor Benning Westworth. She was born July 4, 1700, and married, first,

Samuel Plaisted. Mr. Plaisted dying in 1731, she married Colonel Atkinson, for her second husband, in 1734.

This picture is of life-size, and represents Mrs. Atkinson dressed in light-blue satin. The front of the dress is laced, and a string of pearls adorns the throat. Her scarf, which falls over the left shoulder, is held back by the right hand; the head-dress, which is floating back, is fastened by an ornament in the middle.

These two pictures, which are fine examples of Blackburn's style, are owned by Mrs. Mary Wendell Tredick, of Nokesville, Va., and her sister, Mrs. Charlotte King Atkinson Wadleigh, of Union, N. H.

THEODORE ATKINSON, JR. — He was born in 1736, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1757. He married his cousin, Frances Deering Wentworth, at that time sixteen years of age, May 13, 1762. He died at Portsmouth, Oct. 28, 1769. His widow afterward married another cousin, Sir John Wentworth, Bart., the last Royal Governor of New Hampshire.

Mr. Atkinson is represented as standing dressed in a russet-colored coat, with ruffles around the wrists of his small white hands, which are beautifully painted. The waistcoat is white, and handsomely embroidered. The hair is combed back, and dressed with close round curls at the side.

This picture, which has always been considered one of Blackburn's best, is in the possession of one of the family, Mr. Francis A. Freeman, Hanover, N. H.

MRS. THOMAS BALL. — This lady was Elizabeth Davison, and was married to Captain Thomas Ball, of Charlestown, June 26, 1728. In the portrait, which is a small one, she is represented as attired in a black silk dress in the fashion of the time. Her hair, which is without powder, is flowing behind.

This picture descended to Hon. William Willis, of Portland, and from him went to Mr. Henry H. Edes, of Charlestown, the present owner, who is a descendant in the sixth generation.

MRS. BARRELL. — This lady, who was a daughter of Mr. Seward, is represented in a beautifully painted picture of three-quarters length, in a standing position.

Colonel Henry Lee, when he saw this portrait, thought that it must be a Copley, and it was so entered in the list of the works of that artist. Subsequent inquiry, however, has proved it to be one of Blackburn's finest works.

It is in the possession of descendants, the Messrs. Barrell, of York, Me.

MRS. THOMAS BULFINCH. — She was the daughter of Charles and Grissilda Apthorp, whose portraits have been already described. She was born in 1734, married to Dr. Thomas Bulfinch 13th September, 1759, and died 15th February, 1815. This picture is a three-quarters length, and measures fifty by forty inches. Mrs. Bulfinch is painted sitting, and wears a changeable green and gray robe.

The portrait is owned by Mrs. Tasker Swett, Boston.

Mrs. CABOT. — This picture is a half-length. It represents a lady seated, handsomely dressed in the fashion of the times. The picture is particularly interesting, as it is signed by the artist.

It is in the possession of Mr. George G. Lowell, of Boston.

CUNNINGHAM FAMILY. — There are several fine portraits of members of this family in the possession of Mr. Alexander S. Porter, Boston.

DEERING PICTURES. — Dr. Deering, of Utica, N. Y., owns two half-length portraits of ladies. One of them represents a shepherdess holding a crook, with a lamb at her side. These pictures Colonel Trumbull pronounced to be by Blackburn's brush.

MR. JOHN ERVING. — He was graduated from Harvard College in 1747, and married Maria Catharina, daughter of Governor Shirley, in 1754. Being a Loyalist, he retired to England in 1776. He died at Bath, England, in 1816, aged eighty-nine years. This portrait is four feet and one inch long by three feet and three inches wide. It represents a gentleman of about twenty-eight years of age. The figure is of three-quarters length, dressed in a gray coat, a rose-colored satin waistcoat embroidered with silver, and black velvet knee-breeches. It was painted in 1755.

Mrs. JOHN ERVING. — The daughter of Governor Shirley was born in 1729. She retired to England with her husband, and died at Bath in 1816, the same year with him. The picture represents a lady of about twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, seated in a garden, holding in her hand a bunch of roses. Her dress is white satin trimmed with point lace.

This portrait, a three-quarters length, and that of Mr. John Erving, are in the possession of Mrs. Shirley Erving, Beacon Street, Boston.

JAMES FLAG. — This picture represents a pretty boy from four to five years old, with dark curling hair and dark eyes. He is dressed in a simple white robe. He was a child of Gershom Flag.

MARY FLAG. — The sister of James Flag is represented an infant, perhaps a year old, dressed in white. The eyes are dark, but the hair is blond, and is surmounted by a white cap. In her right hand she holds an apple. Mary Flag married, for her first husband, Dr. Wilder; and there is a curious story attached to her married life. She and several of her children were attacked with lung fever, and she apparently died. She was duly laid out, and some hours afterward the undertaker, coming to place the supposed corpse into the coffin, was struck by the strange appearance of her face. Her husband was summoned, and at once took measures to restore consciousness. The attempt was successful, and she lived forty years longer; buried Dr. Wilder, and, marrying a Dr. Hurd, had a second family by him. She was the great-grandmother of the Rev. Henry W. Foote.

These two pictures are owned by the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, Boston.

ELLIS GRAY. — There are two portraits of Rev. Ellis Gray, of half-length, representing him in his robes and bands, the hair without powder.

Both pictures are in the possession of his grand-children. One is owned by Miss Anne Cary, of Chelsea, the other by William Ferdinand Cary, Esq., of Boston.

WILLIAM GREENLEAF. — He was born in 1724, and died in 1803. He was the son of Daniel Greenleaf, of Boston. The picture is of three-quarters length, and represents a fine-looking man dressed in a drab suit, with green waistcoat, leaning upon an anchor.

MRS. WILLIAM GREENLEAF. — This portrait is of three-quarters length, a companion picture to the former. The lady is represented standing, with her left arm leaning upon a fountain. Her dress is of mauve pink, trimmed with lace, and ornamented with black bows at the waist and neck. The portrait is exceedingly well painted, and is remarkable for the very small size of the hands.

MRS. JOHN GREENLEAF. — This picture is of half-length, and represents the lady sitting, dressed in a white satin robe and a blue mantle,—her waist and hair decorated with pearls.

These three pictures are in the possession of a descendant, Mr. Richard C. Greenleaf, Boston.

BENJAMIN HALL. — He was born in 1731, and died in 1817. The picture represents him wearing a drab coat and white wig.

MRS. BENJAMIN HALL. — This lady is dressed in a steel-blue robe, her dark hair without powder, and on her right shoulder a mauve pink scarf.

These two pictures are in possession of Dr. Hall Curtis, Boston.

REV. JOHN HANCOCK. — He was the minister of Lexington from 1698 to 1752, and grandfather of John Hancock of Revolutionary fame.

MRS. JOHN HANCOCK. — The grandmother of Gov. John Hancock. These two pictures are preserved in the Public Library of Lexington.

DANIEL HENCHMAN. — This picture, a half-length, represents a gentleman dressed in a brown coat and wearing a flowing wig. He was the father of Lydia HENCHMAN who became the wife of Thomas Hancock.

MRS. DANIEL HENCHMAN. — She is dressed in a green robe open at the neck. Her hair is without powder, and long curls fall on her neck.

These pictures are in the possession of the family of the late Daniel HENCHMAN, Boston.

MR. RALPH INMAN. — This portrait, a half-length, represents a gentleman dressed in a brown coat, and wearing a white wig. His left arm rests upon a chair.

MRS. RALPH INMAN. — This picture represents a handsome woman in a green silk dress, cut low. Her hair is dark, and dressed without

powder. She has thrown about her a mauve-pink mantle, and rests her right hand on a chair. In the background is a mountain.

These portraits are owned by a descendant, Mr. William Amory, Boston.

MRS. INMAN. — There is a beautiful portrait of this lady in the possession of Mr. William Gardiner Prescott, Boston.

JUDGE LOWELL. — There is a fine portrait of this gentleman in the possession of Mr. John A. Lowell, Boston.

HON. ANDREW OLIVER, JR. — He was born in Boston, 13th of November, 1731. He married, 28th of May, 1752, Mary, daughter of the Hon. Benjamin Lynde, Jr. He was one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County. This picture is a three-quarters length.

It was painted in 1756, and is in the possession of Dr. F. E. Oliver.

MADAM ANDREW OLIVER, JR. — She was the eldest daughter of the Hon. Benjamin Lynde, Jr. She was born Jan. 5, 1733. This portrait, being a companion to the former, is a three-quarters length.

It was painted in 1756, and is in the possession of Dr. F. E. Oliver.

OTIS PICTURES. — It is believed that there are portraits by Blackburn in the possession of this family, but no information regarding them can be obtained.

JAMES OTIS. — This portrait represents the Patriot as a young man of about thirty years of age. It was, says William Tudor, painted in 1755. Mr. Otis is dressed in the costume of the time, wearing a white wig. An engraving of the picture, by Durant, is to be found in the "History of James Otis," by William Tudor.

MRS. GILLAM PHILLIPS. — She was Marie Faneuil, the eldest sister of Peter Faneuil, who gave Faneuil Hall. She was born April 16, 1708. She married Mr. Gillam Phillips in 1725. Mr. and Mrs. Phillips lived at the corner of what are now State and Devonshire Streets until the breaking out of the Revolution, when Mr. Phillips, who was a Loyalist, went away. Mrs. Phillips died in Cambridge in 1778. The portrait represents a pretty woman holding in her left hand a jewelled bracelet, which she has just passed around her right arm.

It is in the possession of her great-great-grand-nephew, Mr. W. Eliot Fette.

MRS. PHILLIPS. — This picture, four and one-half feet long by three feet wide, represents a fine-looking woman, dressed in a white satin gown, decorated with bows of blue ribbon. By her right hand she holds her mantle; on her neck and in her ears are pearl ornaments.

The portrait is in the possession of Mrs. Mary Anne Jones, 597 Tremont Street, Boston.

BENJAMIN POLLARD. — He was born in June, 1696; married Margaret Winslow; and died Dec. 26, 1756. This picture is thirty-three inches by twenty-six inches, and represents Mr. Pollard, who was Sheriff of Suffolk County, as wearing a blue dressing-gown, a red waistcoat, with a lace cravat. On his head is a broad dark velvet cap.

MARGARET WINSLOW POLLARD.—She was born May 9, 1724, and died March 25, 1814. This picture, thirty-three inches by twenty-six inches, is a companion to her husband's picture above mentioned. It represents Mrs. Pollard dressed in white satin, cut square in the neck, and fastened with pearls. Her hair is dressed in large curls, unpowdered, and over her arm is a blue scarf.

These two pictures are in the possession of Miss M. V. Winslow, of Boston.

SALTONSTALL FAMILY.—This picture, says Mr. H. W. French, of Hartford (to whom I am indebted for this description), is a family group of four of the children of Governor Saltonstall, who are represented standing around a table. "It is agreeable in arrangement, and certainly finely painted; it is good in drawing and in tone. The flesh tints are not crude, and the draperies are particularly striking for ease and grace of line. The background is admirable in strength and clearness. It is a large picture, six feet by four feet, the figures approaching to life-size."

It is in the possession of a descendant, Mr. R. W. Hubbard, of Brooklyn, N. Y.

MARGARET TEMPLE.—She was a daughter of Hon. Robert Temple, of Ten Hills, near Boston, and Mehitable Nelson. She was married to Mr. Nathaniel Dowse. The canvas measures four feet three inches in height, and three feet four inches in width. The picture represents a young lady dressed in green silk trimmed with lace. She is sitting on a bank in a garden, with a bunch of flowers in her hand.

It is in the possession of her great-nephew, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston.

PATRICK TRACY.—He was born in 1711, and died Feb. 23, 1789. The picture is seven feet six inches long by four feet three inches wide. It represents Mr. Tracy, who was a celebrated merchant of his time, as standing on a wharf, his left hand resting on an anchor. His dress is of a drab cloth, and he wears a white wig. There is some doubt whether this picture was painted by Blackburn or by Copley.

It is in the possession of a descendant, Mr. Patrick Tracy Jackson, of Boston.

EDWARD WINSLOW.—Was born Nov. 1, 1669. He married Hannah Moody, and died Dec. 1, 1753. This picture is thirty by twenty-five inches, and represents Mr. Winslow, who was Sheriff of Suffolk County, dressed in a red coat with gilt buttons, a ruffled shirt, a muslin cravat, and a long flowing dark wig.

GENERAL JOHN WINSLOW.—There is a picture of this distinguished gentleman, signed by Blackburn, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It represents the general dressed in a red coat. Under his arm he carries a three-cornered hat, and on his head is a powdered wig.

JOSHUA WINSLOW.—He was born Feb. 12, 1695, and married Elizabeth Savage. He died Oct. 9, 1769. This picture is thirty

inches by twenty-five inches, and represents Mr. Winslow dressed in a snuff-colored coat and waistcoat, small white wig, and white cravat. He holds a cocked hat under his arm.

This and the portrait of Edward Winslow are in the possession of a descendant, Miss M. V. Winslow, Boston.

THE WINSLOW FAMILY PICTURE.—This picture is six feet six inches long by three feet six inches wide. It represents Isaac, son of Edward Winslow, who was born in 1709. He is dressed in a brown coat. His hair is powdered, and he stands with his left arm resting on a chair, in which sits his wife, Lucy Waldo, born in 1725. Her dark hair is without powder, and her dress, which is very well painted, is of mauve-pink. In her lap sits her daughter Hannah, an infant, aged about two years, in white, looking towards her sister Lucy, who approaches. The costume of the latter is a dark skirt and white over-dress, with jewels looping up the sleeves. Lucy Winslow was born in 1749, and was married, in 1768, to George Erving. Hannah Winslow was born in 1755, and was married, in 1767, to Captain John Wall. This picture was painted in 1757, and represents the family in a garden, with a large tree and iron gates in the background.

It is in the possession of S. W. Winslow, Esq., Pinckney Street, Boston.

John Smibert, says Mrs. William B. Richards (to whom I am indebted for much of my information regarding him), was born in Edinburgh. His father, a lay member of the ecclesiastical council in that city, destined his son for the ministry. While showing no predilection for the Church, John evinced so strong a taste for drawing that his father concluded to allow him to follow the profession of an artist. It was a long time before he attempted to use colors. His first essay was a portrait of a young negro who was brought with his parents from Martinique, and at that time was considered an object of great interest by the inhabitants of the Scottish capital.

It is believed that Smibert passed some time in Italy for the sake of improving himself. On his return, he went to London, where he painted a number of portraits. He was patronized by the learned and eccentric Earl of Bristol, by whom he was probably introduced to his cousin, Chief Justice Lynde, of Salem.

Smibert came to America in company with Harrison, the architect of King's Chapel in Boston, and others who followed in the train of the celebrated Bishop Berkeley. Soon after his arrival, he visited as a guest his friend Chief Justice Lynde, whose portrait he painted. This picture is in the possession of Mrs. William B. Richards, of Boston. At the same time, he painted a portrait of Chief Justice Sewall, who

died not long afterward. This portrait is in the possession of the Judge's descendants, the Misses Ridgway, of Boston.

Smibert married in Boston Mary Williams, July 30th, 1730. Their children were: Allison, William, John, and Nathaniel.

He seems to have been quite successful as an artist, as the inventory of his estate, given by Mr. William H. Whitmore, in his "Early Painters and Engravers of New England," shows that he possessed half of a house and land in Queen (now Court) Street, valued at about £470, 14 acres of land in Roxbury, 109 ounces of silver plate, a silver watch and silver-hilted sword, about 70 pictures of different kinds, silk coverlids, horse and carriage, and a negro girl, "Phillis." His whole property amounted to about £1,400 sterling, considered quite a sum in the year 1752. He was probably fond of music and fencing, as flutes and foils are found among his assets. His house must have been comfortable for the times, as five of the rooms were carpeted. He probably gave instruction in his art to John Singleton Copley, who, though only between thirteen and fourteen years of age at the time of Smibert's death, must have commenced his art studies before that, as he painted a picture in oils — a very poor one, indeed, but still a picture — in his sixteenth year.

Smibert's pictures, so far as my researches have discovered them, are as follows: —

MARGARET SAVAGE ALFORD. — She was born in 1702, and died in 1784. She was the wife of the Hon. John Alford. The portrait is twenty-nine inches by twenty-four inches, and represents the lady dressed in a robe cut square in the neck, with ruffles at the sleeves. Her hair is powdered, and she holds her right hand to her breast.

This picture is in the possession of Mr. Erving Winslow, Boston.

THOMAS BALL. — This gentleman was a sea captain, and is known to have commanded the "Poultney" in 1755, and the "Post Boy" in the same year. He was believed to be a grandson of Sir Peter Ball of the Devonshire family of that name.

This picture is of three-quarters length, and represents the captain as standing in his cabin with a globe and compasses on a table before him. He is dressed in a brown velvet coat, with ruffles at the neck and wrists. On his head is a large powdered wig. He was married in 1728 to Elizabeth Davison. He died on the coast of Guinea in 1755, aged fifty-three years. His estate was estimated at about £2,000.

This picture descended to Hon. William Willis, of Portland, and from him passed to Mr. Henry H. Edes, of Charlestown, the present owner, who is also a descendant in the sixth generation.

CARDINAL GUIDO BENTIVOGLIO. — He was born in 1579; was very distinguished both as a churchman and writer. His account of

the war in Flanders (1633) and his Memoirs (1648) were quite famous in their time.

The portrait is a copy from the original by Antony Vandyke, and belongs to Harvard College.

FRANCIS BRINLEY. — He was born in London in 1690, and married Deborah Lyde in 1718. He died at Roxbury in 1765.

This picture is three-quarters length, and life-size. It represents Mr. Brinley dressed in scarlet, and seated in the open air. In the distance is a large town, — probably Boston, as his house was at Roxbury.

MRS. FRANCIS BRINLEY. — She was Deborah Lyde, and was born in Boston. She was a grand-daughter of Judge Byfield, of the Court of Admiralty.

This picture is three-quarters length, and of life-size. It represents the lady dressed in a blue robe, cut down in front to display a beautiful neck. She is seated in a conservatory. With one of her hands she supports on her lap her infant son, Francis, while with the other she holds a sprig of orange-blossoms, with which she amuses the child. The infant is quite naked, except a cloth about its waist. "One hand is extended toward the flowers, and the whole figure is beautifully painted with all the ease and grace of babyhood."

These pictures were painted in 1729 or 1730, and are in the possession of a great-grandson, Mr. Edward L. Brinley, of Philadelphia.

THOMAS BULFINCH. — He was born in 1694, married Judith Coleman in 1724, and died in December, 1757. The portrait is a half-length, being twenty-nine by twenty-five inches. Mr. Bulfinch is represented dressed in a black suit, and wears a white wig.

It is in the possession of Mrs. Tasker Swett, Boston.

MR. CHANDLER. — This picture is twenty-nine inches high by twenty-four inches wide. It represents the gentleman dressed in a single-breasted gray coat with black cuffs and buttons, a powdered wig, and a white muslin neckcloth. In his left hand he holds a book.

MRS. CHANDLER. — She was the wife of the above-mentioned gentleman, and is painted attired in a green over-dress trimmed with lace. The dress is opened in front, fastened with gold clasps, and shows a black scarf which goes over the head, on which is a lace cap. The hair is dressed without powder, and in her right hand she holds a fan.

Mary Chandler, daughter of this couple, married Benjamin Greene, the son of Nathaniel Greene.

These pictures are in the possession of Mrs. Franklin Dexter, of Beverly.

BENJAMIN COLMAN, D.D. — He was born in 1676; received his degree of A.B. from Harvard College in 1692; was pastor of Brattle

Street Church from 1699 to 1747, when he died. Smibert painted this picture in 1734.

It is now in the possession of Harvard College.

GOVERNOR JOHN ENDICOTT.—He was born in 1589, and died in 1655. He was Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony for six years. This portrait was copied by Smibert, from one taken from life, in 1737.

It is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society

PETER FANEUIL.—This well-known gentleman, the donor of the hall that bears his name to the city of Boston, was born in the year 1700.

The portrait is three-quarters length and life-size. It represents a fine-looking man of middle age, dressed in a light coat of the fashion of the day. He wears a white wig with short curls.

It is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

REV. JOSHUA GEE.—He was born in 1698, ordained in 1723, and died in 1748. The portrait is half-length and life-size. He wears the black gown of a clergyman and a white wig.

MRS. JOSHUA GEE.—She was Anna, daughter of John Gerrish. This is a companion portrait to that of her husband, half-length and life-size.

Both are now in the possession of the Historical Society.

JUDGE JOHN GERRISH.—The size of this picture is thirty by twenty-five inches, and it is three-quarters length. The dress of the figure is of a brown color, with wig and bands. He was a Judge of the Supreme Court of the New Hampshire plantation in 1714.

The portrait is in the possession of his great-great-grand-daughter, Miss Sarah D. Barrett, of Boston.

STEPHEN GREENLEAF.—He was Sheriff of Suffolk, and was born in 1705. A portrait of him painted by Smibert is in the possession of Mrs. Greenleaf Bulfinch, of Cambridge.

MRS. STEPHEN GREENLEAF.—She was Mary Gould, and was born in 1712, and died in 1780. The figure is three-quarters length, and she is represented standing, dressed in a silk robe of a shade which the French call "shadow of gold." The sleeves are trimmed with very handsome English point lace. Her hair is black, dressed close, and decorated with a bow and a string of pearls. Her right hand is extended, seeming to rest on her hoop. In her left hand she holds a white fan. The whole pose of the figure is striking. In the background, through an open window, is a view of some trees, a blue sky, and some low clouds. The picture was painted about the year 1740.

It is in the possession of Mrs. Robert E. Apthorp, of Boston.

LORING PICTURE.—This work represents two children, a boy and a girl, said to be twins. They are dressed in white caps and robes.

The size of the picture is thirty inches long by twenty-five inches wide.

It is in the possession of a member of the family, Mr. Francis C. Loring, of Boston.

HON. BENJAMIN LYNDE. — He was the sixth son of Simeon Lynde, who was an associate justice of the Province with Colonel Shrimpton. He was born in Boston, Sept. 23, 1666, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1686. He was educated for the bar at the Middle Temple, London. He married April 27, 1699, Mary, the daughter of the Hon. William Brown, of Salem; and her picture, painted in England by Sir Godfrey Kneller, is in the possession of Dr. Oliver, of Boston.

Judge Lynde was appointed to the Bench in 1712, and was Chief Justice of the Province from 1728 until his death in 1745, at the age of seventy-nine.

This portrait was painted in 1738, and represents the Judge dressed in a dark-green velvet coat with gold buttons. On his head is a judge's wig, with lappets falling to the breast. The picture, which is half-length, in an oval, is very well painted. The expression is dignified and venerable, without being stiff.

The picture is in the possession of Dr. F. E. Oliver, of Boston.

HON. BENJAMIN LYNDE. — This portrait of the Judge is also by Smibert. It is quite a remarkable picture, and one in which the artist seems to have excelled himself. "Competent judges have pronounced this to be the best male portrait ever painted by Smibert." It is said that Smibert was introduced to Chief Justice Lynde, in England, by his cousin the Earl of Bristol, for whom he painted several pictures. It is known, also, that, when Smibert came to America, he was a guest of the Chief Justice. These circumstances will account for the extraordinary pains bestowed on this picture, which is in the possession of a descendant, Mrs. William B. Richards, of Boston.

HON. BENJAMIN LYNDE, JR. — He was born Oct. 5, 1700. Was graduated at Harvard College in 1718, and married Mary, daughter of Major John Bowles, Nov. 1, 1731. He was appointed to the Common Pleas Bench in 1739, became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and died Oct. 9, 1781. The picture was painted about 1738. It is a half-length, in an oval, and represents Judge Lynde in middle life. His dress is a brown velvet coat, opened to show the waistcoat underneath. The cravat is drawn through a buttonhole. A white wig completes his costume.

MADAM BENJAMIN LYNDE. — She was Mary, daughter of John Bowles, of Roxbury, and was born Sept. 6, 1709; was married to the Hon. Benjamin Lynde, Jr., Nov. 1, 1731; and died May 3, 1790. She was the great-great-grand-daughter of John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians and the translator of the Bible into their language. This portrait is a half-length, in an oval, and represents a lady of about twenty-eight years of age, dressed in a scarlet velvet robe. Her hair

is worn short. She has a fine expression, and the flesh tints are better painted than in most of Smibert's pictures.

These pictures are in the possession of Dr. F. E. Oliver, of Boston.

JAMES McSPARRAN, D. D. — He arrived as a missionary at Narragansett in 1720, and commenced his work at St. Paul's Church, Kingston. In 1722, he married Hannah, daughter of William Gardiner, Esq. Dr. McSparran was a voluminous and powerful writer, and, as a preacher, exceedingly eloquent and persuasive. He received the degree of "D. D." from the University of Glasgow. This portrait represents him as a fine-looking man of about forty-five years of age. He wears a black silk gown, white bands, and a white wig.

MRS. JAMES McSPARRAN. — She is represented in this picture as a very handsome woman. Her hair, which is dark brown, is dressed without powder, with a long curl falling upon her shoulder. Her eyes, which are dark, are particularly fine. She is dressed in blue. Mrs. McSparran was always remarkable for her beauty, and was known by the sobriquet of "handsome Hannah." These two pictures are square, half-length, the portraits being painted in an oval.

They are in the possession of Mrs. Dr. Elton, of Dorchester.

HON. DANIEL OLIVER. — He was a son of Captain Peter Oliver, and was born 28th of February, 1664, and died July 23, 1732.

MADAM DANIEL OLIVER. — The wife of the preceding was a sister of Governor Belcher. She was born Jan. 12, 1678, was married in April, 1696, and died in 1735. These pictures are three-quarters length.

OLIVER FAMILY. — Daniel Oliver, Jr., was born Jan. 14, 1704, and died in London, July 5, 1727.

Hon. Andrew Oliver, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, was born March 28, 1706, married for his first wife, 20th of June, 1728, Mary Fitch, and his second wife was Mary Sanford, sister of Mrs. Hutchinson. Governor Oliver died March 3, 1774.

Hon. Peter Oliver, Chief Justice of the Province, was born 26th of March, 1713, and died in Birmingham, England, 13th of October, 1791.

This group represents the three sons of the Hon. Daniel Oliver. They are dressed in costume appropriate to young gentlemen of that day, — the picture being painted about the year 1730.

MADAM ANDREW OLIVER. — She was the daughter of the Hon. Thomas Fitch; was born 28th of October, 1706, and died 26th of November, 1732. This portrait is of three-quarters length, and was painted in 1730.

The above-described pictures are in the possession of a member of the family, Dr. F. E. Oliver, of Boston.

OTIS FAMILY. — There were two portraits, said to be by Smibert, in the possession of the late Allyne Otis, of Newport.

ANDREW PEPPERELL. — He was the son of the first Sir William Pepperell, and was drowned in Portsmouth Harbor in 1751. He is represented dressed in a square-cut brown coat, with lace ruffles and cravat, and his hair is without powder. In his right hand he holds a pistol.

This picture is in the possession of Mr. Erving Winslow, of Boston.

JUDGE EDMUND QUINCY. — The figure is of half-length and life-size. It represents the subject dressed in the official robe and wig of an English judge.

The following memorandum, by Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, seems of such interest that the writer concludes to copy it entire: —

"Edmund Quincy, born in Braintree, Massachusetts Bay, Oct. 4, 1681. The son of Edmund Quincy (1627-1698) by his second marriage with Elizabeth Gookin Eliot, daughter of General D. Gookin, and widow of Rev. John Eliot, the eldest son of the Apostle to the Indians.

"Edmund Quincy graduated at Harvard College, 1699. He inherited the estate at Mount Wollaston, granted by the town of Boston, 1635, to his grandfather, Edmund Quincy, of England, and purchased by him of Chickatabot, the Sachem of the Massachusetts Indians. In 1701, he married Dorothy Flynt, daughter of Rev. Josiah Flynt, of Dorchester, Massachusetts Bay. He enlarged the house of his father in which he resided, and made the walk and canal near it, which remain in good preservation (1878).

"In 1713, he was commissioned, by Governor Dudley, Colonel of the Suffolk Regiment. Commissioned a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Massachusetts Bay, by Governor Shute, in 1718. Re-commissioned by Governor Burnet in 1728, and in 1733 by Governor Belcher. He held the office of a Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts Bay nineteen years, until he was appointed agent for the Colony at the Court of Great Britain, 1737. He died Feb. 23, 1738, aged fifty-seven years. The General Assembly of Massachusetts Bay erected a marble monument over his grave in Bunhill-Fields, with a Latin inscription, which, in the translation, terminates as follows: —

"He departed the delight of his own people, but of none more than the Senate, who, as a testimony of their love and gratitude, have ordered this Epitaph to be inscribed on his monument.

"He died in London, Feb. 23, 1738, aged 57 years."

"The General Assembly gave to his heirs one thousand acres of land in the town of Lenox, Massachusetts Bay.

"Judge Edmund Quincy left his home farm and the house in which he resided to his eldest son, Edmund (H. C. 1722). To his youngest son, Josiah (H. C. 1728), his lower farm of about three hundred acres, which became the property and residence of his great-grandson, Josiah Quincy (1790), and in 1878 is yet in his family.

"John Smibert painted two portraits of Judge E. Quincy; the date is not precisely known, but must have been 1737, and probably earlier. The portrait inherited by the late Josiah Quincy (1772-1864)

was presented by his children, in 1876, to the Art Museum in Boston.

"The other portrait was for many years in the possession of the late Edmund Quincy, of Dedham (1808-1877), by whom it was bequeathed to his eldest son, Edmund Quincy, in 1878, its present owner."

THOMAS SAVAGE. — He died young, about 1710. This picture is twenty-nine inches by twenty-four inches, and represents a youth wearing a dressing-gown, lace cravat, and seated on a stool. In his left hand he holds a flower.

It is in the possession of Mr. Erving Winslow.

JOSEPH SEWALL, D. D. — He was pastor of the Old South Church, and a son of the Chief Justice. This picture is a half-length, and represents Dr. Sewall as a young man with long flowing brown hair. He is dressed in his robes and bands.

The portrait is in the possession of his descendants, the Salisbury family of Boston.

CHIEF JUSTICE SEWALL. — This is a very large picture, representing the Judge in extreme old age. Indeed, he died soon after Smibert's first visit to Boston as a guest of Chief Justice Lynde, and it would seem not improbable that, owing to the success of Chief Justice Lynde's portrait, Judge Sewall was induced to sit. This picture is in the possession of his descendants, the Misses Ridgway, of Boston.

MRS. JOHN SMIBERT, the Artist's Wife. — This portrait represents a pretty young woman with dark hair and eyes. She is dressed in a green robe. It is a half-length: the canvas is square, but the portrait is set in an oval.

It is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

WILLIAM TYLER. — This picture, a half-length, represents a stout middle-aged gentleman, in the costume of the time.

It belongs to the New England Historic-Genealogical Society.

It seems worth while to mention, in connection with John Smibert's pictures, two portraits painted by his son Nathaniel. These are: —

JOHN LOVELL. — He was born in 1708, was graduated from Harvard College in 1728, and became the Master of the Boston Latin School the same year. His career there is famous. He died in 1778.

The portrait is in the possession of Harvard College.

DOROTHY WENDELL. — This picture is two feet five inches high by two feet in width. The lady was a daughter of Major John and Elizabeth (Quincy) Wendell. She was born 19th March, 1733, and died 3d April, 1822. Major Wendell's house was at the corner of Tremont and Court Streets. The portrait is in the possession of Dr. J. L. Hale, of Boston.*

* For Addenda to these pictures, see page 474. — Eds.

The President read a letter from Captain Patterson, Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey, forwarding a new circular, to be considered a substitute for the communication presented in June last. He stated also that Captain Fox, the Chairman of the Committee to which the communication of the Coast Survey was referred at our June meeting, had sent a letter asking to be excused from further service, owing to proposed absence from the country. He then called on Mr. Tuttle to report for that committee. That gentleman stated that the new circular announced a somewhat radical change of plan on the part of the Coast Survey, and suggested that the committee should be discharged, and another appointed to begin the matter *de novo*. Whereupon it was

Voted, To discharge the committee appointed June 13th to consider a communication from the Coast Survey.

The President then appointed, as a new committee on this subject, Messrs. Tuttle, Green, and C. F. Adams, Jr.; and the circular from Captain Patterson was referred to them.

The new circular letter here follows:—

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, Dec. 1, 1878.

DEAR SIR,— Many complaints have been made by persons interested in the geographical nomenclature of this country, that the names of mountains, headlands, streams, islands, small towns, &c., &c., possessing historical interest and value, or which have been established for generations, orally or by record, are capriciously and arbitrarily changed; and this office is appealed to in reference to establishing and maintaining the true names by adopting them upon its charts and maps.

To determine the correct names for the geographical features of our country is frequently perplexing from the cause complained of, as well as from the repetition and multiplication of names, and also in many cases from their absence.

It is in the interest of the public service that the true names should be ascertained and adhered to unalterably; and this office will, within the sphere of its duties, be glad to contribute to such a result.

Generally the names used by the Survey are those which the established usage of the locality has settled upon. When such are found to be confirmed by history and the public records, they ought not to be changed by any authority whatever.

It is manifestly impossible for the Survey to investigate exhaustively the subject of nomenclature throughout the country, although every effort within our means is made to be correct.

It would greatly aid the object in view if organized societies interested in the subject would examine specified charts issued by this office. These, if applied for, will be sent, on condition that the observed

errors or omissions in names be marked, and proofs in regard to them furnished to the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D. C. In this way, the accuracy of the charts issued by this office will be more firmly established in public estimation, and their value accordingly increased.

I take this occasion to refer to the general nomenclature in use. The confusion arising from the causes named, and cases of individual variety, could be obviated certainly with regard to the physical features of the country, if some of the State societies would interest themselves in discussing and proposing some uniform system of applying, as far as possible, names where none have been established by long usage.

The Government, in its different Departments, makes great use of aboriginal, the old English, French, and Spanish names. The first are inexhaustible in number, euphonious, and always significant appellatives descriptive of the locality. In all parts of our country, these names abound, though the races who used them have ceased to exist. To rescue many of these beautiful names from oblivion, to restore and reapply them to their ancient localities, under proper supervision, would seem to offer a common ground for establishing and maintaining a uniform system of nomenclature commending itself to public approbation.

Very respectfully,

C. P. PATTERSON,
Supt. Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The President exhibited from his family papers some original lists of Indian names. One of these, an agreement on the part of the captive Pequot Indians to remove to such place as might be selected by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, possessed interest as having attached to many of the names the marks made by the Indians themselves as signatures.

This agreement here follows: *—

* In 1654, the Connecticut authorities found it advisable to attack Ninigrett, who had commenced war with the Long Island Indians. They brought the matter to the attention of the Commissioners at their meeting at Hartford in September; and these, after sending a messenger to the sachem, who brought back an unsatisfactory reply, decided to send a force from the United Colonies against him. The command was given to Major Willard. The story of his expedition, which accomplished little or nothing, is told in "Trumbull's Connecticut," vol. i. pp. 222, 223, and in the "Records of the Commissioners." The narrative of Major Willard, printed in the latter, says ("Plymouth Colony Records," vol. x. p. 147): "This day [Oct. 16th] there came in to vs, and gaue in their names, to the number of 73. The 17th day there came in to vs more Pequots that liued near to Ninnegrett, which before wee comaunded to bringe away their house and goods, which thinge they did, and gaue in their names as the rest did, to the number of 36." The text of the agreement also is given in Willard's narrative. The original paper signed by these Indians is the one from which we print. It is indorsed in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut. "The names of the Pequots at Pakatuck and Waquepage taken by Major Willard." A heliotype of it is also given here.

—Eds.

PAUQUATUCK, 16th October, 1654.

Wee whose names are vnderwritten, being Captiue Pequotts and tributaries to y^e English, and hauing liued sometimes under y^e p^{te}ction of Ninigrett, doe freely consent to y^e Com^{is}sioners of y^e Vnited English Colonies to remooue to such places as y^e s^d Com^{is}sioners doe or shall appoint us, and doe hereby disowne y^e jurisdiction of Ninigrett ouer us, and y^e wee intend really so to doe, wee haue giuen in o^r seuerall names wth o^r owne markes affixed. Ffurther, wee doe hereby engage o^rselues hereafter nott to joyne in any warr wth Ninigrett or any others wthout y^e full and free consent of y^e Com^{is}sioners of y^e Vnited English Colonies.

TOMSQUASH.	TABUMSHOWETT.	AIOQUOAMETT.
WISQHOTCH.	UMBATTENOW.	KEWONTOQUOHITT.
MATTAWOMPSETT.	ASASSAWSH.	KEQUAUMO.
CHEMACOSSO.	CHICKETABATT	PESAKONTOCK.
PIACOECON.	KIKKUES.	WAUPJ.
PEWEOMONT.	NANOWOMETT.	SEGOU.
ACOWAMENEQUOTT.	MACHOISE.	PASSEKOU.
WAPAWNUMQUOTT.	WINNEHU.	SOSONGKABAKEN.
TAMEQUAJONT.	NAMOWITT.	MATTAQUASHENT.
WISANACOMEN.	NOMATTUN.	WIWABAKEN.
MEANTOQUONEG.	EYPSQUISH.	WEWINOUHKAMUCK.
TASSOUCOMEN.	KUNOCKUM.	PACQUETOUN.
NAHNOWETT.	SEPALOJETT.	QUIDOMSQUISH.
WJCODIENT.	WITTASIMEN.	SQUONETOW.
WAUPUJ.	CAWKECHAN.	NAKSIK.
WINSKOMOGON.	ACKITTAMENHAS.	CHAUQUX.
KITCHTOWIN.	WAMKOMEN.	PAWQUAJAN.
KONGKAUSEKON.	QUAQUETAHEG.	YAKYANNON.
PESONO.	PAPOMETON.	POSQUISH.
PEQUASSOUGH.	QUEQUOCKUM.	TRACHIN.
ANONOMOW.	POWHAIONT.	MUSCHUSH.
MAWOWATT.	ASQUAWCUTT.	CONKEUMBANS.
WONKHEG.	COSCEPOHONT.	WOTTAMISSON.
AIOTTABITOM.	MATTAMPOWETT.	SEQUASSON.

17th October, 1654.

Ninigrett's Pequotts:—

CONE.	KONKSUEX.	SAPONTUSIK.
WAUTTAMMJ.	QUATOUONT.	MANUNQUAS.
WONNEWOW.	QUATUMOW.	UPAUQUUS.
PONEHIH.	KITTANT.	WAVEOTON.
WAWOMPOM.	WONFOAUNT.	WATCHANAN.
NIPSUMAK.	MAWUN.	CAKOWEHL.
PAPAKAKOW.	MAMATIONANT.	SUEKAUNICK.
WATCHU.	SOKANSQUAITT.	MATWAUAUTT.
JAUX.	MOMOTUSKOW.	KEKNAWITT.
WOWONSON.	QUAUQUETOW.	POBUGABAUG.
NOWOGENOTT.	PENACH.	AIMOMETT.
SEQUANOCKON.	MAKECHAS.	NEKONTUPSH.

Y^e totall is but 108.

⁵⁹
Nanowomett *duw* Styahyannôn

⁶⁰
machoiss 84 posquish

⁶¹
wimmeh 86 Têachin

⁶²
Xanowitt *2r* 87 muschuck

⁶³
Homattun 88 conkeumbans

⁶⁴
Eposquish 89 wottamijson

⁶⁵
Kunochum 90 sequafson *2r*

⁶⁶
Cone *2r* 17. 11. 54 / gi Nimigzatts Pequots

⁶⁷
Wauhammij *2r* 92 mamationant

⁶⁸
womnewoud *2r* 93 sokansquaitt *2r*

⁶⁹
Ponchik *2r* 94 momotuskon *2r*

⁷⁰
wawompom *2r* 95 Quauquetow *2r*

⁷¹
Nipsunmak *2r* 96 Peachammon

⁷²
Papahakon *2r* 97 makehasimmon

⁷³
watchu *2r* 98 sapontusik *2r*

⁷⁴
Jaux *2r* 99 manunquas *2r*

⁷⁵
wawonfon *2r* 100 vpanquas *2r*

⁷⁶
Kawogenott *2r* 101 wawroton *2r*

⁷⁷
Sequanockon *2r* 102 Watchanon *2r*

⁷⁸
Konkonex *2r* 103 Pe-Cakowchi *2r*

⁷⁹
Luatauont *2r* 104 suchanwick *2r*

105 matwauauitt *2r*

Pauquaetuck 16th (C) 1654

wee whose names are underwritten being Captaine Pequotts
 & tributaries to y^e English & having lived sometimes
 under y^e protection of Ninigrett, doe freely consent to y^e
 Commissioners of y^e united English Colonies to remove to
 such places as y^e sd^d Commissioners doe or shall appoint
 us, & doe hereby disowne y^e jurisdiction of Ninigrett
 over us, & y^t we intend ready so to doe we have given
 in a severall names wth a name makes affixed.

Further we doe hereby engage & swear hereafter
 nott to joine in any warre wth Ninigrett or any others
 without y^e full & free consent of y^e Commissioners of y^e
 united English Colonies.

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 1 Tomsquash | 30 Sepalojet |
| 2 Wisqhotch | 31 Wittasimen |
| 3 Mattasompsett | 32 Cawkechan |
| 4 Chemasco | 33 Achittamenhas |
| 5 Piacorogon | 34 Wamkomen |
| 6 Pwecomont | 35 Quaquestahg |
| 7 Acowamunquott | 36 Piapometon |
| 8 Wapianunumquott | 37. Wacquochem |
| 9 Tamquaiont | 38 Powhaiant |
| 10 Wisanonamen | 39 Asquawont |
| 11 Mrautoquoneg | 40 Coscopohant |
| 12 Asbouemen | 41 Mattampowett |
| 13 Nahnowett | 42 Aroquoamett |
| | 43 |

⁷²
Papahakow nmt

⁷³
watchu nmt

⁷⁴
Jaux & n

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wononfon nmt

⁷⁶
~~Kawogenott nmt~~

⁷⁷
sequanochon

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Konkenexina

⁷⁹
Luatonont

⁸⁰
Pekatumow

⁸¹
Kittant n

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wonpauant nmt

⁸³
maun nmt

98 sapontusik nmt

99 manunguas nmt

100 vpaunguas nmt

101 wawroton nmt

102 Watchanon nmt

103 Pa-Cakowchi nmt

104 Suckanich nmt

105 matwauant nmt

106 Kekaawitt nmt

107 Pobugabang nmt

108 Aionomitt nmt

109 Nzhantipsk

110 Solullif. Sub. 108

7 Acowamnuquott *Fr*

8 Wapiainnuquott *AV*

9 Tamiquajont *W*

10 Wisanonamen *C*

11 Mreantogoneg *(W)*

12 Tafsoneomen *B*

13 Nahnowett

14 Wajcodientago

15 Waupij

16 Winskomogon

17 Kitchtowin

18 Konykamsikon

19 Pesôno

20 Preqasough

21 Anonemozo

22 Mawowatt

23 Wondheg

24 Wottabitom

25 Tabumshawett

26 Umbattanoro

27 Asafsawsk

28 Chichetabatt

29 Kikkues

37. qrequeckum *bu*

38 Powhaiant *nanor*

39 Asquawant *Fr*

40 Coscopohent *Fr*

41 Mattampowett *W*

42 Aroquoamett *S*

43 Kewontoguelitt *Fr*

44 Prewanano

45 Preakentock *W*

46 Waupij

47 Segou

48 Pafsikon

49 Sosongkabakon

50 Mattaquahent

51 Wimbakon

52 Wewinouhkamuch

53 Paquetoun

54 Luidomsquish

55 Squonetow

56 Nakeik

57 Changux

58 Wawquajan

The President called attention to the prospectus for the third session of the "Congrès International des Américanistes," to be held at Brussels in September next; and to a serial of our own Proceedings containing the records of the September and October meetings, copies of which were upon the table to-day.

Dr. Holmes, through Mr. Winthrop, announced that the Memoir of John Lothrop Motley, which he had been appointed to prepare, would be published immediately, by Messrs. Houghton, Osgood, & Co., as had been agreed by the committee to whom their application for this privilege, made in June last, was referred. As the Memoir had grown to a size greater than was expected at first, Dr. Holmes had revised the original draft, and had made numerous omissions so as to bring it within limits suited to publication also in the Proceedings; and he now laid on the table an abridgment which he had prepared for that purpose.

MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, LL.D.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, M.D.

JOHN MOTLEY, the great-grandfather of the subject of this Memoir, came in the earlier part of the last century from Belfast in Ireland to Falmouth, now Portland, in the District, now the State, of Maine. He was twice married, and had ten children, four of the first marriage and six of the last. Thomas, the youngest son by his first wife, married Emma, a daughter of John Wait, the first Sheriff of Cumberland County under the government of the United States. Two of their seven sons, Thomas and Edward, removed from Portland to Boston in 1802, and established themselves as partners in commercial business, continuing united and prosperous for nearly half a century before the firm was dissolved.

The earlier records of New England have preserved the memory of an incident which deserves mention, as showing how the historian's life was saved by a quick-witted hand-maid, more than a hundred years before he was born.

On the 29th of August, 1708, the French and Indians from Canada made an attack upon the town of Haverhill, in Massachusetts. Thirty or forty persons were slaughtered, and many others were carried captive into Canada.

The minister of the town, Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, was killed by a bullet through the door of his house. Two of his daughters, Mary, aged thirteen, and Elizabeth, aged nine, were sleeping in a room with the maid-servant, Hagar. When Hagar heard the whoop of the savages, she seized the children, ran with them into the cellar, and, after concealing them under two large wash-tubs, hid herself. The Indians ransacked the cellar, but missed the prey. Elizabeth, the

younger of the two girls, grew up and married the Rev. Samuel Checkley, first minister of the "New South" Church, Boston. Her son, Rev. Samuel Checkley, Junior, was minister of the Second Church, and his successor, Rev. John Lothrop, or Lathrop, as it was more commonly spelled, married his daughter. Dr. Lothrop was great-grandson of Rev. John Lothrop, of Scituate, who had been imprisoned in England for nonconformity. The Checkleys were from Preston Capes, in Northamptonshire. The name is probably identical with that of the Chicheles or Chichleys, a well-known Northamptonshire family.

Thomas Motley married Anna, daughter of the Rev. John Lothrop, grand-daughter of the Rev. Samuel Checkley, Junior, the Boston ministers mentioned above, both honored in their day and generation. Eight children were born of this marriage, of whom four are still living.

JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, the second of these children, was born in Dorchester, now a part of Boston, Massachusetts, on the 15th of April, 1814. A member of his family gives a most pleasing and interesting picture, from his own recollections and from what his mother told him, of the childhood which was to develop into such rich maturity. The boy was rather delicate in organization, and not much given to outdoor amusements, except skating and swimming, of which last exercise he was very fond in his younger days, and in which he excelled. He was a great reader, never idle, but always had a book in his hand,—a volume of poetry or one of the novels of Scott or Cooper. His fondness for plays and declamation is illustrated by the story told by a younger brother, who remembers being wrapped up in a shawl and kept quiet by sweetmeats, while he figured as the dead Cæsar, and his brother, the future historian, delivered the speech of Antony over his prostrate body. He was of a most sensitive nature, easily excited, but not tenacious of any irritated feelings, with a quick sense of honor, and the most entirely truthful child, his mother used to say, that she had ever seen. Such are some of the recollections of those who knew him in his earliest years and in the most intimate relations.

His father's family was living at this time in the house No. 7 Walnut Street, looking down Chestnut Street, over the water to the western hills. Near by were the residences of Hon. John Phillips, the first Mayor of the City of Boston, and of Mr. Nathan Appleton, widely known and honorably

remembered as a leader in our manufactures, and an influential member of Congress. Young Motley's early playmates were two boys whose names have since become familiar to the public, — Thomas Gold Appleton and Wendell Phillips. One of their favorite amusements was acting in certain melodramas of their own concoction, in which the boy historian, the wit of later days, and the embryo orator might have been seen enacting the parts of heroes and bandits in costumes more or less appropriate to their assumed characters.

Both these early companions of Motley have favored me with their recollections of him at that time and in after years. From his father he seems to have inherited the playful and satirical element which always belonged to him, from his mother a sensitive and affectionate nature; from both, personal gifts of a remarkably attractive quality, for both were noted for their beauty, and the mother especially for a noble and benignant presence. Young Motley was tall, graceful in movement and gesture, and eminently handsome. His literary turn showed itself very early, for at about the age of eleven he began writing a novel, of which two chapters were finished, but which seems to have come to a premature end, like many of his early efforts.

During the years 1822 and 1823, or a part of them, Motley was a scholar in the Boston Latin School. At the first annual dinner of the Latin School Association in 1876, he sent the following letter in reply to an invitation to be present on that occasion: —

5 SEAMORE PLACE, MAYFAIR,
LONDON, 21 Oct. '76.

DEAR SIR, — Your letter of 9 Oct. inviting me to a dinner on 8 Nov. next of the Boston Latin School Association, in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the reopening of the school after the evacuation of Boston by the British, was received yesterday.

Although I am quite unable to be present with you on this interesting occasion, yet believe me that I am very deeply touched at being so kindly remembered. It would have been most agreeable to me to meet the Association, and among them some of my old schoolmates, now honored and well-beloved friends.

I should have liked to write more fully, but the condition of my health makes it difficult for me to write at all. But I wish at least in these few words to join my humble testimony with that of all lovers of sound learning and generous culture to the high merits of our ancient public school, still second to none in the country, as I firmly believe, in the capacity to lay the groundwork of a thorough and accurate classical education, the love of which I sincerely trust may never perish among us.

For one I have been accustomed my life long to express my gratitude for the excellent teachings imparted at the school, in the days of Mr. Gould and Mr. Leverett when I had the privilege of being a member of it, and my constant regret for having so insufficiently profited by them.

With renewed thanks for the honor of your invitation, and most sincere wishes for the continued prosperity of the Boston Latin School,
I am, dear sir, very respectfully yours,

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY.

JOSEPH HEALY, Esq., *Secretary.*

After passing a year at Mr. Green's school at Jamaica Plain, he went to the school at Round Hill, Northampton, then under the care of Mr. Cogswell and Mr. Bancroft. While there, he was noted for his facility in acquiring languages, for his excellence as a reader and a writer, and was naturally much admired and flattered. He learned with great ease and rapidity, and was disposed to follow his own bent in his studies rather than to keep closely to his textbooks. While at this school, he acquired a knowledge of the German language and its literature, which was a rare accomplishment in the school-boys of that period.

At the age of thirteen, he entered Harvard College. The ease with which he learned gave him a high rank during the first year, but later in his college life betrayed him into negligence of his studies, so that at last he was sent away for a time. He came back sobered down, and studied rather more diligently, but without trying for college rank.

He was not what is called a popular young man, in spite of the brilliant qualities recognized by his fellow-collegians. His fastidiousness no doubt betrayed itself in his manners with those whom he did not like. His mind was full of projects which kept him in an excited and unnatural condition.

"He had a small writing-table," Mr. Phillips says, "with a shallow drawer; I have often seen it half full of sketches, unfinished poems, soliloquies, a scene or two of a play, prose portraits of some pet character, etc. These he would read to me, though he never volunteered to do so, and every now and then he burnt the whole, and began to fill the drawer again."

My friend, Mr. John Osborne Sargent, who was a year before him in college, says, in a very interesting letter with which he has favored me:—

"My first acquaintance with him [Motley] was at Cambridge, when he came there from Mr. Cogswell's school at Round Hill. He then had a good deal of the shyness that was just pronounced enough to make

him interesting, and which did not entirely wear off till he left college. . . . I soon became acquainted with him, and we used to take long walks together, sometimes taxing each other's memory for poems or passages from poems that had struck our fancy. Shelley was then a great favorite of his, and I remember that Praed's verses, then appearing in the 'New Monthly,' he thought very clever and brilliant, and was fond of repeating them. You have forgotten, or perhaps never knew, that Motley's first appearance in print was in 'The Collegian.' He brought me one day, in a very modest mood, a translation from Goethe, which I was most happy to oblige him by inserting. It was very prettily done, and will now be a curiosity. . . . How it happened that Motley wrote only one piece I do not remember."

I gather some other interesting facts from a letter which I have received from his early playmate and school and college classmate, Mr. T. G. Appleton:—

"In his Sophomore year, he kept abreast of the prescribed studies, but his heart was out of bounds, as it often had been at Round Hill when chasing squirrels or rabbits through forbidden forests. Already his historical interest was shaping his life. A tutor coming—by chance, let us hope—to his room, remonstrated with him upon the heaps of novels upon his table.

"'Yes,' said Motley, 'I am reading historically, and have come to the novels of the nineteenth century. Taken in the lump, they are very hard reading.'"

All Old Cambridge people know the Brattle House, with its gambrel roof, its tall trees, its perennial spring, its legendary fame of good fare and hospitable board in the days of the kindly old *bon vivant*, Major Brattle. In this house the two young students, Appleton and Motley, lived during a part of their college course.

"Motley's room was on the ground-floor, the room to the left of the entrance. He led a very pleasant life there, tempering his college duties with the literature he loved, and receiving his friends amidst elegant surroundings, which added to the charm of his society. Occasionally we amused ourselves by writing for the magazines and papers of the day. Mr. Willis had just started a slim monthly, written chiefly by himself, but with the true magazine flavor. We wrote for that, and sometimes verses in the corner of a paper called 'The Anti-Masonic Mirror,' in which corner was a woodcut of Apollo, inviting to destruction ambitious youths by the legend underneath,

'Much yet remains unsung.'

These pieces were usually dictated to each other, the poet recumbent upon the bed and a classmate ready to carry off the manuscript for the paper of the following day. 'Blackwood's' was then in its glory, its

pages redolent of 'mountain dew,' in every sense; the humor of the Shepherd, the elegantly brutal onslaughts upon Whigs and Cockney poets by Christopher North, intoxicated us youths.

"It was young writing, and made for the young. The opinions were charmingly wrong, and its enthusiasm was half Glenlivet. But this delighted the boys. There were no reprints then, and to pass the paper-cutter up the fresh inviting pages was like swinging over the heather arm in arm with Christopher himself. It is a little singular that, though we had a college magazine of our own, Motley rarely if ever wrote for it. I remember a translation from Goethe, 'The Ghost-Seer,' which he may have written for it, and a poem upon the White Mountains. Motley spoke at one of the college exhibitions an Essay on Goethe so excellent that Mr. Joseph Cogswell sent it to Madame Goethe, who, after reading it, said, 'I wish to see the first book that young man will write.'"

Although Motley did not aim at or attain a high college rank, the rules of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, which confine the number of members to the first sixteen of each class, were stretched so as to include him; a tribute to his recognized ability, and an evidence that a distinguished future was anticipated for him.

Of the two years divided between the Universities of Berlin and Göttingen I have little to record. That he studied hard I cannot doubt; that he found himself in pleasant social relations with some of his fellow-students seems probable from the portraits he has drawn in his first story, "Morton's Hope," and is rendered certain so far as one of his companions is concerned. Among the records of the past to which he referred during his last visit to this country was a letter which he took from a collection of papers and handed me to read one day when I was visiting him. The letter was written in a very lively and exceedingly familiar vein. It implied such intimacy, and called up in such a lively way the gay times Motley and himself had had together in their youthful days, that I was puzzled to guess who could have written to him from Germany in that easy and off-hand fashion. I knew most of his old friends who would be like to call him by his baptismal name in its most colloquial form, and exhausted my stock of conjectures unsuccessfully before looking at the signature. I confess that I was surprised, after laughing at the hearty and almost boyish tone of the letter, to read at the bottom of the page the signature of Bismarck. I will not say that I suspect Motley of having drawn the portrait of his friend in one of the characters of "Morton's Hope," but it is not hard to point out traits in one of them

which we can believe may have belonged to the great Chancellor at an earlier period of life than that at which the world contemplates his overshadowing proportions.

Hoping to learn something of Motley during the two years when we lost sight of him, I addressed a letter to His Highness Prince Bismarck, to which I received the following reply:—

FOREIGN OFFICE, BERLIN, March 11, 1878.

SIR,—I am directed by Prince Bismarck to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st of January, relating to the biography of the late Mr. Motley. His Highness deeply regrets that the state of his health and pressure of business do not allow him to contribute personally, and as largely as he would be delighted to do, to your depicting of a friend whose memory will be ever dear to him. Since I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Mr. Motley at Varzin, I have been intrusted with communicating to you a few details I have gathered from the mouth of the Prince. I enclose them as they are jotted down, without any attempt at digestion.

I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

LOTHAIR BUCHER.

Prince Bismarck said: I met Motley at Göttingen in 1832, I am not sure if at the beginning of Easter Term or Michaelmas Term. He kept company with German students, though more addicted to study than we members of the fighting clubs (:corps:). Although not having mastered yet the German language, he exercised a marked attraction by a conversation sparkling with wit, humor, and originality. In autumn of 1833, having both of us migrated from Göttingen to Berlin for the prosecution of our studies, we became fellow-lodgers in the house No. 161 Friedrich Strasse. There we lived in the closest intimacy, sharing meals and outdoor exercise. Motley by that time had arrived at talking German fluently; he occupied himself not only in translating Goethe's poem "Faust," but tried his hand even in composing German verses. Enthusiastic admirer of Shakspeare, Byron, Goethe, he used to spice his conversation abundantly with quotations from these his favorite authors. A pertinacious arguer, so much so that sometimes he watched my awakening in order to continue a discussion on some topic of science, poetry, or practical life, cut short by the chime of the small hours, he never lost his mild and amiable temper. Our faithful companion was Count Alexander *Keyserling*, a native of Courland, who has since achieved distinction as a botanist.

Motley having entered the diplomatic service of his coun-

try, we had frequently the opportunity of renewing our friendly intercourse; at Frankfurt he used to stay with me, the welcome guest of my wife; we also met at Vienna, and, later, here. The last time I saw him was in 1872 at Varzin, at the celebration of my "silver wedding," viz., the 25th anniversary.

The most striking feature of his handsome and delicate appearance was uncommonly large and beautiful eyes. He never entered a drawing-room without exciting the curiosity and sympathy of the ladies.

It is but a glimpse of their young life that the great statesman gives us, but a bright and pleasing one. Here were three students, one of whom was to range in the flowery fields of the loveliest of the sciences, another to make the dead past live over again in his burning pages, and a third to extend an empire, as the botanist spread out a plant and the historian laid open a manuscript.

Of the years passed in the study of Law after his return from Germany I have very little recollection, and nothing of importance to record. He never became seriously engaged in the practice of the profession he had chosen. I had known him pleasantly rather than intimately, and our different callings tended to separate us. I met him, however, not very rarely, at one house where we were both received with the greatest cordiality, and where the attractions brought together many both young and old to enjoy the society of its charming and brilliant inmates. This was at number 14 Temple Place, where Mr. Park Benjamin was then living with his two sisters, both in the bloom of young womanhood. Here Motley found the wife to whom his life owed so much of its success and its happiness. He was married to Mary Elizabeth Benjamin on the 2d of March, 1837. His intimate friend, Mr. Joseph Lewis Stackpole, was married at about the same time to her sister, thus joining still more closely in friendship the two young men who were already like brothers in their mutual affections.

Two years after his marriage, in 1839, appeared his first work, a novel in two volumes, called "Morton's Hope." He had little reason to be gratified with its reception. The general verdict was not favorable to it, and the leading critical journal of America, not usually harsh or cynical in its treatment of native authorship, did not even give it a place among its "Critical Notices," but dropped a small-print extinguisher

upon it in one of the pages of its "List of New Publications." Nothing could be more utterly disheartening than the critical sentence passed upon the story. At the same time, the critic says that "no one can read 'Morton's Hope' without perceiving it to have been written by a person of uncommon resources of mind and scholarship."

It must be confessed that, as a story, "Morton's Hope" cannot endure a searching or even a moderately careful analysis. It is wanting in cohesion, in character, even in a proper regard to circumstances of time and place; it is a map of dissected incidents which has been flung out of its box and has arranged itself without the least regard to chronology or geography. It is not difficult to trace in it many of the influences which had helped in forming or deforming the mind of the young man of twenty-five not yet come into possession of his full inheritance of the slowly ripening qualities which were yet to assert their robust independence. How could he help admiring Byron and falling into more or less unconscious imitation of his moods, if not of his special affections? Passion showing itself off against a dark foil of cynicism; sentiment, ashamed of its own self-betrayal, and sneering at itself from time to time for fear of the laugh of the world at its sincerity, — how many young men were spoiled and how many more injured by becoming bad copies of a bad ideal! The blood of Don Juan ran in the veins of Vivian Grey and Pelham. But read the fantastic dreams of Disraeli, the intellectual dandyisms of Bulwer, remembering the after careers of which they were the preludes, and we can understand how there might well be something in those earlier efforts which would betray itself in the way of thought and in the style of the young men who read them during the plastic period of their minds and characters. Allow for all these influences, allow for whatever impressions his German residence and his familiarity with German literature had produced; accept the fact that the story is to the last degree disjointed, improbable, impossible; lay it aside as a complete failure in what it attempted to be, and read it, as "Vivian Grey" is now read, in the light of the career which it heralded.

"Morton's Hope" is not to be read as a novel: it is to be studied as an autobiography, a prophecy, a record of aspirations, disguised under a series of incidents which are flung together with no more regard to the unities than a pack of shuffled playing-cards.

The ideal picture he has drawn is only a fuller portraiture

of the youth whose outlines have been already sketched by the companions of his earlier years. If his hero says, "I breakfasted with a pen behind my ear, and dined in company with a folio bigger than the table," one of his family says of the boy Motley that "if there were five minutes before dinner, when he came into the parlor he always took up some book near at hand and began to read until dinner was announced." The same unbounded thirst for knowledge, the same history of various attempts and various failures, the same ambition, not yet fixed in its aim, but showing itself in restless effort, belong to the hero of the story and its narrator.

Let no man despise the first efforts of immature genius. Nothing can be more crude as a novel, nothing more disappointing, than "Morton's Hope." But in no other of Motley's writings do we get such an inside view of his character, with its varied impulses, its capricious appetites, its unregulated forces, its impatient grasp for all kinds of knowledge. With all his university experiences at home and abroad, it might be said with a large measure of truth that he was a self-educated man, as he had been a self-taught boy. His instincts were too powerful to let him work quietly in the common round of school and college training. Looking at him as his companions describe him, as he delineates himself *mutato nomine*, the chances of success would have seemed to all but truly prophetic eyes very doubtful, if not decidedly against him. Too many brilliant young novel-readers and lovers of poetry, excused by their admirers for their shortcomings on the strength of their supposed birthright of "genius," have ended where they began; flattered into the vain belief that they were men at eighteen or twenty, and finding out at fifty that they were and always had been nothing more than boys. It was but a tangled skein of life that Motley's book showed us at twenty-five, and older men might well have doubted whether it would ever be wound off in any continuous thread. To repeat his own words, he had crowded together the materials for his work, but he had no pattern, and consequently never began to weave.

The more this first work of Motley's is examined, the more are its faults as a story and its interest as a self-revelation made manifest to the reader. The future historian, who spared no pains to be accurate, falls into the most extraordinary anachronisms in almost every chapter. Brutus in a bob-wig, Othello in a swallow-tail coat, could hardly be more incongruously equipped than some of his characters in the manner of thought, the phrases, the way of bearing them-

selves, which belong to them in the tale, but never could have belonged to characters of our Revolutionary period. He goes so far in his carelessness as to mix up dates in such a way as almost to prove that he never looked over his own manuscript or proofs.

And yet in the midst of all these marks of haste and negligence, here and there the philosophical student of history betrays himself, the ideal of noble achievement glows in an eloquent paragraph, or is embodied in a loving portrait like that of the Professor and Historian Harlem. The novel, taken in connection with the subsequent developments of the writer's mind, is a study of singular interest. It is a chaos before the creative epoch; the light has not been divided from the darkness; the firmament has not yet divided the waters from the waters. The forces at work in a human intelligence to bring harmony out of its discordant movements are as mysterious, as miraculous, we might truly say, as those which give shape and order to the confused materials out of which habitable worlds are made. It is too late now to be sensitive over this unsuccessful attempt as a story and unconscious success as a self-portraiture. The first sketches of Paul Veronese, the first patterns of the Gobelin tapestry, are not to be criticised for the sake of pointing out their inevitable and too manifest imperfections. They are to be carefully studied as the earliest efforts of the hand that painted the Marriage at Cana, of the art that taught the rude products of the loom to rival the glowing canvas of the great painters. None of his subsequent writings give such an insight into his character and mental history. It took many years to work the transformation of the as yet undisciplined powers and the unarranged material into the orderly methods and the organized connection which were needed to construct a work that should endure. There was a long interval between Motley's early manhood and the middle term of life, during which the slow process of evolution was going on. There are plants which open their flowers with the first rays of the sun; there are others that wait until evening to spread their petals. It was already the high noon of life with him before his genius had truly shown itself; if he had not lived beyond this period, he would have left nothing to give him a permanent name.

In the autumn of 1841 Mr. Motley received the appointment of Secretary of Legation to the Russian Mission, Mr. Todd being then the Minister. Arriving at St. Petersburg

just at the beginning of winter, he found the climate acting very unfavorably upon his spirits, if not upon his health, and was unwilling that his wife and his two young children should be exposed to its rigors. The expense of living, also, was out of proportion to his income, and his letters show that he had hardly established himself in St. Petersburg before he had made up his mind to leave a place where he found he had nothing to do and little to enjoy. He was homesick, too, as a young husband and father with an affectionate nature like his ought to have been under these circumstances. He did not regret having made the experiment, for he knew that he should not have been satisfied with himself if he had not made it. It was his first trial of a career in which he contemplated embarking, and in which he had afterwards an eventful experience. In his private letters to his family, many of which I have had the privilege of looking over, he mentions in detail all the reasons which influenced him in forming his own opinion about the expediency of a continued residence at St. Petersburg, and leaves the decision to her in whose judgment he always had the greatest confidence. No unpleasant circumstance attended his resignation of his Secretaryship, and though it must have been a disappointment to find that the place did not suit him, as he and his family were then situated, it was only at the worst an experiment fairly tried and not proving satisfactory. He left St. Petersburg after a few months' residence, and returned to America. On reaching New York, he was met by the sad tidings of the death of his first-born child, a boy of great promise, who had called out all the affections of his ardent nature. It was long before he recovered from the shock of this great affliction. The boy had shown a very quick and bright intelligence, and his father often betrayed a pride in his gifts and graces which he never for a moment made apparent in regard to his own.

Among the letters which he wrote from St. Petersburg are two miniature ones directed to this little boy. His affectionate disposition shows itself very sweetly in these touching mementos of a love of which his first great sorrow was so soon to be born. Not less charming are his letters to his mother, showing the tenderness with which he always regarded her, and full of the details which he thought would entertain one to whom all that related to her children was always interesting. Of the letters to his wife it is needless to say more than that they always show the depth of the love he bore her and the absolute trust he placed in her,

consulting her always as his nearest and wisest friend and adviser, — one in all respects fitted

“To warn, to comfort, and command.”

He could not be happy alone, and there were good reasons why his family should not join him in St. Petersburg.

“With my reserved habits,” he says, “it would take a great deal longer to become intimate here than to thaw the Baltic. I have only to ‘knock that it shall be opened to me,’ but that is just what I hate to do. . . . ‘Man delights not me, no, nor woman neither.’ ”

Disappointed in his expectations, but happy in the thought of meeting his wife and children, he came back to his household to find it clad in mourning.

A letter to his brother-in-law, Mr. Park Benjamin, dated December 17th, 1844, contains a very full and ardent expression of his political views at that time. He was very much excited at the election of Mr. Polk over Mr. Clay. Of the latter candidate he entertained the most exalted opinion, while the former was for him “Mr. Quelconque,” — Mr. Anybody. He went so far as to think that this election settled the point that a statesman could never again be called to the head of the government. The letter is a characteristic one, coming from a high-spirited young man, burning with enthusiasm, which at times runs into something like extravagance. But it is written with manly vigor, with an impassioned feeling for the honor of the country, and a scorn which does not measure its words for “the very dirty politics” which he finds mixed up with our popular institutions. He himself had taken an active part in the election campaign, as he speaks of “having made two stump speeches of an hour and a half each, one in Dedham town-hall, and one in Jamaica Plain, with such eminent success that many invitations came to me from the surrounding villages, and if I had continued in active political life I might have risen to be vote-distributor, or fence-viewer, or selectman, or hog-reeve, or something of the kind.”

This letter gives the same portrait of the writer, only viewed in profile as it were, which we have already seen drawn in full face in the story of “Morton’s Hope.” It is charged with that *sæva indignatio* which at times verges on misanthropic contempt for its objects, not unnatural to a young man who sees his lofty ideals confronted with the ignoble facts which strew the highways of political life. But we can

recognize real conviction and the deepest feeling beneath his scornful rhetoric and his bitter laugh. He was no more a mere *dilettante* than Swift himself, but now and then in the midst of his most serious thought some absurd or grotesque image will obtrude itself, and one is reminded of the lines on the monument of Gay rather than of the fierce epitaph of the Dean of St. Patrick's.

Mr. Motley's first serious effort in historical composition was an article of fifty pages in the "North American Review" for October, 1845. This was nominally a notice of two works, one on Russia, the other a Memoir of the life of Peter the Great. It is, however, a narrative rather than a criticism, — a rapid, continuous, brilliant, almost dramatic narrative. If there had been any question as to whether the young novelist who had missed his first mark had in him the elements which might give him success as an author, this essay would have settled the question. It shows throughout that the writer has made a thorough study of his subject, but it is written with an easy and abundant, yet scholarly, freedom, not as if he were surrounded by his authorities and picking out his material piece by piece, but rather as if it were the overflow of long-pursued and well-remembered studies, recalled without effort and poured forth almost as a recreation.

As he betrayed or revealed his personality in his first novel, so in this first effort in another department of literature he showed in epitome his qualities as an historian and a biographer. The hero of his narrative makes his entrance at once in his character as the shipwright of Saardam, on the occasion of a visit of the great Duke of Marlborough. The portrait instantly arrests attention. His ideal personages had been drawn in such a sketchy way, they presented so many imperfectly harmonized features, that they never became real, with the exception of course of the story-teller himself. But the vigor with which the presentment of the imperial ship-carpenter, the sturdy, savage, eager, fiery Peter, was given in the few opening sentences, showed the movement of the hand, the glow of the color, that were in due time to display on a broader canvas the full-length portraits of William the Silent and of John of Barneveld. The style of the whole article is rich, fluent, picturesque, with light touches of humor here and there, and perhaps a trace or two of youthful jauntiness, not quite as yet outgrown. His illustrative poetical quotations are mostly Shakspearian, — from Milton

and Byron also in a passage or two, — and now and then one is reminded that he is not unfamiliar with the "Sartor Resartus" and the "French Revolution" of an always unmistakable writer, rather perhaps by the way in which phrases borrowed from other authorities are set in the text than by any more important evidence of unconscious imitation.

The readers who had shaken their heads over the unsuccessful story of "Morton's Hope" were startled by the appearance of this manly and scholarly essay. This young man, it seemed, had been studying, — studying with careful accuracy, with broad purpose. He could paint a character with the ruddy life-blood coloring it as warmly as it glows in the cheeks of one of Van der Helst's burgomasters. He could sweep the horizon in a wide general outlook, and manage his perspective and his lights and shadows so as to place and accent his special subject with its due relief and just relations. It was a sketch, or rather a study for a larger picture, but it betrayed the hand of a master. The feeling of many was that expressed in the words of Mr. Longfellow in his review of the "Twice-Told Tales" of the unknown young writer, Nathaniel Hawthorne: "When a new star rises in the heavens, people gaze after it for a season with the naked eye, and with such telescopes as they may find. . . . This star is but newly risen; and ere long the observation of numerous star-gazers, perched up on arm-chairs and editors' tables, will inform the world of its magnitude and its place in the heaven of" — not poetry in this instance, but that serene and unclouded region of the firmament where shine unchanging the names of Herodotus and Thucydides. Those who had always believed in their brilliant schoolmate and friend at last felt themselves justified in their faith. The artist that sent this unframed picture to be hung in a corner of the literary gallery was equal to larger tasks. There was but one voice in the circle which surrounded the young essayist. He must redeem his pledge, he can and will redeem it, if he will only follow the bent of his genius and grapple with the heroic labor of writing a great history.

And this was the achievement he was already meditating.

In the mean time, he was studying history for its facts and principles, and fiction for its scenery and portraits. In the "North American Review" for July, 1847, is a long and characteristic article on Balzac, of whom he was an admirer, but with no blind-worship. The readers of this great story-

teller, who was so long in obtaining recognition, who "made twenty assaults upon fame and had forty books killed under him" before he achieved success, will find his genius fully appreciated and fairly weighed in this discriminating essay.

Another article contributed by Mr. Motley to the "North American Review" is to be found in the number for October, 1849. It is nominally a review of Talvi's (Mrs. Robinson's) "*Geschicht der Colonisation von New England*," but in reality an essay on the "Polity of the Puritans," — an historical disquisition on the principles of self-government evolved in New England, broad in its views, eloquent in its language. Its spirit is thoroughly American, and its estimate of the Puritan character is not narrowed by the near-sighted liberalism which sees the past in the pitiless light of the present, — which looks around at high noon and finds fault with early dawn for its long and dark shadows.

The commendation bestowed upon Motley's historical essays in the "North American Review" must have gone far towards compensating for the ill success of his earlier venture. It pointed clearly towards the field in which he was to gather his laurels. And it was in the year following the publication of this essay, or about that time (1846), that he began collecting materials for a history of Holland.

Whether to tell the story of men that have lived and of events that have happened, or to create the characters and invent the incidents of an imaginary tale be the higher task, we need not stop to discuss. But the young author was just now like the great actor in Sir Joshua's picture between the allurements of Thalia and Melpomene, still doubtful whether he was to be a romancer or an historian.

In 1849 Mr. Motley published a second story, entitled "*Merry-Mount, a Romance of the Massachusetts Colony*." It had been written several years before the date of its publication. It is a great advance in certain respects over the first novel, but wants the peculiar interest which belonged to that as a partially autobiographical memoir. The story is no longer disjointed and impossible. It is carefully studied in regard to its main facts. It has less to remind us of "*Vivian Grey*" and "*Pelham*," and more that recalls "*Woodstock*" and "*Kenilworth*." The personages were many of them historical, though idealized; the occurrences were many of them such as the record authenticated; the localities were drawn largely from nature. The story betrays marks of haste or carelessness in some portions, though others are elaborately

wrought. His Préface shows that the reception of his first book had made him timid and sensitive about the fate of the second, and explains and excuses what might be found fault with, to disarm the criticism he had some reason to fear.

That old watch-dog of our American literature, the "North American Review," always ready with lambent phrases in stately "articles" for native talent of a certain pretension, and wagging its appendix of "Critical Notices" kindly at the advent of humbler merit, treated "Merry-Mount" with the distinction implied in a review of nearly twenty pages. This was a great contrast to the brief and slighting notice of "Morton's Hope." The reviewer thinks the author's descriptive power wholly exceeds his conception of character and invention of circumstances. "He dwells, perhaps, too long and fondly upon his imagination of the landscape as it was before the stillness of the forest had been broken by the axe of the settler; but the picture is so finely drawn, with so much beauty of language and purity of sentiment, that we cannot blame him for lingering upon the scene. . . . The story is not managed with much skill, but it has variety enough of incident and character, and is told with so much liveliness that few will be inclined to lay it down before reaching the conclusion. . . . The writer certainly needs practice in elaborating the details of a consistent and interesting novel; but in many respects he is well qualified for the task, and we shall be glad to meet him again on the half-historical ground he has chosen. His present work, certainly, is not a fair specimen of what he is able to accomplish, and its failure, or partial success, ought only to inspire him for further effort."

The "half-historical ground" he had chosen had already led him to the entrance into the broader domain of history. The "further effort" for which he was to be inspired had already begun. He had been for some time, as was before mentioned, collecting materials for the work which was to cast all his former attempts into the kindly shadow of oblivion, save when from time to time the light of his brilliant after success is thrown upon them to illustrate the path by which it was at length attained.

The reputation of Mr. Prescott was now coextensive with the realm of scholarship. The Histories of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella and of the Conquest of Mexico had met with a reception which might well tempt the ambition of a young writer to emulate it, but which was not likely to

be awarded to any second candidate who should enter the field in rivalry with the great and universally popular historian. But this was the field on which Mr. Motley was to venture.

After he had chosen the subject of the history he contemplated, he found that Mr. Prescott was occupied with a kindred one, so that there might be too near a coincidence between them. I must borrow from Mr. Ticknor's beautiful *Life of Prescott* the words which introduce a letter of Mr. Motley's to Mr. William Amory, who has kindly allowed me also to make use of it.

"The moment, therefore, that he [Mr. Motley] was aware of this condition of things, and the consequent possibility that there might be an untoward interference in their plans, he took the same frank and honorable course with Mr. Prescott that Mr. Prescott had taken in relation to Mr. Irving, when he found that they had both been contemplating a '*History of the Conquest of Mexico*.' The result was the same. Mr. Prescott, instead of treating the matter as an interference, earnestly encouraged Mr. Motley to go on, and placed at his disposition such of the books in his library as could be most useful to him. How amply and promptly he did it, Mr. Motley's own account will best show. It is in a letter dated at Rome, 26th February, 1859, the day he heard of Mr. Prescott's death, and was addressed to his intimate friend, Mr. William Amory, of Boston, Mr. Prescott's much-loved brother-in-law."

"It seems to me but as yesterday, though it must be now twelve years ago, that I was talking with our ever-lamented friend Stackpole about my intention of writing a history upon a subject to which I have since that time been devoting myself. I had then made already some general studies in reference to it, without being in the least aware that Prescott had the intention of writing the '*History of Philip the Second*.' Stackpole had heard the fact, and that large preparations had already been made for the work, although '*Peru*' had not yet been published. I felt naturally much disappointed. I was conscious of the immense disadvantage to myself of making my appearance, probably at the same time, before the public, with a work not at all similar in plan to '*Philip the Second*,' but which must of necessity traverse a portion of the same ground.

"My first thought was inevitably, as it were, only of myself. It seemed to me that I had nothing to do but to abandon at once a cherished dream, and probably to renounce authorship. For I had not first made up my mind to write a history, and then cast about to take up a subject. My subject had taken me up, drawn me on, and absorbed me into itself. It was necessary for me, it seemed, to write the book I had been thinking much of, even if it were destined to fall dead from the press, and I had no inclination or interest to write any other.

When I had made up my mind accordingly, it then occurred to me that Prescott might not be pleased that I should come forward upon his ground. It is true that no announcement of his intentions had been made, and that he had not, I believe, even commenced his preliminary studies for Philip. At the same time I thought it would be disloyal on my part not to go to him at once, confer with him on the subject, and if I should find a shadow of dissatisfaction on his mind at my proposition, to abandon my plan altogether.

"I had only the slightest acquaintance with him at that time. I was comparatively a young man, and certainly not entitled on any ground to more than the common courtesy which Prescott never could refuse to any one. But he received me with such a frank and ready and liberal sympathy, and such an open-hearted, guileless expansiveness, that I felt a personal affection for him from that hour. I remember the interview as if it had taken place yesterday. It was in his father's house, in his own library, looking on the garden-house and garden, — honored father and illustrious son, — alas! all numbered with the things that were! He assured me that he had not the slightest objection whatever to my plan, that he wished me every success, and that, if there were any books in his library bearing on my subject that I liked to use, they were entirely at my service. After I had expressed my gratitude for his kindness and cordiality, by which I had been in a very few moments set completely at ease, — so far as my fears of his disapprobation went, — I also very naturally stated my opinion that the danger was entirely mine, and that it was rather wilful of me thus to risk such a collision at my first venture, the probable consequence of which was utter shipwreck. I recollect how kindly and warmly he combated this opinion, assuring me that no two books, as he said, ever injured each other, and encouraging me in the warmest and most earnest manner to proceed on the course I had marked out for myself.

"Had the result of that interview been different, — had he distinctly stated, or even vaguely hinted, that it would be as well if I should select some other topic, or had he only sprinkled me with the cold water of conventional and commonplace encouragement, — I should have gone from him with a chill upon my mind, and, no doubt, have laid down the pen at once; for, as I have already said, it was not that I cared about writing a history, but that I felt an inevitable impulse to write *one particular history*.

"You know how kindly he always spoke of and to me; and the generous manner in which, without the slightest hint from me, and entirely unexpected by me, he attracted the eyes of his hosts of readers to my forthcoming work, by so handsomely alluding to it in the preface to his own, must be almost as fresh in your memory as it is in mine.

"And although it seems easy enough for a man of world-wide reputation thus to extend the right hand of fellowship to an unknown and struggling aspirant, yet I fear that the history of literature will show that such instances of disinterested kindness are as rare as they are noble."

It was not from any feeling that Mr. Motley was a young writer from whose rivalry he had nothing to apprehend. Mr. Amory says that Prescott expressed himself very decidedly to the effect that an author who had written such descriptive passages as were to be found in Mr. Motley's published writings was not to be undervalued as a competitor by any one. The reader who will turn to the description of Charles River in the eighth chapter of the second volume of "Merry-Mount," or of the autumnal woods in the sixteenth chapter of the same volume, will see good reason for Mr. Prescott's appreciation of the force of the rival whose advent he so heartily and generously welcomed.

After working for several years on his projected History of Holland, Mr. Motley found that, in order to do his work thoroughly, he must have recourse to the authorities to be found only in the libraries and state archives of Europe. In the year 1851 he left America with his family, to begin his task over again, throwing aside all that he had already done, and following up his new course of investigations at Berlin, Dresden, the Hague, and Brussels, during several succeeding years. I do not know that I can give a better idea of his mode of life during this busy period, his occupations, his state of mind, his objects of interest outside of his special work, than by the following extracts from a long letter to myself, dated Brussels, 20th November, 1853.

After some personal matters, he continues:—

"I don't really know what to say to you. I am in a town which for aught I know, may be very gay. I don't know a living soul in it. We have not a single acquaintance in the place, and we glory in the fact. There is something rather sublime in thus floating on a single spar in the wide sea of a populous, busy, fuming, fussy world like this. At any rate it is consonant to both our tastes. You may suppose, however, that I find it rather difficult to amuse my friends out of the incidents of so isolated an existence. Our daily career is very regular and monotonous. Our life is as stagnant as a Dutch canal. Not that I complain of it,—on the contrary, the canal may be richly freighted with merchandise and be a short cut to the ocean of abundant and perpetual knowledge; but, at the same time, few points rise above the level of so regular a life, to be worthy of your notice. You must, therefore, allow me to meander along the meadows of commonplace. Don't expect any thing of the impetuous and boiling style. We go it weak here. I don't know whether you were ever in Brussels. It is a striking, picturesque town, built up a steep promontory, the old part at the bottom, very dingy and mouldy, the new part at the top, very showy and elegant. Nothing can be more exquisite in its way than the *grande place* in the very heart of the city, surrounded with those

toppling, zigzag, ten-storied buildings bedizened all over with ornaments and emblems so peculiar to the Netherlands, with the brocaded Hôtel de Ville on one side, with its impossible dome rising some three hundred and seventy feet into the air and embroidered to the top with the delicacy of needle-work, sugar-work, spider-work, or what you will. I haunt this place because it is my scene, — my theatre. Here were enacted so many deep tragedies, so many stately dramas, and even so many farces, which have been familiar to me so long that I have got to imagine myself invested with a kind of property in the place, and look at it as if it were merely the theatre with the coulisses, machinery, drapery, etc., for representing scenes which have long since vanished, and which no more enter the minds of the men and women who are actually moving across its pavements, than if they had occurred in the moon. When I say that I know no soul in Brussels I am perhaps wrong. With the present generation I am not familiar. *En revanche*, the dead men of the place are my intimate friends. I am at home in any cemetery. With the fellows of the sixteenth century I am on the most familiar terms. Any ghost that ever flits by night across the moonlight square is at once hailed by me as a man and a brother. I call him by his Christian name at once. When you come out of this place, however, which, as I said, is in the heart of the town — the antique gem in the modern setting — you may go either up or down — if you go down you will find yourself in the very nastiest complications of lanes and culs-de-sacs possible — a dark entanglement of gin-shops, beer-houses, and hovels, — through which charming valley dribbles the Senne (whence, I suppose, is derived Senna) the most nauseous little river in the world — which receives all the outpourings of all the drains and houses and is then converted into beer for the inhabitants, all the many breweries being directly upon its edge. If you go up the hill instead of down, you come to an arrangement of squares, palaces, and gardens as trim and fashionable as you will find in Europe. Thus you see that our Cybele sits with her head crowned with very stately towers and her feet in a tub of very dirty water.

“My habits here for the present year are very regular. I came here, having, as I thought, finished my work, or rather the first Part (something like three or four volumes, 8vo), but I find so much original matter here, and so many emendations to make, that I am ready to despair. However, there is nothing for it but to penelopeize, — pull to pieces, and stitch away again. Whatever may be the result of my labor, nobody can say that I have not worked like a brute beast, — but I don't care for the result. The labor is in itself its own reward and all I want. I go day after day to the archives here (as I went all summer at the Hague) studying the old letters and documents of the fifteenth century. Here I remain among my fellow-worms, feeding on these musty mulberry-leaves, out of which we are afterwards to spin our silk. How can you expect any thing interesting from such a human cocoon? It is, however, not without its amusement in a mouldy sort of way, this reading of dead letters. It is something to read the real, bona fide signs-manual of such fellows as William of Orange,

Count Egmont, Alexander Farnese, Philip II., Cardinal Granvelle, and the rest of them. It gives a 'realizing sense,' as the Americans have it. . . . There are not many public resources of amusement in this place,—if we wanted them,—which we don't. I miss the Dresden Gallery very much, and it makes me sad to think that I shall never look at the face of the Sistine Madonna again,—that picture beyond all pictures in the world—in which the artist certainly did get to heaven and painted a face which was never seen on earth—so pathetic, so gentle, so passionless, so prophetic. . . . There are a few good Rubenses here,—but the great wealth of that master is in Antwerp. The great picture of the Descent from the Cross is free again after having been ten years in the repairing room. It has come out again in very good condition. What a picture! It seems to me as if I had really stood at the cross and seen Mary weeping on John's shoulder, and Magdalen receiving the dead body of the Saviour in her arms. Never was the grand tragedy represented in so profound and dramatic a manner. For it is not only in his *color* in which this man so easily surpasses all the world, but in his life-like, flesh-and-blood action—the tragic power of his composition. And is it not appalling to think of the 'large constitution of this man,' when you reflect on the acres of canvas which he has covered? How inspiring to see with what muscular, masculine vigor this splendid Fleming rushed in and plucked up drowning Art by the locks when it was sinking in the trashy sea of such creatures as the Luca Giordanos and Pietro Cortonas and the like. Well might Guido exclaim, 'The fellow mixes blood with his colors!' . . . How providentially did the man come in and invoke living, breathing, moving men and women out of his canvas! Sometimes he is ranting and exaggerated, as are all men of great genius who wrestle with Nature so boldly. No doubt his heroines are more expansively endowed than would be thought genteel in our country, where cryptogams are so much in fashion, nevertheless there is always something very tremendous about him, and very often much that is sublime, pathetic, and moving. I defy any one of the average amount of imagination and sentiment to stand long before the Descent from the Cross without being moved more nearly to tears than he would care to acknowledge. As for color, his effects are as sure as those of the sun rising in a tropical landscape. There is something quite genial in the cheerful sense of his own omnipotence which always inspired him. There are a few fine pictures of his here, and I go in sometimes of a raw, foggy morning merely to warm myself in the blaze of their beauty."

I have been more willing to give room to this description of Rubens's pictures and the effect they produced upon Mr. Motley, because there is a certain affinity between those sumptuous and glowing works of art and the prose pictures of the historian who so admired them. He was himself a colorist in language, and called up the image of a great per-

sonage or a splendid pageant of the past with the same affluence that floods, the same rich vitality that warms the vast areas of canvas over which the full-fed genius of Rubens disported itself in the luxury of imaginative creation.

The labor of ten years was at last finished. Carrying his formidable manuscript with him, — and how formidable the manuscript which melts down into three solid octavo volumes is, only writers and publishers know, — he knocked at the door of that terrible fortress from which Lintot and Curll and Tonson looked down on the authors of an older generation. So large a work as the "History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic," offered for the press by an author as yet unknown to the British public, could hardly expect a warm welcome from the great dealers in literature as merchandise. Mr. Murray civilly declined the manuscript which was offered to him, and it was published at its author's expense by Mr. John Chapman. The time came when the positions of the first-named celebrated publisher and the unknown writer were reversed. Mr. Murray wrote to Mr. Motley, asking to be allowed to publish his second great work, the "History of the United Netherlands," expressing at the same time his regret at what he candidly called his mistake in the first instance, and thus they were at length brought into business connection as well as the most agreeable and friendly relations. An American edition was published by the Harpers at the same time with the London one.

If the new work of the unknown author found it difficult to obtain a publisher, it was no sooner published than it found an approving, an admiring, an enthusiastic world of readers, and a noble welcome at the colder hands of the critics.

The "Westminster Review" for April, 1856, had for its leading article a paper by Mr. Froude, in which the critic awarded the highest praise to the work of the new historian. As one of the earliest as well as one of the most important recognitions of the work, I quote some of its judgments: —

"A history as complete as industry and genius can make it now lies before us of the first twenty years of the Revolt of the United Provinces; of the period in which those provinces finally conquered their independence and established the Republic of Holland. It has been the result of many years of silent, thoughtful, unobtrusive labor, and unless we are strangely mistaken, unless we are ourselves altogether unfit for this office of criticising which we have here undertaken, the book is one which will take its place among the finest histories in this or in any language. . . . All the essentials of a great

writer Mr. Motley eminently possesses. His mind is broad, his industry unwearied. In power of dramatic description no modern historian, except perhaps Mr. Carlyle, surpasses him, and in analysis of character he is elaborate and distinct. His principles are those of honest love for all which is good and admirable in human character wherever he finds it, while he unaffectedly hates oppression, and despises selfishness with all his heart."

After giving a slight analytical sketch of the series of events related in the history, Mr. Froude finds fault only with one of the historian's estimates,—that of the course of Queen Elizabeth.

"It is ungracious, however," he says, "even to find so slight a fault with these admirable volumes. Mr. Motley has written without haste, with the leisurely composure of a master. . . . We now take our leave of Mr. Motley, desiring him only to accept our hearty thanks for these volumes, which we trust will soon take their place in every English library. Our quotations will have sufficed to show the ability of the writer. Of the scope and general character of his work we have given but a languid conception. The true merit of a great book must be learned from the book itself. Our part has been rather to select varied specimens of style and power. Of Mr. Motley's antecedents we know nothing. If he has previously appeared before the public, his reputation has not crossed the Atlantic. It will not be so now. We believe that we may promise him as warm a welcome among ourselves as he will receive even in America; that his place will be at once conceded to him among the first historians in our common language."

The faithful and unwearied Mr. Allibone has swept the whole field of contemporary criticism, and shown how wide and universal was the welcome accorded to the hitherto unknown author. An article headed "Prescott and Motley," from the pen of M. Guizot, is to be found in the "Edinburgh Review" for January, 1857. The praise, not unmingled with criticisms, which that great historian bestowed upon Motley, is less significant than the fact that he superintended a translation of the "Rise of the Dutch Republic," and himself wrote the introduction to it.

A general chorus of approbation followed or accompanied these leading voices. The reception of the work in Great Britain was a triumph. On the Continent, in addition to the tribute paid to it by M. Guizot, it was translated into Dutch, into German, and into Russian. At home his reception was not less hearty. The "North American Review," which had set its foot on the semi-autobiographical medley which he

called "Morton's Hope," which had granted a decent space and a tepid recognition to his "semi-historical" romance, in which he had already given the reading public a taste of his quality as a narrator of real events and a delineator of real personages,—this old and awe-inspiring New England and more than New England representative of the Fates found room for a long and most laudatory article, in which the son of one of our most distinguished historians did the honors of the venerable literary periodical to the new-comer, for whom the folding-doors of all the critical head-quarters were flying open as if of themselves. Mr. Allibone has recorded the opinions of some of our best scholars as expressed to him.

Dr. Lieber wrote in the strongest terms of praise a letter to Mr. Allibone. I quote one passage, which in the light of after events borrows a cruel significance :—

"Congress and Parliament decree thanks for military exploits,—rarely for diplomatic achievements. If they ever voted their thanks for books,—and what deeds have influenced the course of human events more than some books?—Motley ought to have the thanks of our Congress; but I doubt not that he has already the thanks of every American who has read the work. It will leave its distinct mark upon the American mind."

Mr. Everett writes :—

"Mr. Motley's 'History of the Dutch Republic' is in my judgment a work of the highest merit. Unwearying research for years in the libraries of Europe, patience and judgment in arranging and digesting his materials, a fine historical tact, much skill in characterization, the perspective of narration, as it may be called, and a vigorous style, unite to make it a very capital work, and to place the name of Motley by the side of those of our great historical trio,—Bancroft, Irving, and Prescott."

Mr. Irving, Mr. Bancroft, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Hillard, united their voices in the same strain of commendation. Mr. Prescott, whose judgment of the new History is of peculiar value, for obvious reasons, writes to Mr. Allibone thus :—

"The opinion of any individual seems superfluous in respect to a work on the merits of which the public both at home and abroad have pronounced so unanimous a verdict. As Motley's path crosses my own historic field, I may be thought to possess some advantage over most critics in my familiarity with the ground.

"However this may be, I can honestly bear my testimony to the extent of his researches and to the accuracy with which he has given

the results of them to the public. Far from making his book a mere register of events, he has penetrated deep below the surface and explored the cause of these events. He has carefully studied the physiognomy of the times and given finished portraits of the great men who conducted the march of the revolution. Every page is instinct with the love of freedom and with that personal knowledge of the working of free institutions which could alone enable him to do justice to his subject. We may congratulate ourselves that it was reserved for one of our countrymen to tell the story — better than it had yet been told — of this memorable revolution, which in so many of its features bears a striking resemblance to our own."

The public welcomed the work as cordially as the critics. Fifteen thousand copies had already been sold in London in 1857. In America it was equally popular. Its author saw his name enrolled by common consent among those of the great writers of his time. Europe accepted him, his country was proud to claim him, scholarship set its jealously guarded seal upon the result of his labors; the reading world, which had not cared greatly for his stories, hung in delight over a narrative more exciting than romances; and the lonely student, who had almost forgotten the look of living men in the solitude of archives haunted by dead memories, found himself suddenly in the full blaze of a great reputation.

He visited this country in 1856, and spent the winter of 1856-57 in Boston, having established himself with his family in a house in Boylston Place. At this time I had the pleasure of meeting him often, and of seeing the changes which maturity, success, the opening of a great literary and social career, had wrought in his character and bearing. He was in every way greatly improved; the interesting, impulsive youth had ripened into a noble manhood. Dealing with great themes, his own mind had gained their dignity. Accustomed to the company of dead statesmen and heroes, his own ideas had risen to a loftier height. The flattery of society had added a new grace to his natural modesty. He was now a citizen of the world by his reputation; the past was his province, in which he was recognized as a master; but he was thinking of new labors, not of what he had already accomplished.

During the years spent in Europe in writing his first history, from 1851 to 1856, Mr. Motley lived a life of great retirement and simplicity, devoting himself to his work and to the education of his children, to which last object he was

always ready to give the most careful attention. He was as yet unknown beyond the circle of his friends, and he did not seek society. In this quiet way he passed the two years of residence in Dresden, the year divided between Brussels and the Hague, and a very tranquil year spent at Vevay on the Lake of Geneva. His health at this time was tolerably good, except for nervous headaches, which frequently recurred and were of great severity. His visit to England with his manuscript, in search of a publisher, has already been mentioned.

In 1858 he revisited England. His fame as a successful author was there before him, and he naturally became the object of many attentions. He now made many acquaintances who afterwards became his kind and valued friends. Among those mentioned by his daughter, Lady Harcourt, are Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Carlisle, Lady William Russell, Lord and Lady Palmerston, Dean Milman, with many others. The following winter was passed in Rome, among many English and American friends.

"In the course of the next summer," his daughter says, "we all went to England, and for the next two years, marked chiefly by the success of the 'United Netherlands,' our social life was most agreeable and most interesting. He was in the fulness of his health and powers; his works had made him known in intellectual society, and I think his presence, on the other hand, increased their effects. As no one knows better than you do, his belief in his own country and in its institutions at their best was so passionate and intense that it was a part of his nature, yet his refined and fastidious tastes were deeply gratified by the influences of his life in England, and the spontaneous kindness which he received added much to his happiness. At that time Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister; the weekly receptions at Cambridge House were the centre of all that was brilliant in the political and social world, while Lansdowne House, Holland House, and others were open to the *sommités* in all branches of literature, science, rank, and politics. . . . It was the last year of Lord Macaulay's life, and as a few out of many names which I recall, come Dean Milman, Mr. Froude (whose review of the Dutch Republic in the Westminster was one of the first warm recognitions it ever received), the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, Sir William Stirling Maxwell, then Mr. Stirling of Keir, the Sheridan family in its different brilliant members, Lord Wensleydale, and many more."

There was no society to which Mr. Motley would not have added grace and attraction by his presence, and to say that he was a welcome guest in the best houses of England is only saying that these houses are always open to those whose

abilities, characters, achievements, are commended to the circles that have the best choice by the personal gifts which are nature's passport everywhere.

I am enabled by the kindness of Mr. Francis H. Underwood to avail myself of a letter addressed to him by Mr. Motley in the year before the publication of this second work, which gives us an insight into his mode of working and the plan he proposed to follow. It begins with an allusion which recalls a literary event interesting to many of his American friends.

F. H. UNDERWOOD, ESQ.

ROME, March 4, 1859.

MY DEAR SIR,— . . . I am delighted to hear of the great success of the *Atlantic Monthly*. In this remote region I have not the chance of reading it as often as I should like, but from the specimens which I have seen I am quite sure it deserves its wide circulation. A serial publication, the contents of which are purely original and of such remarkable merit, is a novelty in our country, and I am delighted to find that it has already taken so prominent a position before the reading world. . . . The whole work [his history], of which the three volumes already published form a part, will be called "*The Eighty Years' War for Liberty*."

Epoch I. is the Rise of the Dutch Republic.

Epoch II. Independence Achieved. From the Death of William the Silent till the Twelve Years' Truce. 1584-1609.

Epoch III. Independence Recognized. From the Twelve Years' Truce to the Peace of Westphalia. 1609-1648.

My subject is a very vast one, for the struggle of the United Provinces with Spain was one in which all the leading states of Europe were more or less involved. After the death of William the Silent, the history assumes world-wide proportions. Thus the volume which I am just about terminating is . . . almost as much English history as Dutch. The Earl of Leicester, very soon after the death of Orange, was appointed governor of the provinces, and the alliance between the two countries almost amounted to a political union. I shall try to get the whole of the Leicester administration, terminating with the grand drama of the invincible armada, into one volume; but I doubt, my materials are so enormous. I have been personally very hard at work, nearly two years, ransacking the British State Paper Office, the British Museum, and the Holland archives, and I have had two copyists constantly engaged in London, and two others at the Hague. Besides this, I passed the whole of last winter at Brussels, where, by special favor of the Belgian government, I was allowed to read what no one else has ever been permitted to see,—the great mass of copies taken by that government from the Simancas archives, a translated epitome of which has been published by Gachard. This correspondence reaches to the death of Philip II., and is of im-

mense extent and importance. Had I not obtained leave to read the invaluable and, for my purpose, indispensable documents at Brussels, I should have gone to Spain, for they will not be published these twenty years, and then only in a translated and excessively abbreviated and unsatisfactory form. I have read the whole of this correspondence, and made very copious notes of it. In truth, I devoted three months of last winter to that purpose alone.

The materials I have collected from the English archives are also extremely important and curious. I have hundreds of interesting letters never published or to be published, by Queen Elizabeth, Burghley, Walsingham, Sidney, Drake, Willoughby, Leicester, and others. For the whole of that portion of my subject in which Holland and England were combined into one whole, to resist Spain in its attempt to obtain the universal empire, I have very abundant collections. For the history of the United Provinces is not at all a provincial history. It is the history of European liberty. Without the struggle of Holland and England against Spain, all Europe might have been Catholic and Spanish. It was Holland that saved England in the sixteenth century, and, by so doing, secured the triumph of the Reformation, and placed the independence of the various states of Europe upon a sure foundation. Of course, the materials collected by me at the Hague are of great importance. As a single specimen, I will state that I found in the archives there an immense and confused mass of papers, which turned out to be the autograph letters of Olden Barneveld during the last few years of his life; during, in short, the whole of that most important period which preceded his execution. These letters are in such an intolerable handwriting that no one has ever attempted to read them. I could read them only imperfectly myself, and it would have taken me a very long time to have acquired the power to do so; but my copyist and reader there is the most patient and indefatigable person alive, and he has quite mastered the handwriting, and he writes me that they are a mine of historical wealth for me. I shall have complete copies before I get to that period, one of signal interest, and which has never been described. I mention these matters that you may see that my work, whatever its other value may be, is built upon the only foundation fit for history, — original contemporary documents. These are all unpublished. Of course, I use the contemporary historians and pamphleteers, — Dutch, Spanish, French, Italian, German, and English, — but the most valuable of my sources are manuscript ones. I have said the little which I have said in order to vindicate the largeness of the subject. The kingdom of Holland is a small power now, but the eighty years' war, which secured the civil and religious independence of the Dutch Commonwealth and of Europe, was the great event of that whole age.

The whole work will therefore cover a most remarkable epoch in human history, from the abdication of Charles Fifth to the Peace of Westphalia, at which last point the political and geographical arrangements of Europe were established on a permanent basis; — in the main undisturbed until the French Revolution. . . .

I will mention that I received yesterday a letter from the distinguished M. Guizot, informing me that the first volume of the French translation, edited by him, with an introduction, has just been published. The publication was hastened in consequence of the appearance of a rival translation at Brussels. The German translation is very elegantly and expensively printed in handsome octavos; and the Dutch translation, under the editorship of the archivist general of Holland, Bakhuyzen v. d. Brink, is enriched with copious notes and comments by that distinguished scholar.

There are also three different piratical reprints of the original work at Amsterdam, Leipzig, and London. I must add that I had nothing to do with the translation in any case. In fact, with the exception of M. Guizot, no one ever obtained permission of me to publish translations, and I never knew of the existence of them until I read them in the journals. . . . I forgot to say that among the collections already thoroughly examined by me is that portion of the Simancas archives still retained in the imperial archives of France. I spent a considerable time in Paris for the purpose of reading these documents. There are many letters of Philip II. there, with *apostilles* by his own hand. . . . I would add that I am going to pass this summer at Venice for the purpose of reading and procuring copies from the very rich archives of that republic, of the correspondence of their envoys in Madrid, London, and Brussels during the epoch of which I am treating. I am also not without hope of gaining access to the archives of the Vatican here, although there are some difficulties in the way.

With kind regards . . .

I remain very truly yours,

J. L. MOTLEY.

We know something of the manner in which Mr. Motley collected his materials. We know the labors, the difficulties, the cost of his toils among the dusty records of the past. What he gained by the years he passed in his researches is so well stated by himself that I shall borrow his own words: "Thanks to the liberality of many modern governments of Europe, the archives where the state secrets of the buried centuries have so long mouldered are now open to the student of history. To him who has patience and industry, many mysteries are thus revealed which no political sagacity or critical acumen could have divined. He leans over the shoulder of Philip the Second at his writing-table, as the King spells patiently out, with cipher-key in hand, the most concealed hieroglyphics of Parma, or Guise, or Mendoza. He reads the secret thoughts of 'Fabius' [Philip II.] as that cunctative Roman scrawls his marginal *apostilles* on each despatch; he pries into all the stratagems of Camillus, Hortensius, Mucius, Julius, Tullius, and the rest of those ancient

heroes who lent their names to the diplomatic masqueraders of the sixteenth century ; he enters the cabinet of the deeply pondering Burghley, and takes from the most private drawer the memoranda which record that minister's unutterable doubtings ; he pulls from the dressing-gown folds of the stealthy, soft-gliding Walsingham the last secret which he has picked from the Emperor's pigeon-holes or the Pope's pocket, and which not Hatton, nor Buckhurst, nor Leicester, nor the Lord Treasurer is to see ; nobody but Elizabeth herself ; he sits invisible at the most secret councils of the Nassaus and Barneveld and Buys, or pores with Farnese over coming victories and vast schemes of universal conquest ; he reads the latest bit of scandal, the minutest characteristic of king or minister, chronicled by the gossiping Venetians for the edification of the Forty ; and after all this prying and eavesdropping, having seen the cross-purposes, the bribings, the windings in the dark, he is not surprised if those who were systematically deceived did not always arrive at correct conclusions." (History of United Netherlands, I. p. 54.)

The fascination of such a quest is readily conceivable. A drama with real characters, and the spectator at liberty to go behind the scenes and look upon and talk with the kings and queens between the acts ; to examine the scenery, to handle the properties, to study the "make-up" of the imposing personages of full-dress histories ; to deal with them all as Thackeray has done with the Grand Monarque in one of his caustic sketches, — this would be as exciting, one might suppose, as to sit through a play one knows by heart at Drury Lane or the Théâtre Français, and might furnish occupation enough to the curious idler who was only in search of entertainment. The mechanical obstacles of half-illegible manuscript, however, and of antiquated forms of speech, to say nothing of the intentional obscurities of diplomatic correspondence, stand in the way of all but the resolute and unwearied scholar. These difficulties, in all their complex obstinacy, had been met and overcome by the heroic efforts, the concentrated devotion of the new laborer in the unbroken fields of secret history.

Without stopping to take breath, as it were, — for his was a task *de longue haleine*, — he proceeded to his second great undertaking.

The first portion — consisting of two volumes — of the History of the United Netherlands was published in the year 1860. It maintained and increased the reputation he had already gained by his first history.

The London Quarterly Review devoted a long article to it, beginning with this handsome tribute to his earlier and later volumes :—

“Mr. Motley's ‘History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic’ is already known and valued for the grasp of mind which it displays, for the earnest and manly spirit in which he has communicated the results of deep research and careful reflection. Again he appears before us, rich with the spoils of time, to tell the story of the United Netherlands from the time of William the Silent to the end of the eventful year of the Spanish Armada, and we still find him in every way worthy of this ‘great argument.’ Indeed it seems to us that he proceeds with an increased facility of style, and with a more complete and easy command over his materials. These materials are indeed splendid, and of them most excellent use has been made. The English State Paper Office, the Spanish archives from Simancas, and the Dutch and Belgian repositories have all yielded up their secrets; and Mr. Motley has enjoyed the advantage of dealing with a vast mass of unpublished documents, of which he has not failed to avail himself to an extent which places his work in the foremost rank as an authority for the period to which it relates. By means of his labor and his art we can sit at the council board of Philip and Elizabeth, we can read their most private despatches. Guided by his demonstration, we are enabled to dissect out to their ultimate issues the minutest ramifications of intrigue. We join in the amusement of the popular lampoon; we visit the prison-house; we stand by the scaffold; we are present at the battle and the siege. We can scan the inmost characters of men and can view them in their habits as they lived.”

After a few criticisms upon lesser points of form and style, the writer says :—

“But the work itself must be read to appreciate the vast and conscientious industry bestowed upon it. His delineations are true and life-like, because they are not mere compositions written to please the ear, but are really taken from the facts and traits preserved in those authentic records to which he has devoted the labor of many years. Diligent and painstaking as the humblest chronicler, he has availed himself of many sources of information which have not been made use of by any previous historical writer. At the same time he is not oppressed by his materials, but has sagacity to estimate their real value, and he has combined, and with scholarly power, the facts which they contain. He has rescued the story of the Netherlands from the domain of vague and general narrative, and has labored, with much judgment and ability, to unfold the *Belli causas, et vitia, et modos*, and to assign to every man and every event their own share in the contest, and their own influence upon its fortunes. We do not wonder that his earlier publication has been received as a valuable addition, not only to English, but to European literature.”

One or two other contemporary criticisms may help us with their side-lights. A critic in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1861, thinks that "Mr. Motley has not always been successful in keeping the graphic variety of his details subordinate to the main theme of his work." Still, he excuses the fault, as he accounts it, in consideration of the new light thrown on various obscure points of history, and says that "it is atoned for by striking merits, by many narratives of great events, faithfully, powerfully, and vividly executed, by the clearest and most life-like conceptions of character, and by a style which, if it sacrifices the severer principles of composition to a desire to be striking and picturesque, is always vigorous, full of animation, and glowing with the genuine enthusiasm of the writer. Mr. Motley combines as an historian two qualifications seldom found united,—to great capacity for historical research he adds much power of pictorial representation. In his pages we find characters and scenes minutely set forth in elaborate and characteristic detail, which is relieved and heightened in effect by the artistic breadth of light and shade thrown across the broader prospects of history. In an American author, too, we must commend the hearty English spirit in which the book is written; and fertile as the present age has been in historical works of the highest merit, none of them can be ranked above these volumes in the grand qualities of interest, accuracy, and truth."

A writer in "*Blackwood*" (May, 1861) contrasts Motley with Froude somewhat in the way in which another critic had contrasted him with Prescott. Froude, he says, remembers that there are some golden threads in the black robe of the Dominican. Motley "finds it black and thrusts it farther into the darkness."

Every writer carries more or less of his own character into his book, of course. A great professor has told me that there is a personal flavor in the mathematical work of a man of genius like Poisson. Those who have known Motley and Prescott would feel sure beforehand that the impulsive nature of the one and the judicial serenity of the other would as surely betray themselves in their writings as in their conversation and in their every movement. Another point which the critic of *Blackwood's Magazine* has noticed has not been so generally observed; it is what he calls "a dashing, off-hand, rattling" style,—"*fast*" writing. It cannot be denied that here and there may be detected slight vestiges of the way of writing of an earlier period of Motley's literary life, with which I have no reason to think the writer just mentioned

was acquainted. Now and then I can trace in the turn of a phrase, in the twinkle of an epithet, a faint reminiscence of that satirical levity, airiness, jauntiness, if I may hint such a word, which is just enough to remind me of those perilous shallows of his early time through which his richly freighted argosy had passed with such wonderful escape from its dangers and such very slight marks of injury. That which is pleasant gayety in conversation may be quite out of place in formal composition, and Motley's wit must have had a hard time of it in struggling to show its spangles in the processions while his gorgeous tragedies went sweeping by.

The winter of 1859-60 was passed chiefly at Oatlands Hotel, Walton on Thames. In 1860 Mr. Motley hired the house No. 31 Hertford Street, May Fair, London. He had just published the first two volumes of his History of the Netherlands, and was ready for the further labors of its continuation, when the threats, followed by the outbreak, of the great civil contention in his native land brought him back from the struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the conflict of the nineteenth.

His love of country, which had grown upon him so remarkably of late years, would not suffer him to be silent at such a moment. All around him he found ignorance and prejudice. The quarrel was like to be prejudged in default of a champion of the cause which to him was that of liberty and justice. He wrote two long letters to the "London Times," in which he attempted to make clear to Englishmen and to Europe the nature and conditions of our complex system of government, the real cause of the strife and the mighty issues at stake. Nothing could have been more timely, nothing more needed. Mr. William Everett, who was then in England, has borne testimony before this Society to the effect these letters produced. Had Motley done no other service to his country, this alone would entitle him to honorable remembrance as among the first defenders of the flag which at that moment had more to fear from what was going on in the cabinet councils of Europe than from all the armed hosts which were gathering against it.

He returned to America in 1861, and soon afterwards was appointed by Mr. Lincoln Minister to Austria. Mr. Burlingame had been previously appointed to the office, but having been objected to by the Austrian government for political reasons, the place unexpectedly left vacant was conferred on Mr. Motley, who had no expectation of any diplomatic

appointment when he left Europe. For some interesting particulars relating to his residence in Vienna I must refer to the communications addressed to me by Lady Harcourt and her youngest sister, and the letters I received from him while at the Austrian capital. Lady Harcourt writes:—

“He held the post for six years, seeing the civil war fought out and brought to a triumphant conclusion, and enjoying, as I have every reason to believe, the full confidence and esteem of Mr. Lincoln to the last hour of the President's life. In the first dark years the painful interest of the great national drama was so all-absorbing that literary work was entirely put aside, and with his countrymen at home he lived only in the varying fortunes of the day, his profound faith and enthusiasm sustaining him and lifting him above the natural influence of a by no means sanguine temperament. Later, when the tide was turning and success was nearing, he was more able to work. His social relations during the whole period of his mission were of the most agreeable character. The society of Vienna was at that time, and I believe is still, the absolute reverse of that of England, where all claims to distinction are recognized and welcomed. There the old feudal traditions were still in full force, and diplomatic representatives admitted to the court society by right of official position found it to consist exclusively of an aristocracy of birth, sixteen quarterings of nobility being necessary to a right of presentation to the Emperor and Empress. The society thus constituted was distinguished by great charm and grace of manner, the exclusion of all outer elements not only limiting the numbers, but giving the ease of a family party within the charmed circle. On the other hand, larger interests suffered under the rigid exclusion of all occupations except the army, diplomacy, and court place. The intimacy among the different members of the society was so close that, beyond a courtesy of manner that never failed, the tendency was to resist the approach of any stranger as a *gêne*. A single new face was instantly remarked and commented on in a Vienna saloon to an extent unknown in any other large capital. This peculiarity, however, worked in favor of the old resident. Kindliness of feeling increased with familiarity and grew into something better than acquaintance, and the parting with most sincere and affectionately disposed friends in the end was deeply felt on both sides. Those years were passed in a pleasant house in the Weiden faubourg, with a large garden at the back, and I do not think that during this time there was one disagreeable incident in his relations to his colleagues, while in several cases the relations, agreeable with all, became those of close friendship. We lived constantly, of course, in diplomatic and Austrian society, and during the latter part of the time particularly, his house was as much frequented and the centre of as many dancing and other receptions as any in the place. His official relations with the Foreign Office were courteous and agreeable, the successive Foreign Ministers during his stay being Count Rechberg, Count Mensdorff, and Baron Beust. Austria was so far

removed from any real contact with our own country that, though the interest in our war may have been languid, they did not pretend to a knowledge which might have inclined them to controversy, while an instinct that we were acting as a constituted government against rebellion rather inclined them to sympathy. I think I may say that as he became known among them, his keen patriotism and high sense of honor and truth were fully understood and appreciated, and that what he said always commanded a sympathetic hearing among men with totally different political ideas but with chivalrous and loyal instincts to comprehend his own. I shall never forget his account of the terrible day when the news of Mr. Lincoln's death came. By some accident, a rumor of it reached him first through a colleague. He went straight to the Foreign Office for news, hoping against hope, was received by Count Mensdorff, who merely came forward and laid his arm about his shoulder with an intense sympathy beyond words."

Miss Motley, the historian's youngest daughter, has added a note to her sister's communication:—

"During his residence in Vienna, the most important negotiations which he had to carry on with the Austrian Government were those connected with the Mexican affair. Maximilian at one time applied to his brother the Emperor for assistance, and he promised to accede to his demand. Accordingly a large number of volunteers were equipped and had actually embarked at Trieste, when a despatch from Mr. Seward arrived, instructing the American Minister to give notice to the Austrian Government that if the troops sailed for Mexico he was to leave Vienna at once. My father had to go at once to Count Mensdorff with these instructions, and in spite of the Foreign Minister being annoyed that the United States Government had not sooner intimated that this extreme course would be taken, the interview was quite amicable, and the troops were not allowed to sail. We were in Vienna during the war in which Denmark fought alone against Austria and Prussia, and when it was over Bismarck came to Vienna to settle the terms of peace with the Emperor. He dined with us twice during his short stay, and was most delightful and agreeable. When he and my father were together, they seemed to live over the youthful days they had spent together as students, and many were the anecdotes of their boyish frolics which Bismarck related."

Soon after Mr. Motley's arrival in Vienna, I received a long letter from him, most of which relates to matters of personal interest, but which contains a few sentences of interest to the general reader, as showing his zealous labors, wherever he found himself, in behalf of the great cause then in bloody debate in his own country:—

"NOVEMBER 14, 1861.

"What can I say to you of cis-Atlantic things? I am almost ashamed to be away from home. You knew that I had decided to

remain, and had sent for my family to come to America, when my present appointment altered my plans. I do what good I can. I think I made some impression on Lord John Russell, with whom I spent two days soon after my arrival in England, and I talked very frankly and as strongly as I could to Palmerston, and I have had long conversations and correspondences with other leading men in England. I have also had an hour's [conversation] with Thouvenel in Paris. I hammered the Northern view into him as soundly as I could. For this year there will be no foreign interference with us. I don't anticipate it at any time, unless we bring it on ourselves by bad management, which I don't expect. Our fate is in our own hands, and Europe is looking on to see which side is strongest, — when it has made the discovery it will back it as also the best and the most moral. Yesterday I had my audience with the Emperor. He received me with much cordiality, and seemed interested in a long account which I gave him of our affairs. You may suppose I inculcated the Northern views. We spoke in his vernacular, and he asked me afterwards if I was a German. I mention this not from vanity, but because he asked it with earnestness, and as if it had a political significance. Of course I undeceived him. His appearance interested me, and his manner is very pleasing."

I continued to receive long and interesting letters from him at intervals during his residence as minister at Vienna. Relating as they often did to public matters, about which he had private sources of information, his anxiety that they should not get into print was perfectly natural. As, however, I was at liberty to read his letters to others at my discretion, and as many parts of these letters have an interest as showing how American affairs looked to one who was behind the scenes in Europe, I may venture to give some extracts without fear of violating the spirit of his injunctions, or of giving offence to individuals. The time may come when his extended correspondence can be printed in full with propriety, but it must be in a future year and after it has passed into the hands of a younger generation. Meanwhile, these few glimpses at his life and records of his feelings and opinions will help to make the portrait of the man we are studying present itself somewhat more clearly.

"LEGATION OF THE U. S. A., VIENNA, January 14, 1862

"MY DEAR HOLMES, — I have two letters of yours, November 29 and December 17, to express my thanks for. It is quite true that it is difficult for me to write with the same feeling that inspires you, that every thing around the inkstand within a radius of a thousand miles is full of deepest interest to writer and reader. I don't even intend to try to amuse you with Vienna matters. What is it to you that we had a very pleasant dinner-party last week at Prince Esterhazy's, and

another this week at Prince Liechtenstein's, and that to-morrow I am to put on my cocked hat and laced coat to make a visit to her Imperial Majesty, the Empress Mother, and that to-night there is to be the first of the assembly balls, the Vienna Almack's, at which — I shall be allowed to absent myself altogether?

"It strikes me that there is likely to be left a fair field for us a few months longer, say till midsummer. The Trent affair I shall not say much about, except to state that I have always been for giving up the prisoners. I was awfully afraid, knowing that the demand had gone forth, —

'Send us your prisoners, or you'll hear of it,'

that the answer would have come back in the Hotspur vein, —

'And if the Devil come and roar for them,
We will not send them.'

The result would have been most disastrous, for in order to secure a most trifling advantage, — that of keeping Mason and Slidell at Fort Warren a little longer, — we should have turned our backs on all the principles maintained by us when neutral, and should have been obliged to accept a war at an enormous disadvantage. . . .

"But I hardly dared to hope that we should have obtained such a victory as we have done. To have disavowed the illegal transaction at once, — before any demand came from England, — to have placed that disavowal on the broad ground of principle which we have always cherished, and thus with a clear conscience, and to our entire honor, to have kept ourselves clear from a war which must have given the confederacy the invincible alliance of England, — was exactly what our enemies in Europe did not suppose us capable of doing. But we have done it in the handsomest manner, and there is not one liberal heart in this hemisphere that is not rejoiced, nor one hater of us and of our institutions that is not gnashing his teeth with rage."

• The letter of ten close pages from which I have quoted these passages is full of confidential information, and contains extracts from letters of leading statesmen. If its date had been 1762, I might feel authorized in disobeying its injunctions of privacy. I must quote a single sentence, as it shows his animus at that time towards a distinguished statesman of whom he was accused of speaking in very hard terms by an obscure writer whose intent was to harm him. In speaking of the Trent affair, Mr. Motley says: "The English premier has been foiled by our much maligned Secretary of State, of whom, on this occasion at least, one has the right to say, with Sir Henry Wotton, —

'His armor was his honest thought,
And simple truth his utmost skill.'"

He says at the close of this long letter: "I wish I could bore you about something else but American politics. But there is nothing else *worth* thinking of in the world. All else is leather and prunella. We are living over again the days of the Dutchmen or the seventeenth-century Englishmen."

My next letter, of fourteen closely written pages, was of similar character to the last. Motley could think of nothing but the great conflict. He was alive to every report from America, listening too with passionate fears or hopes, as the case might be, to the whispers not yet audible to the world which passed from lip to lip of the statesmen who were watching the course of events from the other side of the Atlantic with the sweet complacency of the looker-on of Lucretius; too often rejoicing in the storm that threatened wreck to institutions and an organization which they felt to be a standing menace to the established order of things in their older communities.

A few extracts from this very long letter have a special interest from the time at which they were written:—

"LEGATION OF U. S. OF AMERICA, VIENNA,
February 26, 1862.

"MY DEAR HOLMES, — . . . I take great pleasure in reading your prophecies, and intend to be just as free in hazarding my own, for, as you say, our mortal life is but a string of guesses at the future, and no one but an idiot would be discouraged at finding himself sometimes far out in his calculations. If I find you *signally right* in any of your predictions, be sure that I will congratulate and applaud. If you make mistakes, you shall never hear of them again, and I promise to forget them. Let me ask the same indulgence from you in return. This is what makes letter-writing a comfort and journalizing dangerous, . . . The ides of March will be upon us before this letter reaches you. We have got to squash the rebellion soon, or be squashed for ever as a nation. I don't pretend to judge military plans or the capacities of generals. But, as you suggest, perhaps I can take a more just view of the whole picture of the eventful struggle at this great distance than do those absolutely acting and suffering on the scene. Nor can I resist the desire to prophesy any more than you can do, knowing that I may prove utterly mistaken. I say, then, that one great danger comes from the chance of foreign interference. What will prevent that?

"Our utterly defeating the Confederates in some *great and conclusive* battle; or,

"Our possession of the cotton-ports and opening them to European trade; or,

"A *most unequivocal policy* of slave emancipation.

"Any one of these three conditions would stave off recognition by foreign powers, until we had ourselves abandoned the attempt to reduce the South to obedience.

"The last measure is to my mind the most important. The South has, by going to war with the United States Government, *thrust into our hands against our will* the invincible weapon which constitutional reasons had hitherto forbidden us to employ. At the same time it has given us the power to remedy a great wrong to four millions of the human race, in which we had hitherto been obliged to acquiesce. We are threatened with national annihilation, and defied to use the only means of national preservation.

"The question is distinctly proposed to us, Shall slavery die, or the great Republic? It is most astounding to me that there can be two opinions in the free States as to the answer.

"If we do fail, we deserve our fate. At the beginning of the contest, constitutional scruples might be respectable. But now we are fighting to subjugate the South; that is, Slavery. We are fighting for nothing else that I know of. We are fighting for the Union. Who wishes to destroy the Union? The slaveholder, nobody else. Are we to spend twelve hundred millions, and raise six hundred thousand soldiers, in order to *protect* slavery? It really does seem to me too simple for argument. I am anxiously waiting for the coming Columbus who will set this egg of ours on end by smashing in the slavery end. We shall be rolling about in every direction until that is done. I don't know that it is to be done by proclamation. Rather perhaps by facts. . . . Well, I console myself with thinking that the people — the American people, at least — is about as wise collectively as less numerous collections of individuals, and that the people has really declared emancipation, and is only puzzling how to carry it into effect. After all, it seems to be a law of Providence, that progress should be by a spiral movement; so that when it seems most tortuous, we may perhaps be going ahead. I am firm in the faith that slavery is now wriggling itself to death. With slavery in its pristine vigor, I should think the restored Union neither possible nor desirable. Don't understand me as not taking into account all the strategical considerations against premature governmental utterances on this great subject. But are there any trustworthy friends to the Union among the slaveholders? Should we lose many Kentuckians and Virginians who are now with us, if we boldly confiscated the slaves of all rebels, and a confiscation of property which has legs and so confiscates itself, at command, is not only a legal, but would prove a very practical measure in time of war. In brief, the time is fast approaching. I think, when 'Thorough' should be written on all our banners. Slavery will never accept a subordinate position. The great Republic and Slavery cannot both survive. We have been defied to mortal combat, and yet we hesitate to strike. These are my poor thoughts on this great subject. Perhaps you will think them crude. I was much struck with what you quote from Mr. Conway, that if emancipation was proclaimed on the Upper Mississippi it would be known to the negroes of Louisiana in advance of the tele-

graph. And if once the blacks had leave to run, how many whites would have to stay at home to guard their dissolving property?

"You have had enough of my maunderings. But before I conclude them, may I ask you to give all our kindest regards to Lowell, and to express our admiration for the Yankee Idyll. I am afraid of using too extravagant language if I say all I think about it. Was there ever any thing more stinging, more concentrated, more vigorous, more just? He has condensed into those few pages the essence of a hundred diplomatic papers and historical disquisitions and Fourth of July orations. I was dining a day or two since with his friend Lytton (Bulwer's son, attaché here) . . . and Julian Fane (Secretary of the embassy), both great admirers of him, — and especially of the 'Biglow Papers,' — they begged me to send them the Mason and Sli-dell Idyll, but I wouldn't, — I don't think it is in English nature (although theirs is very cosmopolitan and liberal) to take such punishment and come up smiling. I would rather they got it in some other way, and then told me what they thought voluntarily.

"I have very pleasant relations with all the J. B.'s here. They are all friendly and well disposed to the North, — I speak of the embassy, which, with the ambassador and — dress numbers eight or ten souls, — some of them very intellectual ones. There are no other J. B.'s here. I have no fear at present of foreign interference. We have got three or four months to do our work in, — a fair field and no favor. There is no question whatever that the Southern Commissioners have been thoroughly snubbed in London and Paris. There is to be a blockade debate in Parliament next week, but no bad consequences are to be apprehended. The Duke de Gramont (French Ambassador, and an intimate friend of the Emperor) told my wife last night that it was entirely false that the Emperor had ever urged the English government to break the blockade. 'Don't believe it, — don't believe a word of it,' he said. He has *always* held that language to me. He added that Prince Napoleon had just come out with a strong speech about us, — you will see it, doubtless, before you get this letter, — but it has not yet reached us.

"Shall I say any thing of Austria, — what can I say that would interest you? That's the reason why I hate to write. All my thoughts are in America. Do you care to know about the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, that shall be King hereafter of Mexico (if L. N. has his way)? He is next brother to the Emperor, but although I have had the honor of private audiences of many archdukes here, this one is a resident of Trieste.

"He is about thirty, — has an adventurous disposition, — some imagination, — a turn for poetry, — has voyaged a good deal about the world in the Austrian ship-of-war, — for in one respect he much resembles that unfortunate but anonymous ancestor of his, the King of Bohemia with the seven castles, who, according to Corporal Trim, had such a passion for navigation and sea-affairs, 'with never a seaport in all his dominions.' But now the present King of Bohemia has got the sway of Trieste, and is Lord High Admiral and Chief of the

Marine Department. He has been much in Spain, also in South America, — I have read some travels, *Reise Skizzen*, of his — printed, not published. They are not without talent, and he ever and anon relieves his prose jog-trot by breaking into a canter of poetry. He adores bull-fights, and rather regrets the Inquisition, and considers the Duke of Alba every thing noble and chivalrous, and the most abused of men. It would do your heart good to hear his invocations to that deeply injured shade, and his denunciations of the ignorant and vulgar protestants who have defamed him. (N. B. Let me observe that the R. of the D. R. was not published until long after the *Reise Skizzen* were written.) Du armer Alba! weil du dem Willen deines Herrn unerschütterlich treu wast, weil die festbestimmten grundsätze der Regierung, etc., etc., etc. You can imagine the rest.

"Dear me! I wish I could get back to the sixteenth and seventeenth century. . . . But alas! the events of the nineteenth are too engrossing.

"If Lowell cares to read this letter, will you allow me to 'make it over to him jointly,' as Captain Cuttle says? I wished to write to him, but I am afraid only you would tolerate my writing so much when I have nothing to say. If he would ever send me a line I should be infinitely obliged, and would quickly respond. We read the 'Washers of the Shroud' with fervid admiration.

"Always remember me most sincerely to the Club, one and all. It touches me nearly when you assure me that I am not forgotten by them. To-morrow is *Saturday* and the last of the month. We are going to dine with our Spanish colleague. But the first bumper of the Don's champagne I shall drain to the health of my Parker House friends."

From another long letter dated August 31, 1862, I extract the following passages: —

"I quite agree in all that you said in your last letter. 'The imp of secession can't re-enter its mother's womb.' It is merely childish to talk of the Union 'as it was.' You might as well bring back the Saxon Heptarchy. But the Great Republic is destined to live and flourish, I can't doubt. . . . Do you remember that wonderful scene in 'Faust' in which Mephistopheles draws wine for the rabble with a gimlet out of the wooden table; and how it changes to fire as they drink it, and how they all go mad, draw their knives, grasp each other by the nose, and think they are cutting off bunches of grapes at every blow, and how foolish they all look when they awake from the spell and see how the Devil has been mocking them? It always seems to me a parable of the great Secession.

"I repeat, I can't doubt as to the ultimate result. But I dare say we have all been much mistaken in our calculations as to time. Days, months, years, are nothing in history. *Men die, man is immortal*, practically, even on this earth. We are so impatient, — and we are always watching for the last scene of the tragedy. Now I humbly

opine that the drop is only about falling on the first act, or perhaps only the prologue. This act or prologue will be called, in after days, War for the *status quo*.

"Such enthusiasm, heroism, and manslaughter as *status quo* could inspire, has, I trust, been not entirely in vain, but it has been proved insufficient.

"I firmly believe that when the slaveholders declared war on the United States Government they began a series of events that, in the logical chain of history, cannot come to a conclusion until the last vestige of slavery is gone. Looking at the whole field for a moment dispassionately, *objectively*, as the dear Teutonic philosophers say, and merely as an exhibition of phenomena, I cannot imagine any other issue. Every thing else *may* happen. This alone *must* happen.

"But after all this isn't a war. It is a revolution. It isn't strategists that are wanted so much as *believers*. In revolutions, the men who win are those who are in earnest. Jeff and Stonewall and the other Devil-worshippers are in earnest, but it was not written in the book of fate that the slaveholders' rebellion should be vanquished by a pro-slavery general. History is never so illogical. No, the coming 'man on horseback' on our side must be a great strategist, with the soul of that insane lion, mad old John Brown, in his belly. That is your only Promethean recipe:—

'et insani leonis
Vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.'

"I don't know why Horace runs so in my head this morning. . . .

"There will be work enough for all — but I feel awfully fidgety just now about Port Royal and Hilton Head, and about affairs generally for the next three months. After that, iron-clads and the new levies must make us invincible."

In another letter, dated November 2, 1862, he expresses himself very warmly about his disappointment in the attitude of many of his old English friends with reference to our civil conflict. He had recently heard the details of the death of "the noble Wilder Dwight."

"It is unnecessary," he says, "to say how deeply we were moved. I had the pleasure of knowing him well, and I always appreciated his energy, his manliness, and his intelligent, cheerful heroism. I look back upon him now as a kind of heroic type of what a young New-Englander ought to be and was. I tell you that one of these days — after a generation of mankind has passed away — these youths will take their places in our history, and be regarded by the young men and women now unborn with the admiration which the Philip Sidneys and the Max Piccolominis now inspire. After all, what was your Chevy Chace to stir blood with like a trumpet? What noble principle, what deathless interest, was there at stake? Nothing but a bloody fight between a lot of noble gamekeepers on one side and of noble

poachers on the other. And because they fought well and hacked each other to pieces like devils, they have been heroes for centuries." . . .

The letter was written in a very excited state of feeling, and runs over with passionate love of country and indignation at the want of sympathy with the cause of freedom which he had found in quarters where he had not expected such coldness or hostile tendencies.

From a letter dated Vienna, September 22, 1863:—

" . . . When you wrote me last you said on general matters this: 'In a few days we shall get the news of the success or failure of the attacks on Port Hudson and Vicksburg. If both are successful, many will say that the whole matter is about settled.' You may suppose that when I got the great news I shook hands warmly with you in the spirit across the Atlantic. Day by day for so long we had been hoping to hear the fall of Vicksburg. At last when that little concentrated telegram came announcing Vicksburg and Gettysburg on the same day and in two lines, I found myself almost alone. . . . There was nobody in the house to join in my huzzas but my youngest infant. And my conduct very much resembled that of the excellent Philip II. when he heard the fall of Antwerp, — for I went to her door, screeching through the key-hole! 'Vicksburg is ours,' just as that other *père de famille*, more potent, but I trust not more respectable than I, conveyed the news to his *Infanta*. (Vide, for the incident, an American work on the Netherlands, I. p. 263, and the authorities there cited.) It is contemptible on my part to speak thus frivolously of events which will stand out in such golden letters so long as America has a history, but I wanted to illustrate the yearning for sympathy which I felt. You who were among people grim and self-contained usually, who, I trust, were falling on each other's necks in the public streets, shouting, with tears in their eyes, and triumph in their hearts, can picture my isolation.

"I have never faltered in my faith, and in the darkest hours, when misfortunes seemed thronging most thickly upon us, I have never felt the want of any thing to lean against; but I own I did feel like shaking hands with a few hundred people when I heard of our Fourth of July, 1863, work, and should like to have heard and joined in an American cheer or two. . . .

" . . . I have not much to say of matters here to interest you. We have had an intensely hot, historically hot, and very long and very dry summer. I never knew before what a drought meant. In Hungary the suffering is great, and the people are killing the sheep to feed the pigs with the mutton. Here about Vienna the trees have been almost stripped of foliage ever since the end of August. There is no glory in the grass nor verdure in any thing.

"In fact, we have nothing green here but the Archduke Max, who firmly believes that he is going forth to Mexico to establish an Ameri-

can empire, and that it is his divine mission to destroy the dragon of democracy and re-establish the true Church, the Right Divine, and all sorts of games. Poor young man! . . .

"Our information from home is to the 12th. Charleston seems to be in articulo mortis, but how forts nowadays seem to fly in the face of Scripture. Those founded on a rock and built of it fall easily enough under the rain of Parrotts and Dahlgrens, while the house built of sand seems to bid defiance to the storm."

In quoting from these confidential letters I have been restrained from doing full justice to their writer by the fact that he spoke with such entire freedom of persons as well as events. But, if they could be read from beginning to end, no one could help feeling that his love for his own country, and passionate absorption of every thought in the strife upon which its existence as a nation depended, were his very life during all this agonizing period. He can think and talk of nothing else, or, if he turns for a moment to other subjects, he reverts to the one great central interest of "American politics," of which he says in one of the letters from which I have quoted, "There is nothing else *worth* thinking of in the world."

But with his public record before the world as the historian of the struggle for liberty, and the champion of its defenders, with this private record betraying in every word the intensity of his patriotic feeling, he was not safe against the attacks of malevolence. A train laid by unseen hands was waiting for the spark to kindle it, and this came at last in the shape of a letter from an unknown individual, — a letter the existence of which ought never to have been a matter of official recognition.

It is a relief to me, that just here, where I come to the first painful episode in this brilliant and fortunate career, I can borrow the words in which one who speaks with authority eulogizes the qualities of his predecessor in office.

The Hon. John Jay, Ex-Minister to Austria, in the Tribute to the memory of Motley read at a meeting of the New York Historical Society, wrote as follows: —

"In singular contrast to Mr. Motley's brilliant career as an historian stands the fact recorded in our diplomatic annals that he was twice forced from the service as one who had forfeited the confidence of the American Government. This Society while he was living, recognized his fame as a statesman, diplomatist, and patriot, as belonging to America, and now that death has closed the career of Seward, Sumner, and Motley, it will be remembered that the great historian, twice humiliated, by orders from Washington, before the diplomacy and

culture of Europe, appealed from the passions of the hour to the verdict of history.

"Having succeeded Mr. Motley at Vienna some two years after his departure, I had occasion to read most of his despatches, which exhibited a mastery of the subjects of which they treated, with much of the clear perception, the scholarly and philosophic tone and decided judgment, which, supplemented by his picturesque description, full of life and color, have given character to his histories. They are features which might well have served to extend the remark of Madame de Staël that a great historian is almost a statesman. I can speak also from my own observation of the reputation which Motley left in the Austrian capital. Notwithstanding the decision with which, under the direction of Mr. Seward, he had addressed the minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Mensdorff, afterwards the Prince Diedrickstein, protesting against the departure of an Austrian force of one thousand volunteers, who were about to embark for Mexico in aid of the ill-fated Maximilian,—a protest which at the last moment arrested the project,—Mr. Motley and his amiable family were always spoken of in terms of cordial regard and respect by members of the imperial family and those eminent statesmen, Count de Beust and Count Andrassy. His death, I am sure, is mourned to-day by the representatives of the historic names of Austria and by the surviving diplomats then residing near the Court of Vienna, wherever they may still be found, headed by their venerable Doyen, the Baron de Heckéren."

The circumstances under which Mr. Motley left his position as Minister at Vienna were briefly these. A letter of a very vulgar and abusive character was addressed to President Johnson, in which several of our foreign ministers and other public functionaries were accused of disrespect to the Government and other misconduct. It was, so far as can be ascertained, practically anonymous, for no owner was found for the name it bore. Among others who were the subject of its coarse abuse was Mr. Motley. Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, saw fit to send copies of this letter or extracts from it to the officials accused, asking them whether or not the accusations were well founded. Mr. Motley considered the questions addressed to him on the strength of a letter from an unknown and, so far as appeared, an irresponsible source, as insulting. He indignantly denied the charges, expressed himself as deeply wounded that the Secretary could have listened to such falsehoods, at the same time stating his opinions on some of the great subjects then agitated and claiming the right which belongs to every American citizen of discussing such questions in the privacy of his own household. In conclusion he sent his resignation as Minister to the Government which had, as he considered, subjected him

to an indignity. Mr. Seward had written in reply to Motley, it is said, that his answer was satisfactory, and declining to accept his resignation, when a few words from President Johnson, who was "in a state of intense irritation and more or less suspicious of everybody about him," changed his intentions, and the resignation was accepted.

Thus finished Mr. Motley's long and successful diplomatic service at the Court of Austria. He may have been judged hasty in resigning his place; he may have committed himself in expressing his opinions too strongly before strangers, whose true character as spies and eavesdroppers he was too high-minded to suspect. But no caution could have protected him against a slanderer who hated the place he came from, the company he kept, the name he had made famous, to whom his very look and bearing — such as belong to a gentleman of natural refinement and good breeding — must have been a personal grievance and an unpardonable offence.

In his letter to me of March 12, 1867, Mr. Motley writes:—

"My two concluding volumes of the United Netherlands are passing rapidly through the press. Indeed Volume III. is entirely printed, and a third of Volume IV.

"If I live ten years longer I shall have probably written the natural sequel to the two first works, — viz., the Thirty Years' War. After that I shall cease to scourge the public.

"I don't know whether my last two volumes are good or bad — I only know that they are true — but that needn't make them amusing.

"Alas — one never knows when one becomes a bore."

In 1868 the two concluding volumes of the "History of the Netherlands" were published at the same time in London and in New York. The events described and the characters delineated in these two volumes had, perhaps, less peculiar interest for English and American readers than some of those which had lent attraction to the preceding ones. There was no scene like the siege of Antwerp, no story like that of the Spanish Armada. There were no names that sounded to our ears like those of Sir Philip Sidney and Leicester and Amy Robsart. But the main course of his narrative flowed on with the same breadth and depth of learning and the same brilliancy of expression. The monumental work continued as nobly as it had begun. The facts had been slowly, quietly gathered one by one, like pebbles from the empty channel of a brook. The style was fluent, impetuous, abundant, impatient, as it were, at times, and leaping the sober boundaries prescribed to it, like the torrent which rushes through the

same channel when the rains have filled it. Thus there was matter for criticism in his use of language. He was not always careful in the construction of his sentences. He introduced expressions now and then into his vocabulary which reminded one of his earlier literary efforts. He used stronger language at times than was necessary, coloring too highly, shading too deeply in his pictorial delineations. To come to the matter of his story, it must be granted that not every reader will care to follow him through all the details of diplomatic intrigues which he has with such industry and sagacity extricated from the old manuscripts in which they had long laid hidden. But we turn a few pages and we come to one of those descriptions that arrest us at once, and show him in his power and brilliancy as a literary artist. His characters move before us with the features of life; we can see Elizabeth, or Philip, or Maurice, not as a name connected with events, but as a breathing and acting human being, to be loved or hated, admired or despised, as if he or she were our contemporary. That all his judgments would not be accepted as final we might easily anticipate; he could not help writing more or less as a partisan, but he was a partisan on the side of freedom in politics and religion, of human nature as against every form of tyranny, secular or priestly; of noble manhood wherever he saw it as against meanness and violence and imposture, whether clad in the soldier's mail or the emperor's purple. His sternest critics, and even these admiring ones, were yet to be found among those who, with fundamental beliefs at variance with his own, followed him in his long researches among the dusty annals of the past.

The work of the learned M. Groen van Prinsterer ("Maurice et Barneveldt, Étude Historique. Utrecht, 1875"), devoted expressly to the revision and correction of what the author considers the erroneous views of Motley on certain important points, bears, notwithstanding, such sincere and hearty tribute to his industry, his acquisitions, his brilliant qualities as an historian, that some extracts from it will be read, I think, with interest:—

"My first interview, more than twenty years ago, with Mr. Lothrop Motley, has left an indelible impression on my memory.

"It was the 8th of August, 1853. A note is handed me from our eminent Archivist Bakhuisen van den Briuk. It informs me that I am to receive a visit from an American, who, having been struck by the analogies between the United Provinces and the United States, between Washington and the founder of our independence, has inter-

rupted his diplomatic career to write the *Life of William the First*; that he has already given proof of ardor and perseverance, having worked in libraries and among collections of manuscripts, and that he is coming to pursue his studies at the Hague.

"While I am surprised and delighted with this intelligence, I am informed that Mr. Motley himself is waiting for my answer. My eagerness to make the acquaintance of such an associate in my sympathies and my labors may be well imagined. But how shall I picture my surprise, in presently discovering that this unknown and indefatigable fellow-worker has really read, I say read and re-read our *Quartos*, our *Folios*, the enormous volumes of *Bor*, of *van Meteren*, besides a multitude of books, of pamphlets, and even of unedited documents. Already is he familiar with the events, the changes of condition, the characteristic details of the life of his and my hero. Not only is he acquainted with my Archives, but it seems as if there was nothing in this voluminous collection of which he was ignorant. . . .

"In sending me the last volume of his *History of the Foundation of the Republic of the Netherlands*, Mr. Motley wrote to me: 'Without the help of the Archives I could never have undertaken the difficult task I had set myself, and you will have seen at least from my numerous citations that I have made a sincere and conscientious study of them.' Certainly in reading such a testimonial I congratulated myself on the excellent fruit of my labors, but the gratitude expressed to me by Mr. Motley was sincerely reciprocated. The Archives are a scientific collection, and my *Manual of National History*, written in Dutch, hardly gets beyond the limits of my own country. And here is a stranger, become our compatriot in virtue of the warmth of his sympathies, who has accomplished what was not in my power. By the detail and the charm of his narrative, by the matter and form of a work which the universality of the English language and numerous translations were to render cosmopolitan, Mr. Motley, like that other illustrious historian, Prescott, lost to science by too early death, has popularized in both hemispheres the sublime devotion of the Prince of Orange, the exceptional and providential destinies of my country, and the benedictions of the Eternal for all those who trust in Him and tremble only at his word."

In that higher region of facts which belongs to the historian, whose task it is to interpret as well as to transcribe, Motley showed, of course, the political and religious school in which he had been brought up. Every man has a right to his "personal equation" of prejudice, and Motley, whose ardent temperament gave life to his writings, betrayed his sympathies in the disputes of which he told the story, in a way to insure sharp criticism from those of a different way of thinking. Thus it is that in the work of M. Groen van Prinsterer, from which I have quoted, Motley is considered as having been betrayed into error, "in spite of his manifest

desire to be scrupulously impartial and truth-telling." And M. Fruin, another of his Dutch critics, says, "His sincerity, his perspicacity, the accuracy of his laborious researches, are incontestable."

Some further criticisms of Dutch scholars will be considered in the pages which deal with his last work, "The Life of John of Barneveld."

In June, 1868, Mr. Motley returned with his family to Boston, and established himself at the house No. 2 Park Street. During his residence here he entered a good deal into society, and entertained many visitors in a most hospitable and pleasant way.

On the 20th of October, 1868, he delivered an address before the Parker Fraternity, in the Music Hall, by special invitation. Its title was "Four Questions for the People, at the Presidential Election." This was of course what is commonly called an electioneering speech, but a speech full of noble sentiments and eloquent expression. Here are two of its paragraphs:—

"Certainly there have been bitterly contested elections in this country before. Party spirit is always rife, and in such vivid, excitable, disputatious communities as ours are, and I trust always will be, it is the very soul of freedom. To those who reflect upon the means and end of popular government, nothing seems more stupid than in grand generalities to deprecate party spirit. Why, government by parties and through party machinery is the only possible method by which a free government can accomplish the purpose of its existence. The old republics of the past may be said to have fallen, not because of party spirit, but because there was no adequate machinery by which party spirit could develop itself with facility and regularity."

"... And if our republic be true to herself, the future of the human race is assured by our example. No sweep of overwhelming armies, no ponderous treatises on the rights of man, no hymns to liberty, though set to martial music and sounding with the full diapason of a million human throats, can exert so persuasive an influence as does the spectacle of a great republic, occupying a quarter of the civilized globe, and governed quietly and sagely by the people itself."

A large portion of this address is devoted to the proposition that it is just and reasonable to pay our debts rather than to repudiate them, and that the nation is as much bound to be honest as is the individual. "It is an awful thing," he says, "that this should be a question at all," but it was one of the points on which the election turned, for all that.

In his advocacy of the candidate with whom and the government of which he became the head his relations became afterwards so full of bitter antagonism, he spoke as a man of his ardent nature might be expected to speak on such an occasion. No one doubts that his admiration of General Grant's career was perfectly sincere, and no one at the present day can deny that the great Captain stood before the country at that time with such a record as one familiar with the history of heroes and patriots might well consider as entitling him to the honors too often grudged to the living to be wasted on the dead. The speaker only gave voice to the widely prevailing feelings which had led to his receiving the invitation to speak. The time was one which called for outspoken utterance, and there was not a listener whose heart did not warm as he heard the glowing words in which the historian recorded the noble achievements of the soldier who must in so many ways have reminded him of his favorite character, William the Silent.

On the 16th of December of this same year, 1868, Mr. Motley delivered an address before the New York Historical Society, on the occasion of the sixty-fourth anniversary of its foundation. The president of the society, Mr. Hamilton Fish, introduced the speaker as one "whose name belongs to no single country, and to no single age. As a statesman and diplomatist and patriot, he belongs to America; as a scholar, to the world of letters; as an historian, all ages will claim him in the future."

His subject was "Historic Progress and American Democracy." The discourse is, to use his own words, "a rapid sweep through the eons and the centuries," illustrating the great truth of the development of the race from its origin to the time in which we are living. It is a long cry from the planetary fact of the obliquity of the equator, which gave the earth its alternation of seasons, and rendered the history, if not the existence of man and of civilization a possibility, to the surrender of General Lee under the apple-tree at Appomattox Court-House. No one but a scholar familiar with the course of history could have marshalled such a procession of events into a connected and intelligent sequence. It is indeed a flight rather than a march; the reader is borne along as on the wings of a soaring poem, and sees the rising and decaying empires of history beneath him as a bird of passage marks the succession of cities and wilds and deserts as he keeps pace with the sun in his journey. Its eloquence, its patriotism, its crowded illustrations, drawn from vast resources

of knowledge, its epigrammatic axioms, its occasional pleasantries, are all characteristic of the writer.

Mr. Gulian C. Verplanck, the venerable senior member of the society, proposed the vote of thanks to Mr. Motley with words of warm commendation.

Mr. William Cullen Bryant rose and said : —

“ I take great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has just been read. The eminent historian of the Dutch Republic, who has made the story of its earlier days as interesting as that of Athens and Sparta, and who has infused into the narrative the generous glow of his own genius, has the highest of titles to be heard with respectful attention by the citizens of a community which, in its origin, was an offshoot of that renowned republic. And cheerfully has that title been recognized, as the vast audience assembled here to-night, in spite of the storm, fully testifies ; and well has our illustrious friend spoken of the growth of civilization and of the improvement in the condition of mankind, both in the Old World — the institutions of which he has so lately observed — and in the country which is proud to claim him as one of her children.”

Soon after the election of General Grant, Mr. Motley received the appointment of Minister to England. That the position was one which was in many respects most agreeable to him cannot be doubted. Yet it was not with unmingled feelings of satisfaction, not without misgivings which warned him but too truly of the dangers about to encompass him, that he accepted the place. He writes to me on April 16, 1869 : —

“ . . . I feel any thing but exultation at present, — rather the opposite sensation. I feel that I am placed higher than I deserve, and at the same time that I am taking greater responsibilities than ever were assumed by me before. *You* will be indulgent to my mistakes and short-comings, — and who can expect to avoid them ? But the world will be cruel, and the times are threatening. I shall do my best — but the best may be poor enough — and keep ‘ a heart for any fate.’ ”

The misgivings thus expressed to me in confidence, natural enough in one who had already known what it is to fall on evil days and evil tongues, were but too well justified by after events. Mr. Motley was cordially received on his arrival in England. At Liverpool he was welcomed in addresses from the Liverpool and the American Chambers of Commerce, to which he replied in a strain of corresponding good feeling. He established himself in London in the fine resi-

dence 17 Arlington Street, belonging to Lord Yarborough, and entered on his duties with earnest devotion and with hopeful anticipations.

Soon after his arrival he had an official interview with Lord Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, of which he sent a full report to his Government. Although his conversation as reported by him was in the main approved of, some points were thought not to have been presented in the precise sense of his instructions, and a hint to that effect was conveyed to him by the Government. He had shown his notes of the conversation to Lord Clarendon for his verification, and inadvertently, as he said, allowed some weeks to elapse before mentioning this fact in one of his despatches. Many months had passed without any new cause of complaint, so far as appears, when he was surprised to receive a notice that his resignation would be accepted. Considering that such a step would imply that he felt as if he had failed in the duties of his office, he declined to leave his position, and was almost immediately recalled.

In the opinion of Mr. Motley and many others different reasons from those alleged were at the bottom of the action of the Government. Mr. Sumner had been active in procuring Mr. Motley's appointment as Minister to England. There had arisen an unfortunate difference between the President and Mr. Sumner, then Chairman of the Committee of the Senate on Foreign Affairs, on the subject of a treaty with San Domingo. This had produced a strong feeling on the part of the President against the statesman who persistently opposed one of his favorite projects, — a feeling which it was thought extended to those who were in intimate relations with him. As the recall of Mr. Motley followed immediately after the rejection of the San Domingo treaty, the coincidence was considered by him and those who took his part as something more than accidental. I have examined the evidence elsewhere, and content myself here with mentioning the chief points on which it turned.

The comment of the "London Daily News" on Mr. Motley's dismissal was as follows: —

"We are violating no confidence in saying that all the hopes of Mr. Motley's official residence in England have been amply fulfilled, and that the announcement of his unexpected and unexplained recall was received with extreme astonishment and unfeigned regret. The vacancy he leaves cannot possibly be filled by a Minister more sensitive to the honor of his government, more attentive to the interests of his country, and more capable of uniting the most vigorous per-

formance of his public duties with the high-bred courtesy and conciliatory tact and temper that make those duties easy and successful. Mr. Motley's successor will find his mission wonderfully facilitated by the firmness and discretion that have presided over the conduct of American affairs in this country during too brief a term, too suddenly and unaccountably concluded."

The full title of Motley's next and last work is "The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland; with a View of the Primary Causes and Movements of the Thirty Years' War."

In point of fact, this work is a history rather than a biography. It is an interlude, a pause between the acts which were to fill out the complete plan of the "Eighty Years' Tragedy," and of which the last act, the 'Thirty Years' War, remains unwritten. In a literary point of view, M. Groen van Prinsterer, whose elaborate work has been already referred to, speaks of it as perhaps the most classical of Motley's productions, but it is upon this work that the fire of his own and other Dutch criticisms has been chiefly expended.

The key to this biographical history or historical biography may be found in a few sentences from its opening chapter:—

"There have been few men at any period whose lives have been more closely identical than his [Barneveld's] with a national history. There have been few great men in any history whose names have become less familiar to the world, and lived less in the mouths of posterity. Yet there can be no doubt that if William the Silent was the founder of the independence of the United Provinces, Barneveld was the founder of the Commonwealth itself. . . .

"Had that country of which he was so long the first citizen maintained until our own day the same proportional position among the empires of Christendom as it held in the seventeenth century, the name of John of Barneveld would have perhaps been as familiar to all men as it is at this moment to nearly every inhabitant of the Netherlands. Even now political passion is almost as ready to flame forth, either in ardent affection or enthusiastic hatred, as if two centuries and a half had not elapsed since his death. His name is so typical of a party, a polity, and a faith, so indelibly associated with a great historical cataclysm, as to render it difficult even for the grave, the conscientious, the learned, the patriotic of his own compatriots to speak of him with absolute impartiality.

"A foreigner who loves and admires all that is great and noble in the history of that famous republic, and can have no hereditary bias as to its ecclesiastical or political theories, may at least attempt the task with comparative coldness, although conscious of inability to do thorough justice to a most complex subject."

With all Motley's efforts to be impartial, to which even his sternest critics bear witness, he could not help becoming a partisan of the cause which for him was that of religious liberty and progress, as against the accepted formula of an old ecclesiastical organization. For the quarrel which came near being a civil war, which convulsed the State, and cost Barneveld his head, was on certain points, and more especially on a single point, of religious doctrine.

As great rivers may be traced back until their fountain-heads are found in a thread or two of water streaming from a cleft in the rocks, so great national movements may often be followed until their starting-point is found in the cell of a monk or the studies of a pair of wrangling professors.

The little old quarto of Meursius is before me with the portraits, among many others, of two of the learned men who in the early part of the seventeenth century were teaching from the Chair in the University of Leyden, — Franciscus Gomarus, and Jacobus Arminius. The face of the first is heavy, robust, grave, of severe, if not repellent expression. That of the second is of mild aspect, obviously showing an amiable disposition and an easy temperament. Some of us remember the same contrast in the faces that might in former days be seen occupying successively the same pulpits.

Under the name of "Remonstrants" and "Contra-Remonstrants," Arminians and old-fashioned Calvinists, as we should say, the adherents of the two Professors disputed the right to the possession of the churches, and to be considered as representing the national religion. Of the seven United Provinces, two, Holland and Utrecht, were prevailingly Arminian, and the other five Calvinistic. Barneveld, who, under the title of Advocate, represented the Province of Holland, the most important of them all, claimed for each Province a right to determine its own State religion. Maurice the Stadholder, son of William the Silent, the military chief of the Republic, claimed the right for the States-General. *Cujus regio ejus religio* was then the accepted public doctrine of Protestant nations. Thus the Provincial and the General governments were brought into conflict, and the question whether the Republic was a Confederation or a Nation, the same question which has been practically raised, and for the time at least settled, in our own Republic, was in some way to be decided. After various disturbances and acts of violence by both parties, Maurice, representing the States-General, pronounced for the Calvinists or Contra-Remonstrants, and took possession of one of the great Churches, as an

assertion of his authority. Barneveld, representing the Arminian, or Remonstrant Provinces, levied a body of mercenary soldiers in several of the cities. These were disbanded by Maurice, and afterwards by an act of the States-General. Barneveld was apprehended, imprisoned, and executed, after an examination which was in no proper sense a trial. Groetius, who was on the Arminian side and involved in the inculpated proceedings, was also arrested and imprisoned. His escape, by a stratagem successfully repeated by a slave in our own times, may challenge comparison for its romantic interest with any chapter of fiction. How his wife packed him into the chest supposed to contain the folios of the great Oriental scholar Erpenius; how the soldiers wondered at its weight, and questioned whether it did not hold an Arminian; how the servant-maid, Elsje van Houwening, quick-witted as Morgiana of the "Forty Thieves," parried their questions and conveyed her master safely to the friendly place of refuge, — all this must be read in the vivid narrative of the author.

The grounds of the religious quarrel which set these seventeenth-century Dutchmen to cutting each other's throats, were to be looked for in the "Five Points" of the Arminians as arrayed against the "Seven Points" of the Gomarites, or Contra-Remonstrants. The most important of the differences which were to be settled by fratricide seem to be these: —

According to the *Five Points*, "God has from eternity resolved to choose to eternal life those who through his grace believe in Jesus Christ," etc. According to the *Seven Points*, "God in his election has not looked at the belief and the repentance of the elect," etc. According to the *Five Points*, all good deeds must be ascribed to God's grace in Christ, but it does not work irresistibly. The language of the *Seven Points* implies that the elect cannot resist God's eternal and unchangeable design to give them faith and steadfastness, and that they can never wholly and for always lose the true faith. The language of the *Five Points* is unsettled as to the last proposition, but it was afterwards maintained by the Remonstrant party that a true believer could, through his own fault, fall away from God and lose faith.

It must be remembered that these religious questions had an immediate connection with politics. Independently of the conflict of jurisdiction, in which they involved the parties to the two different creeds, it was believed or pretended that the new doctrines of the Remonstrants were allied with designs which threatened the independence of the country. "There are two factions in the land," said Maurice, "that

of Orange and that of Spain, and the two chiefs of the Spanish faction are those political and priestly Arminians, Uytenbogaert and Oldenbarneveld."

"To understand the imminence and the greatness of the danger," says M. Groen van Prinsterer, "it is sufficient to take a glance at the situation of the United Provinces and of Europe in general. Civil war would have probably broken out, and the Arminians, whether they liked it or not, would have found their natural support in the Catholics, the number of whom was considerable, and to whom those of their own faith would have looked for aid. 'In the places where the Papists are most numerous,' writes the [English] Ambassador, Carleton, 'the Remonstrants have the upper hand, and the Papists are generally for them.' He adds: 'If the Arminians have no tendency towards papism, as they are suspected of having, still, if it should happen, as it often does in popular tumults, that matters should reach the point of invoking foreign succor, it is easy to see to whom this faction will have recourse.' The twelve years' truce was just expiring, and already the partisans of Spain, reckoning on the inevitable consequences of the growing animosity in the republic, were rejoicing beforehand in the future which seemed reserved for this centre of heresy and rebellion."

The heads of the two religious and political parties were in such hereditary, long-continued, and intimate relations up to the time when one signed the other's death-warrant, that it was impossible to write the life of one without also writing that of the other. For Motley, John of Barneveld is the true patriot, the martyr, whose cause was that of religious and political freedom. For him Maurice is the ambitious soldier who hated his political rival, and never rested until this rival was brought to the scaffold.

The questions which agitated men's minds two centuries and a half ago are not dead yet in the country where they produced such estrangement, violence, and wrong. No stranger could take them up without encountering hostile criticism from one party or the other. It may be and has been conceded that Motley writes as a partisan, — a partisan of freedom in politics and religion, as he understands freedom. This ensures him the antagonism of one class of critics. But these critics are themselves partisans, and themselves open to the cross-fire of their antagonists. The work of Groen van Prinsterer is chiefly an examination of Motley's "Life of Barneveld" from a special point of view which he himself may state for us: —

"People have often pretended to find in my writings the deplorable influence of an extreme Calvinism. The Puritans of the seventeenth century are my fellow-religionists. I am a *sectarian* and not an *historian*."

It is plain enough to any impartial reader that there are at least plausible grounds for this accusation against Motley's critic. And on a careful examination of the formidable volume, it becomes obvious that Motley has presented a view of the events and the personages of the stormy epoch with which he is dealing, which leaves a battle-ground yet to be fought over by those who come after him. The dispute is not and cannot be settled. M. Bakhuizen van den Brink, chief archivist at the Hague, whose name, according to M. Groen van Prinsterer, is celebrated enough to need no comment, is quoted by the latter as saying: "The views and considerations of M. Groen on the history of our country are not my own, and I doubt if they ever will be. We often agree, however, in the statement of facts." And M. Fruin, whose impartiality and erudition M. Groen speaks of in the strongest terms, says that he also, while agreeing in many things with M. Groen, looks at history in a very different way.

The end of all religious discussion has come when one of the parties claims that it is thinking or acting under immediate Divine guidance. "It is God's affair, and his honor is touched," says William Lewis to Prince Maurice. Motley's critic is not less confident in claiming the Almighty as on the side of his own views. Let him state his own ground of departure:—

"To show the difference, let me rather say the contrast, between the point of view of Mr. Motley and my own, between the *Unitarian* and the *Evangelical* belief. I am *issue of CALVIN*, child of the *Awakening* (*réveil*). Faithful to the device of the Reformers: *Justification by faith alone, and the Word of God endures eternally*. I consider history from the point of view of *Merle d'Aubigné*, Chalmers, Guizot. I desire to be *disciple and witness* of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

With the greatest respect for the name of the late venerable antiquarian, acknowledging the value of his labors, recognizing the importance of the papers to which, as he thinks, Motley has not allowed due consideration, even conceding the right of one who starts from a dogma claimed to be infallible to construct history on its basis as plausibly as he can, I cannot help introducing a few sentences from a recent criticism on the author whom he places at the head of his guides and

models. They are to be found in an article in "The Academy" for July 6, 1878, — a review of the eighth volume of Merle d'Aubigné's "History of the Reformation," by the Rev. Nicholas Pocock.

"... Such a mistake implies the grossest ignorance of the mere high-road of history. However, it is not mere ignorance that we complain of. It is rather the narrow-minded prejudices which show themselves perpetually, and which are unavoidable from our author's standpoint. During the half-century which has elapsed since he first projected his work, he has been absolutely stationary. And the last volume is exactly in the same style with the first. He has never unlearned or modified his theory that Scripture and the Papal system are in all respects contradictory to each other; and he has been true to his original purpose of representing the Reformation of the sixteenth century as a constructive rather than a destructive movement, which created anew a faith that had actually ceased to exist. Such a theory fifty years ago would have passed current in England without being questioned, but will not stand the test of intellectual inquiry in the present day, when Protestantism of the type of M. d'Aubigné's school is fast dying out."

If we should say that Mr. Motley's critic has succeeded in copying some of the faults of the writer whom he took for his pattern, we should not do him injustice; what his feelings must naturally be towards Mr. Motley we may infer from the following passages:—

"M. Motley is *liberal* and *rationalist*.

"He becomes, in attacking the principle of the Reformation, the passionate opponent of the Puritans and of Maurice, the ardent apologist of Barnevelt and the *Arminians*.

"It is understood, and he makes no mystery of it, that he inclines towards the vague and undecided doctrine of the Unitarians."

What M. Groen's idea of Unitarians is may be gathered from the statement about them which he gets from a letter of De Tocqueville:—

"They are pure deists; they talk about the Bible, because they do not wish to shock too severely public opinion, which is prevailingly *Christian*. They have a service on Sundays, I have been there. At it they read verses from Dryden or other English poets on the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. They deliver a discourse on some point of morality, and all is said."

It is as hard to contend against "the oligarchy of heaven," as Motley calls the Calvinistic party, in argument as it was formerly to strive with them in arms. "Against the oligar-

chy of commercial and judicial corporations they stood there the most terrible aristocracy of all: the aristocracy of God's elect, predestined from all time and to all eternity to take precedence of and to look down upon their inferior and lost fellow-creatures."

To this aristocracy of the New Jerusalem belonged the party which framed the declaration of the Synod of Dort; the party which under the forms of justice committed the "judicial murder" of the great statesman who had served his country so long and so well. To this chosen body belongs M. Groen van Prinsterer, and he claims the usual right of examining in the light of his infallible charter the views of a "liberal" and "rationalist" writer who goes to meeting on Sunday to hear verses from Dryden. This does not diminish his claim for a fair reading of the "intimate correspondence," which he considers Motley has not duly taken into account, and the other letters to be found printed in his somewhat disjointed and fragmentary volume. Every man is born a Platonist or an Aristotelian, as Schlegel said and Coleridge repeated, and so in a certain sense every theologian is born a Gomarite or an Arminian, orthodox or liberal, with a boreal or austral outlook which determines the lights and shadows of his moral landscape. For M. Groen van Prinsterer, even Grotius "was not a *Protestant*, in the sense of the Reformation." What he would say of such writers as the learned Professor Kuenen of Leyden, whose free-talking theology has recently been made familiar to English readers in translation, or to his collaborator Professor Oort of Amsterdam, we can easily guess. What they would say of his views is another matter. If the learned men of Holland cannot agree among themselves in the interpretation of the facts of their history, all of them could not be expected to agree with any outside historian, especially with one who meets the conditions accepted by M. Groen van Prinsterer himself, as may be inferred from these expressions which he borrows approvingly from M. Fruin:

"To be impartial one must have fixed principles. It is necessary to belong to a party. It is necessary to have a *point of view* as a requisite for the power of investigation."

Motley and his critic had different *points of view*.

The "intimate correspondence" shows Maurice, the Stadholder, as indifferent and lax in internal administration and as being constantly advised and urged by his relative Count William of Nassau. Whether its negative evidence can be considered as neutralizing that which is adduced by Motley to

show the Stadholder's hatred of the Advocate may be left to the reader who has just risen from the account of the mock trial and the swift execution of the great and venerable statesman. The formal entry on the Record upon the day of his "judicial murder" is singularly solemn and impressive: —

"Monday, 13th May, 1619. To-day was executed with the sword here in the Hague, on a scaffold thereto erected in the Binnenhof before the steps of the great hall, Mr. John of Barneveld, in his life Knight, Lord of Berkel, Rodemys, etc., Advocate of Holland and West Friesland, for reasons expressed in the sentence and otherwise, with confiscation of his property, after he had served the state thirty-three years two months and five days, since 8th March, 1586; a man of great activity, business, memory, and wisdom — yea, extraordinary in every respect. He that stands let him see that he does not fall."

Most authors write their own biography consciously or unconsciously. We have seen Mr. Motley portraying much of himself, his course of life and his future, as he would have had it, in his first story. In this, his last work, it is impossible not to read much of his own external and internal personal history told under other names and with different accessories. The parallelism often accidentally or intentionally passes into divergence. He would not have had it too close if he could, but there are various passages in which it is plain enough that he is telling his own story.

Motley was a diplomatist, and he writes of other diplomatists, and one in particular, with most significant detail. It need not be supposed that he intends the "arch intriguer" Aerssens to stand for himself, or that he would have endured being thought to identify himself with the man of whose "almost devilish acts" he speaks so freely. But the sagacious reader — and he need not be very sharp-sighted — will very certainly see something more than a mere historical significance in some of the passages which I shall cite for him to reflect upon: —

"That those ministers [those of the Republic] were second to the representatives of no other European state in capacity and accomplishment was a fact well known to all who had dealings with them, for the states required in their diplomatic representatives knowledge of history and international law, modern languages, and the classics, as well as familiarity with political customs and social courtesies; the breeding of gentlemen, in short, and the accomplishments of scholars. . . .

"The envoys of the Republic were rarely dull, but Langerac was a simpleton. They were renowned for political experience, skill, familiarity with foreign languages, knowledge of literature, history, and public law; but he was ignorant, spoke French very imperfectly, at a

court where not a human being could address him in his own tongue, had never been employed in diplomacy or in high office of any kind, and could carry but small personal weight at a post where of all others the representative of the great Republic should have commanded deference both for his own qualities and for the majesty of his government." . . .

And so of another incompetent, " Marshal de la Châtre, an honest soldier and fervent Papist, seventy-three years of age, ignorant of the language, the geography, the politics of the country to which he was sent, and knowing the road thither about as well, according to Aerssens, who was requested to give him a little preliminary instruction, as he did the road to India." . . .

" Van der Myle, appointed ambassador to Venice, soon afterwards arrived in Paris, where he made a very favorable impression, and was highly lauded by Aerssens in his daily correspondence with Barneveld." He committed a trifling fault at starting, but this was soon remedied. " No portentous shadows of future and fatal discord between those statesmen [Aerssens and Barneveld] fell upon the cheerful scene."

The story of the troubles of the Ambassador of the United Provinces at Paris must be given more fully.

" Francis Aerssens . . . continued to be the Dutch ambassador after the murder of Henry IV. . . . He was beyond doubt one of the ablest diplomatists in Europe. Versed in many languages, a classical student, familiar with history and international law, a man of the world and familiar with its usages, accustomed to associate with dignity and tact on friendliest terms with sovereigns, eminent statesmen, and men of letters; endowed with a facile tongue, a fluent pen, and an eye and ear of singular acuteness and delicacy; distinguished for unflagging industry and singular aptitude for secret and intricate affairs; — he had by the exercise of these various qualities during a period of nearly twenty years at the court of Henry the Great been able to render inestimable services to the Republic which he represented.

" He had enjoyed the intimacy and even the confidence of Henry IV., so far as any man could be said to possess that monarch's confidence, and his friendly relations and familiar access to the king gave him political advantages superior to those of any of his colleagues at the same court.

" Acting entirely and faithfully according to the instructions of the Advocate of Holland, he always gratefully and copiously acknowledged the privilege of being guided and sustained in the difficult paths he had to traverse by so powerful and active an intellect. I have seldom alluded in terms to the instructions and despatches of the chief, but every position, negotiation, and opinion of the envoy — and the reader has seen many of them — is pervaded by their spirit. . . .

"It had become a question whether he was to remain at his post or return. It was doubtful whether he wished to be relieved of his embassy or not. The States of Holland voted 'to leave it to his candid opinion if in his free conscience he thinks he can serve the public any longer. If yes, he may keep his office one year more. If no, he may take leave and come home.' . . .

"Surely the States, under the guidance of the Advocate, had thus acted with consummate courtesy towards a diplomatist whose position, from no apparent fault of his own, but by the force of circumstances—and rather to his credit than otherwise—was gravely compromised."

The Queen, Mary de' Medici, had a talk with him, got angry, "became very red in the face," and wanted to be rid of him.

"Nor was the Envoy at first desirous of remaining. . . . Nevertheless, he yielded reluctantly to Barneveld's request that he should, for the time at least, remain at his post. Later on, as the intrigues against him began to unfold themselves, and his faithful services were made use of at home to blacken his character and procure his removal, he refused to resign, as to do so would be to play into the hands of his enemies, and by inference at least to accuse himself of infidelity to his trust." . . .

"It is no wonder that the Ambassador was galled to the quick by the outrage which those concerned in the government were seeking to put upon him. How could an honest man fail to be overwhelmed with rage and anguish at being dishonored before the world by his masters for scrupulously doing his duty, and for maintaining the rights and dignity of his own country? He knew that the charges were but pretexts, that the motives of his enemies were as base as the intrigues themselves, but he also knew that the world usually sides with the government against the individual, and that a man's reputation is rarely strong enough to maintain itself unsullied in a foreign land when his own government stretches forth its hand not to shield, but to stab him. . . .

"'I know,' he said, 'that this plot has been woven partly in Holland, and partly here by good correspondence, in order to drive me from my post with disreputation. . . .

"'But as I have discovered this accurately, I have resolved to offer to my masters the continuance of my very humble service for such time and under such conditions as they may think good to prescribe. I prefer forcing my natural and private inclinations to giving an opportunity for the ministers of this kingdom to discredit us, and to my enemies to succeed in injuring me, and by fraud and malice to force me from my post. . . . I am truly sorry, being ready to retire, wishing to have an honorable testimony in recompense of my labors that one is in such hurry to take advantage of my fall. . . . What envoy will ever dare to speak with vigor if he is not sustained by the

government at home? . . . My enemies have misrepresented my actions, and my language as passionate, exaggerated, mischievous, but I have no passion except for the service of my superiors. . . .

"Barneveld, from well-considered motives of public policy, was favoring his honorable recall. But he allowed a decorous interval of more than three years to elapse in which to terminate his affairs, and to take a deliberate departure from that French embassy to which the Advocate had originally promoted him, and in which there had been so many years of mutual benefit and confidence between the two statesmen. He used no underhand means. He did not abuse the power of the States-General which he wielded to cast him suddenly and brutally from the distinguished post which he occupied, and so to attempt to dishonor him before the world. Nothing could be more respectful and conciliatory than the attitude of the government from first to last towards this distinguished functionary. The Republic respected itself too much to deal with honorable agents whose services it felt obliged to dispense with as with vulgar malefactors who had been detected in crime. . . .

"This work aims at being a political study. I would attempt to exemplify the influence of individual humors and passions — some of them among the highest and others certainly the basest that agitate humanity — upon the march of great events, upon general historical results at certain epochs, and upon the destiny of eminent personages." . . .

Here are two suggestive portraits: —

"The Advocate, while acting only in the name of a slender confederacy, was in truth, so long as he held his place, the prime minister of European Protestantism. There was none other to rival him, few to comprehend him, fewer still to sustain him. As Prince Maurice was at that time the great soldier of Protestantism, without clearly scanning the grandeur of the field in which he was a chief actor, or foreseeing the vastness of its future, so the Advocate was its statesman and its prophet. Could the two have worked together as harmoniously as they had done at an earlier day, it would have been a blessing for the common weal of Europe. But, alas! the evil genius of jealousy, which so often forbids cordial relations between soldier and statesman, already stood shrouded in the distance, darkly menacing the strenuous patriot, who was wearing his life out in exertions for what he deemed the true cause of progress and humanity. . . .

"All history shows that the brilliant soldier of a republic is apt to have the advantage, in a struggle for popular affection and popular applause, over the statesman, however consummate. . . . The great battles and sieges of the Prince had been on a world's theatre, had enchained the attention of Christendom, and on their issue had frequently depended, or seemed to depend, the very existence of the nation. The labors of the statesman, on the contrary, had been comparatively secret. His noble orations and arguments had been spoken

with closed doors to assemblies of colleagues — rather envoys than senators — . . . while his vast labors in directing both the internal administration and especially the foreign affairs of the commonwealth had been by their very nature as secret as they were perpetual and enormous."

The reader must judge for himself whether in these and similar passages the historian was thinking solely of Maurice, the great military leader, of Barneveld, the great statesman, and of Aerssens, the recalled ambassador. He will often meet with what would now be called "burning questions," and recognize in "that visible atmosphere of power the poison of which it is so difficult to resist" a respiratory medium as well known to the nineteenth as to the seventeenth century.

On the last day of 1874, the beloved wife, whose health had for some years been failing, was taken from him by death. She had been the pride of his happier years, the stay and solace of those which had so tried his sensitive spirit. The blow found him already weakened by mental anguish and bodily infirmity, and he never recovered from it. I have on a previous occasion spoken at some length of the impression he produced upon me as I met him after his great affliction, and I will return to the subject in but few words. Mr. Motley's last visit to America was in the summer and autumn of 1875. During several weeks which he passed at Nahant, I saw him almost daily. He walked feebly and with some little difficulty, and complained of a feeling of great weight in the right arm, which made writing laborious. His handwriting had not betrayed any very obvious change, so far as I had noticed in his letters. His features and speech were without any paralytic character. His mind was clear except when, as on one or two occasions, he complained of some confused feeling, and walked a few minutes in the open air to compose himself. His thoughts were always tending to revert to the companion of his life from whom death had parted him a few months before. Yet he could often be led away to other topics, and in talking of them could be betrayed into momentary cheerfulness of manner. His long-enduring and all-pervading grief was not more a tribute to the virtues and graces of her whom he mourned than an evidence of the deeply affectionate nature which in other relations endeared him to so many whose friendship was a title to love and honor.

I have now the privilege of once more recurring to the narrative of Motley's daughter, Lady Harcourt: —

"The harassing work and mental distress of this time [after the recall from England], acting on an acutely nervous organization, began the process of undermining his constitution, of which we were so soon to see the results. It was not the least courageous act of his life, that, smarting under a fresh wound, tired and unhappy, he set his face immediately towards the accomplishment of fresh literary labor. After my sister's marriage in January, he went to the Hague to begin his researches in the archives for John of Barneveld. The Queen of the Netherlands had made ready a house for us, and personally superintended every preparation for his reception. We remained there until the spring, and then removed to a house more immediately in the town, a charming, old-fashioned mansion, once lived in by John de Witt, where he had a large library and every domestic comfort during the year of his sojourn. The incessant literary labor in an enervating climate with enfeebled health may have prepared the way for the first break in his constitution, which was to show itself soon after. There were many compensations in the life about him. He enjoyed the privilege of constant companionship with one of the warmest hearts and finest intellects which I have ever known in a woman, — the *âme d'élite* which has passed beyond this earth. The gracious sentiment with which the Queen sought to express her sense of what Holland owed him would have been deeply felt, even had her personal friendship been less dear to us all. From the King, the society of the Hague, and the diplomatic circle, we had many marks of kindness. Once or twice I made short journeys with him for change of air to Amsterdam, to look for the portraits of John of Barneveld and his wife; to Bohemia, where, with the lingering hope of occupying himself with the Thirty Years' War, he looked carefully at the scene of Wallenstein's death near Prague, and later to Varzin in Pomerania, for a week with Prince Bismarck after the great events of the Franco-German war. In the autumn of 1872 we moved to England, partly because it was evident that his health and my mother's required a change; partly for private reasons to be near my sister and her children. The day after our arrival at Bournemouth occurred the rupture of a vessel on the lungs, without any apparently sufficient cause. He recovered enough to revise and complete his manuscript, and we thought him better, when at the end of July, in London, he was struck down by the first attack of the head, which robbed him of all after power of work, although the intellect remained untouched. Sir William Gull sent him to Cannes for the winter, where he was seized with a violent internal inflammation, in which I suppose there was again the indication of the lesion of blood-vessels. I am nearing the shadow now — the time of which I can hardly bear to write. You know the terrible sorrow which crushed him on the last day of 1874 — the grief which broke his heart and from which he never rallied. From that day it seems to me that his life may be summed up in the two words — patient waiting. Never for one hour did her spirit leave him, and he strove to follow its leading for the short and evil days left and the hope of the life beyond. I think I have never watched quietly and

reverently the traces of one personal character remaining so strongly impressed on another nature. With her self-depreciation and unselfishness, she would have been the last to believe how much of him was in her very existence; nor could we have realized it until the parting came. Henceforward, with the mind still there, but with the machinery necessary to set it in motion disturbed and shattered, he could but try to create small occupations with which to fill the hours of a life which was only valued for his children's sake. Kind and loving friends in England and America soothed the passage, and our gratitude for so many gracious acts is deep and true. His love for children, always a strong feeling, was gratified by the constant presence of my sister's babies, the eldest a little girl who bore my mother's name, and had been her idol, being the companion of many hours and his best comforter. At the end the blow came swiftly and suddenly, as he would have wished it. It was a terrible shock to us who had vainly hoped to keep him a few years longer, but at least he was spared what he had dreaded with a great dread, a gradual failure of mental or bodily power. The mind was never clouded, the affections never weakened, and after a few hours of unconscious physical struggle he lay at rest, his face beautiful and calm, without a trace of suffering or illness. Once or twice he said, 'It has come, it has come,' and there were a few broken words before consciousness fled, but there was little time for messages or leave-taking. By a strange coincidence, his life ended near the town of Dorchester, in the mother country, as if the last hour brought with it a reminiscence of his birthplace, and of his own dearly loved mother. By his own wish, only the dates of his birth and death appear upon his gravestone, with the text chosen by himself, 'In God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.'"

In closing this brief and imperfect record of a life which merits, and in due time, I trust, will receive an ampler tribute, I cannot refrain from adding a few thoughts which naturally suggest themselves, and some of which may seem quite unnecessary to the reader who has followed the story of the historian and diplomatist's brilliant and eventful career.

Motley came of a parentage which promised the gifts of mind and body very generally to be accounted for, wherever we find them, by the blood of one or both of the parents. They gave him special attractions, and laid him open to not a few temptations. Too many young men born to shine in social life, to sparkle, it may be, in conversation, perhaps in the lighter walks of literature, become agreeable idlers, self-indulgent, frivolous, incapable of large designs or sustained effort, lose every aspiration and forget every ideal. Our gilded youth want such examples as this of Motley, not a solitary, but a conspicuous one, to teach them how much better is the restlessness of a noble ambition than the narco-

tized stupor of club-life or the vapid amusement of a dressed-up intercourse which too often requires a questionable flavor of forbidden license to render it endurable to persons of any vivacity of character and temperament.

It would seem difficult for a man so flattered from his earliest days to be modest in his self-estimate; but Motley was never satisfied with himself. He was impulsive, and was occasionally, I have heard it said, over-excited, when his prejudices were roughly handled. In all that related to the questions involved in our civil war, he was, no doubt, very sensitive. He had heard so much that exasperated him in the foreign society which he had expected to be fully in sympathy with the cause of liberty as against slavery, that he might be excused if he showed impatience when he met with similar sentiments among his own countrymen. But with all his quickness of feeling his manners were easy and courteous, simply because his nature was warm and kindly, and with all his natural fastidiousness there was nothing of the coxcomb about him.

If he was disappointed in his diplomatic career, he had enough, and more than enough, to console him in his brilliant literary triumphs. He had earned them all by the most faithful and patient labor. If he had not the "frame of adamant" of the Swedish hero, he had his "soul of fire." No labors could tire him, no difficulties affright him. What most surprised those who knew him as a young man was, not his ambition, not his brilliancy, but his dogged, continuous capacity for work. We have seen with what astonishment the old Dutch scholar, Groen van Prinsterer, looked upon a man who had wrestled with authors like Bor and Van Meteren, who had grappled with the mightiest folios and toiled undiscouraged among half-illegible manuscript records. Having spared no pains in collecting his materials, he told his story, as we all know, with flowing ease and stirring vitality. His views may have been more or less partial; Philip the Second may have deserved the pitying benevolence of poor Maximilian; Maurice may have wept as sincerely over the errors of Arminius as any one of "the crocodile crew that believe in election;" Barneveld and Grotius may have been on the road to Rome: none of these things seem probable, but if they were all proved true in opposition to his views, we should still have the long roll of noble tapestry he has woven for us, with all its life-like portraits, its almost moving pageants, its sieges where we can see the artillery flashing, its battle-fields with their smoke and fire, — pictures which cannot fade, and which

will preserve his own name interwoven with their own enduring colors.

Republics are said to be ungrateful ; it might be truer to say they are forgetful. They forgive those who have wronged them as easily as they forget those who have done them good service. But history never forgets and never forgives. To her decision we may trust the question, whether the great historian who had stood up for his country nobly and manfully in the hour of trial, who had reflected honor upon her throughout the world of letters, was treated as such a citizen should have been dealt with. His record is safe in her hands, and his memory will be precious always in the hearts of all who enjoyed his friendship.

Lady Harcourt has favored me with many interesting particulars which I could not have learned except from a member of his own family. Her description of his way of living and of working will be best given in her own words : —

“ He generally rose early, the hour varying somewhat at different parts of his life, according to his work and health. Sometimes, when much absorbed by literary labor, he would rise before seven, often lighting his own fire, and with a cup of tea or coffee writing until the family breakfast hour, after which his work was immediately resumed, and he usually sat over his writing-table until late in the afternoon, when he would take a short walk. His dinner hour was late, and he rarely worked at night. During the early years of his literary studies he led a life of great retirement. Later, after the publication of the Dutch Republic and during the years of official place, he was much in society in England, Austria, and Holland. He enjoyed social life, and particularly dining out, keenly, but was very moderate and simple in all his personal habits, and for many years before his death had entirely given up smoking. His work, when not in his own library, was in the Archives of the Netherlands, Brussels, Paris, the English State Paper Office, and the British Museum, where he made his own researches, patiently and laboriously consulting original manuscripts and reading masses of correspondence, from which he afterwards sometimes caused copies to be made, and where he worked for many consecutive hours a day. After his material had been thus painfully and toilsomely amassed, the writing of his own story was always done at home, and his mind, having digested the necessary matter, always poured itself forth in writing so copiously that his revision was chiefly devoted to reducing the over-abundance. He never shrank from any of the drudgery of preparation, but I think his own part of the work was sheer pleasure to him.”

Mr. Motley was buried by the side of his wife in Kensal Green Cemetery, just outside of London. Services were

held in the chapel at the cemetery. On the 2d of June a funeral sermon was preached in Westminster Abbey by Dean Stanley. The inscriptions on the gravestones are these:—

JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY,

BORN AT DORCHESTER, MASS., APRIL 15, 1814.

DIED NEAR DORCHESTER, DORSET, MAY 29, 1877.

In God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.

MARY ELIZABETH, WIFE OF JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY,

BORN APRIL 7, 1813.

DIED DECEMBER 31, 1874.

Truth shall make you free.

Mr. Motley leaves three surviving children:—

1. Elizabeth Cabot, married to Sir William George Granville Vernon Harcourt; 2. Mary Lothrop, married to Algernon Brinsley Sheridan; 3. Susan Margaret Stackpole Motley.

The following list of the Societies of which Mr. Motley was a member, and of his honorary titles, is from a memorandum in his own handwriting, dated November, 1866:—

Historical Society of Massachusetts.

" " " Minnesota.

" " " New York.

" " " Rhode Island.

" " " Maryland.

" " " Tennessee.

" " " New Jersey.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

Doctor of Laws, New York University.

" " " Harvard

" " " Literature, New York University.

Royal Society of Antiquaries, England.

Doctor of Laws, Oxford University, England.

" " " Cambridge " "

Athenæum Club, London.

Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences of Amsterdam.

Historical Society of Utrecht, Holland.

" " " Leyden,

Doctor of Philosophy, University of Groningen.

Corresponding Member of French Institute; Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.

Academy of Arts and Sciences of Petersburg.

Doctor of Laws, University of Leyden.

Foreign Member of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.

ADDENDA

TO

PORTRAITS BY BLACKBURN AND SMIBERT.

SINCE the lists of portraits by these artists were printed, Mr. Perkins's attention has been called to the following pictures:—

MRS. ELIZABETH SAVAGE WINSLOW.—This is a small picture, thirty inches by eighteen, and represents a young girl, standing. She is dressed in a mauve-pink robe, a color much affected by the artist, Blackburn.

It is in the possession of her descendant, Mr. Arthur Pickering, of Roxbury.

The following pictures are from the brush of Smibert:—

CAPTAIN THOMAS SHIPPARD.—A three-quarter length, forty-three inches by thirty-four. He is dressed in a black, square-cut coat, and breeches, very long light blue vest, with broad scalloped pocket-flaps, and a voluminous white cravat loosely tied and tucked behind the top of the vest. The sleeves of the coat are very wide, with deep full cuffs, showing a plaited ruffle reaching to the knuckles. His black hair is parted at the side and curls below the ears. The right hand rests upon the hip; the left holds a spy-glass, one end of which rests upon a rock. In the background are trees, and a ship tosses on the waves to the left. This picture was painted about 1750.

MRS. THOMAS SHIPPARD.—She was Mary, the daughter of Thomas and Deborah (Flint) Lee, and was born Dec. 27, 1718. She is dressed in a blue gown, cut high behind and low in front, edged with a lighter shade of the same color. Around the neck is a broad lilac ribbon tied in a bow above the pointed white stomacher. The sleeves are turned up at the elbow with a deep cuff, from which falls a long full plaited ruffle. Her right hand holds carelessly a few flowers; the left arm rests upon a marble table, behind which is a tree. The picture was painted about 1748, and is a three-quarter length, measuring thirty-four inches by twenty-four.

PATRICK TRACY.—This picture, a half-length, is thirty-six inches by twenty-seven. Mr. Tracy was born near Dublin, Ireland, in 1711. He married: 1st, Hannah Carter; 2d, Hannah Gookin, whose portrait

is described below ; and, 3d, the widow of Tristram Dalton. He died Feb. 28, 1789. He wears a curled wig, hanging to the shoulder, a loose cravat tucked behind the vest, a lead-colored coat with wide cuffs and large ruffles, and a black vest. He is represented seated behind a table, upon which is placed a standish and small candlestick, pen in hand. The other hand is thrust into the open vest, through which the shirt-ruffle is seen. The date of the picture is about 1760.

MRS. PATRICK TRACY. — The second wife of Mr. Tracy was Hannah, daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, of Hampton, N. H. She was born Feb. 7, 1724. She is painted seated in a rocky recess with a background of landscape with three Lombardy poplars. She holds a wreath of flowers, which tradition says the artist was forced to substitute for a baby whose picture he did not succeed in drawing. She wears a brown silk dress, cut in a point at the neck, with elbow sleeves and embroidered ruffles. Her black hair is drawn away from the forehead and hangs in long curls down her neck. This picture is a half-length, and measures thirty-six inches by twenty-seven. It was painted about 1754.

These four portraits are owned by Colonel Henry Lee, of Boston.

EDWARD WINSLOW. — He is represented, in this half-length portrait, dressed in a red coat and full white wig. He was Sheriff of Suffolk County, and father of Mrs. Richard Clarke, whose daughter became the wife of John Singleton Copley.

In a letter written from New Haven, Sept. 15, 1812, by William Lyon to the Rev. Dr. Eliot, Corresponding Secretary of this Society, some mention is made of Smibert. Colonel Lyon, after other anecdotes, says: "Smibert came to America in 1728, in the same ship with Dean Berkeley. About thirty years ago, I saw in Boston a large sheet of his painting: the principal figure was the Dean in his canonicals, and his fellow-passengers in the cabin standing round him. I think this piece a *desideratum* for your Society. I cannot tell at what house I saw it." It would be interesting to discover this picture.

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